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BLACKIE'S

COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

VICTORIA

QUEEN VICTORIA.

She is the only child of Edward, Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III, and was born at Kensington Palace on 24th May, 1819. Her father died soon after her birth, and the young princess lived quietly with her mother, who had her educated with great care and prudence. When her uncle, William IV, died in 1837, Victoria became Queen of Great Britain, and was formally crowned at Westminster on the 28th June, 1838 Two years afterwards she married Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, and they lived happily together until his death in 1861 Her long and eventful reign reached the Jubilee Year in 1887, and upon that memorable occasion the English-speaking races throughout the world united in praising her devotion as wife and mother, her graciousness as a woman, and the distinction of her government as a constitutional monarch.

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OF

ENGLAND

CIVIL AND MILITARY,

RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE REIGN OF VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS, 1896.

ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY ENGRAVED HISTORICAL PICTURES, AND ABOVE 1000 ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT.

DIVISIONAL-VOLUME VIII.

FROM THE REIGN OF WILLIAM IV TILL THE REIGN OF VICTORIA, 1834-1896.

BLACKIE & SON, LIMITED,
LONDON, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, AND DUBLIN.
1896.

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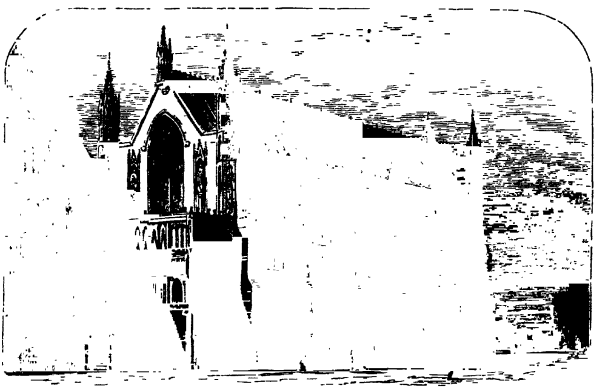
army of 100,000 men, would have still farther reduced our navy estimates, if he had been able.

On the 15th of August his majesty prorogued parliament. The speech dwelt with satisfaction on the numerous and important questions which had engaged their attention, alluding more particularly to the new poor laws, and the establishment of a central court for the trial of offences in the metropolis and its vicinity. It lamented the still unsettled state of Holland and Belgium, but expressed a lively satisfaction at the termination of the civil war in Portugal. It mentioned the quadripartite treaty which had been formed by his Britannic majesty, the King of the French, the Queen-regent of Spain, and Dom Pedro the Regent of Portugal, affirming that the said treaty had already contributed to produce a happy result.

Although the "Parliament of Great Britain," like that of the "Senate of Rome," was now an august name in history, its place of meeting had become utterly inadequate to its grandeur, and St Stephen's Chapel, although a venerable structure, was too small, as well as inconvenient and unhealthy for those members who honoured it with punctual attendance There was a general feeling that the pile had become useless for the purpose, and even Mr Hume, disregarding the expense, had declared that the commons ought to have a better house to meet in The wish was gratified, and by one of those accidents to which large cities are liable The old exchequer tallies had accumulated into such a mass, that to get quit of it, it was used as firewood in the stoves of the House of Lords, but the workmen, who were in haste to finish the job, made such large fires, that on Thursday evening (October 16th) the whole building was in a blaze. The king's sons, the ministers, and such members as were in town, hurried to the spot, but they could do nothing more than witness the conflagration, at which an immense crowd looked on with feelings that no ordinary burning could create. The neighbouring law courts and Westminster Hall were fortunately saved, but the two Houses of Parliament with their chambers and committee rooms were soon reduced to a heap of ruins The chief loss, however, was among the articles of historical and antiquarian value, although the best portion of these was preserved or afterwards recovered.

By this time the Whig ministry was falling to pieces it had rapidly lost much of its popularity. The radicals and Irish agitators had converted themselves into very active enemies, and the retirement of Earl Grey had greatly weakened the cabinet. The *Times* newspaper, which was exercising a greater influence over popular opinion than any mere journal ought to possess, had singled out the chancellor, Lord Brougham, for its bitter and incessant attacks His lordship also had disagreed with several of his colleagues The crisis was precipitated by the death of Earl Spencer on the 10th of November This called up Lord Althorpe to the House of Peers, making it necessary to find a new chancellor of the exchequer, and a new leader of the House of Commons On Friday, the 14th of November, when Lord Melbourne waited on the king, for the purpose of submitting to him some necessary changes in official appointments, his majesty informed him that he need not be at the trouble of completing his arrangements, as he intended to apply to the Duke of Wellington On the following day the duke advised his majesty to intrust the government to Sir Robert Peel, and this was what the king was prepared to do. Sir Robert, little expecting to be so suddenly made premier,



St Stephen's Chapel,[1] Westminster, with part of Westminster Hall
From a print in the Crowle Pennant, British Museum

[1] This was the House of Commons from the reign of Henry III to its destruction by fire in 1834, and was the scene of Cromwell's dismissal of the parliament St Stephen's Chapel was founded by King Stephen It was rebuilt in the reign of Edward II, between 1320 and 1352, and was always looked upon as an excellent example of Decorated architecture of very fine and rich work The House of Lords, also destroyed by fire in 1834, was the old Court of Requests —Cunningham's *Hand-book of London*

had gone on a journey into Italy, and was now at Rome. The Duke of Wellington undertook to carry on the public business till his return, and was temporarily appointed first lord of the treasury, and sworn in as one of the principal secretaries of state The radicals and some of the more violent or most disappointed Whigs accused his grace of unconstitutional conduct in monopolizing in his single person all the powers of the state The displaced attorney-general for England (Sir John, now Lord Campbell), at a public meeting in Edinburgh, menaced his grace with impeachment The duke laughed and did his work, and the illustrious son of the Lancashire cotton-spinner made the best haste he could to get back to England.

By the end of December, the official arrangements were completed—Lord Lyndhurst was chancellor, the Earl of Rosslyn became president of the council, Lord Wharncliffe privy seal, the Duke of Wellington secretary for foreign affairs, Mr Goulburn for the home department, and Lord Aberdeen for the colonies, Mr A. Baring was made president of the board of trade, Sir G Murray master-general of the ordnance, Sir E Knatchbull paymaster of the forces, Earl de Grey first-lord of the admiralty, and Lord Ellenborough president of the board of control, Lord Maryborough, the Earls of Jersey and Roden, Mr C Wynne, and Mr. Herries came also into office, Mr F Pollock and Mr Follet were made attorney and solicitor general, the Earl of Harrington went as viceroy to Ireland, with Sir E Sugden as the lord-chancellor, and Sir H Hardinge as chief secretary. Sir James Scarlett now received the reward of his adhesion to a Tory administration, being appointed to succeed Lord Lyndhurst as chief baron of the exchequer, with the title of Lord Abinger

On the 30th of December, a proclamation was issued, dissolving the parliament, and convoking a new one to meet on the 19th of February

In Portugal it was not the Pedroites by themselves who had put down the Miguelites. If the two factions had been left alone, the civil war might have lasted for many years. Early in the year, Leira was taken for Dom Pedro by Marshal Saldanha; and in April, a Spanish army, under General Rodil, entered Portugal for the alleged purpose of seizing Don Carlos, the pretender to the Spanish crown, who, with a few followers, had crossed over the frontier and taken refuge with Dom Miguel. On the approach of the Spanish troops, the important town of Almeida set up a shout for the constitution, and declared for the young queen. Shortly after this, the quadripartite treaty was signed at Lisbon It had for its object the pacification of Spain and Portugal, by the expulsion of Don Carlos and Dom Miguel from the Portuguese territory. On the 26th of May, after the surrender of Santarem, Dom Miguel was obliged to capitulate and sign the convention of Evora. He was permitted to leave Portugal and to embark for Italy. This event ended the struggle, and the young queen was firmly seated on the throne, the regency being continued in her father. Dom Pedro suppressed the monastic establishments and seized their property. This was no more than what the monks had always expected from the establishment of the constitution, and it was to avoid the doom that they had fought for Dom Miguel, and armed the people in his cause. The property was badly sold, and the money soon wasted. The regent attempted to call in the discredited paper-money, and to establish a metallic currency, but he was not very successful, and ever since his time, the finances of the country have been in a lamentable state of decay

In Spain the civil war, which had its principal seat in the Biscayan provinces, continued to rage, and with even more fury than commonly attends such internecine contests The Biscayans had merely made of Don Carlos what the priests and monks had made of Dom Miguel They had set him up as a rallying point, and as a defender of their ancient rights and privileges For the pretender, personally, they cared very little, they would have quietly submitted to the young queen, if the constitutionalists had been content to leave them in the possession of their own ancient and solemnly-guaranteed privileges The Biscayans, who had been for many centuries a very free people, and whose privileges and immunities were well worth fighting for, said no, and proclaimed Don Carlos An incredible amount of ignorance and nonsense was displayed in England on this subject by rhetoricians and journalists It was said to be the duty of England to support the cause of liberty wherever it was in jeopardy, and that the Englishmen who went over to fight for Queen Isabella and the constitution were engaged in a holy warfare yet, in those Biscayan provinces, the war was a war against liberty—a conflict into which no Englishman ought ever to have entered The insurrection had spread to Catalonia and other provinces On the 24th of July, Christina, the queen-regent, opened the session of the cortes They easily voted a bill for excluding Don Carlos from the throne; but they could not so easily drive him out of Spain; for, after a short visit to England, he had thrown himself among the bold mountains and brave men of Biscay, and he possessed in Zumalacarregui a general of extraordinary abilities and resources. The queen-regent found, to her very great perplexity, that her soldiery were very mutinous, that the people would not pay taxes, and that no minis-

try she could form was capable of standing much more than three months. Mina, who had gained celebrity as a guerilla chief in the time of Bonaparte's intrusion, was sent against Zumalacarregui, to be beaten, and foiled, and out-manœuvred

In taking office as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Robert Peel had adopted the resolution not to interfere with the reform bill. In his well-known address to his constituents at Tamworth he said —"With respect to the reform bill, I will repeat now the declaration which I made when I entered the House of Commons as a member of the reformed parliament,—that I consider that act as a final and irrevocable settlement —a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of his country would attempt to disturb, either by direct or indirect means" After deprecating such a use of the reform bill, or any such extension of it as would lead to a perpetual vortex of agitation, and the overthrow of ancient rights and institutions, Sir Robert further said — "If the spirit of the bill implies merely a careful review of institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper, combining, with the firm maintenance of established rights, the correction of proved abuses and the redress of real grievances — in that case I can, for myself and my colleagues, undertake to act in such a spirit and with such intentions"

SIR ROBERT PEEL.
From a portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence

Before the meeting of parliament there appeared in the *London Gazette* of the 3d of February an announcement that the king had issued letters-patent, appointing the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord high-chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Harrowby, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Gloucester, the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, H Goulburn, C W. W Wynne, H. Hobhouse, and Sir Herbert Jenner, to be commissioners for considering the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales, with reference to the amount of their revenues, to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties, and to the prevention of the necessity of attaching by commendam to bishoprics benefices with the cure of souls; for considering the state of the several cathedral and collegiate churches within the same, with a view to the suggestion of measures for rendering them most conducive to the efficacy of the Established church; also for devising the best mode of providing for the cure of souls, with special reference to the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices.

Immense exertions had been made at and previously to the general election by conservatives, Whigs, and radicals The conservatives were rather successful in the counties, and rather unsuccessful in the boroughs If the radicals should stand by the Whigs, it was pretty clear that the Peel administration must soon fall

On the appointed day, the 19th of February, the new parliament assembled in full force, and a trial of strength presently took place Lord Francis Egerton moved the re-appointment of Sir Charles Manners Sutton, Mr W J Dennison moved that Mr. Abercromby should be speaker Sir Robert Peel and Lord Stanley supported Lord Francis; Lord John Russell supported Mr. Dennison When the house divided, there appeared for Sir Charles M Sutton 306, and for Mr Abercromby 316 votes, Mr. Abercromby was then conducted to the chair, which neither before nor since has had a worthier occupant There are other duties attached to the office of speaker than those which pass before the eyes of the public in the House of Commons These duties had been but indifferently performed, and in most cases they had been left to clerks and secretaries Mr. Abercromby did everything himself; he attended most scrupulously to every official duty; and he was never known to keep a parliamentary agent or a deputation waiting. Hence the speed and facility with which the public business was transacted, and an immense and ever-increasing number of private bills got passed

Three days having been spent in administering the oaths, the king, on the 24th, went in state to the House of Peers to open the new parliament. The two houses having been burned down in the

preceding month of October, as has been already mentioned, temporary rooms had been fitted up for the accommodation of the peers and the commons. After alluding to the flourishing state of trade and commerce, as well as of the public revenue, his majesty lamented the depressed state of agriculture, and earnestly recommended the consideration of it to parliament, with a view to relief. Having adverted to various projected measures of domestic policy, such as the Irish tithe question, the commutation of tithe in England and Wales, the improvement of civil jurisprudence and administration of justice in ecclesiastical causes, provision for the more effectual maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, relief of dissenters from the marriage ceremony, and the corporation and church commissions, his majesty expressed his confidence in the willing co-operation of parliament, as well as in their caution and circumspection, regarding the alteration of laws which affected very extensive and complicated interests, interwoven with ancient usages, and conformable to the habits and feelings of his people

The address in the lords was carried without a division, though not without a debate The debate turned chiefly on the late change of administration Lord Melbourne severely censured the recent dissolution of parliament, and attacked the Duke of Wellington for having held at one and the same time the office of the first lord of the treasury and the seals of the three great departments of the state. He admitted that his grace had assumed these offices only for a temporary purpose, and that his doing so might be defended on the ground of necessity and urgency of the case; but it lay with the Duke of Wellington to justify that necessity. The duke calmly replied, that when the king empowered him to form a ministry, he had declined the offer, however flattering it might have been to ambition, he did not act as one who had a personal object to serve, he refused the office of prime minister, and recommended to his majesty to send for Sir Robert Peel, as the individual most capable, in the present times, of discharging the duties of king's first minister It was necessary, both that some person should be in the government till Sir Robert's return, and that whoever carried it on should exercise no patronage, nor take any step which might prevent the new minister, on his arrival, from acting with perfect freedom He had therefore advised his majesty to place him (the duke) provisionally at the head of affairs as first lord of the treasury and secretary of the home department It was true that in the latter capacity he held the seals of the three secretaryships but whoever was appointed to any one of these three offices was competent to hold the seals of the other two in the absence of those to whom they had been confided; and he had exercised no more authority than if he had been one of the three principal secretaries, and his colleagues absent. No inconvenience had resulted from the arrangement. During the time he held the seals there was not a single office disposed of, or act done, which was not essentially necessary for the service of the king and of the country; and Sir Robert Peel found all things as nearly as might be in the same situation in which they had been when the change of ministry took place It might be true that there was an incompatibility between the secretaryships and the office of first lord of the treasury, if these offices were held by the same individual for any length of time; but everybody knew that the arrangement was merely temporary. He had only held the government provisionally for another individual who had been sent for by his sovereign Mr Canning had been named first lord of the treasury on the 12th of April, while he was yet foreign secretary, and he did not resign the latter office till the 30th of April

His grace repelled likewise the charge which had been made of his being in any degree responsible for the dissolution of the late government All the idle stories which had been propagated about court intrigues were now laid aside; it was now fully admitted on all hands that no such thing had existed. For his own part he had had no communication of any description with the court for between two and three months before he received his majesty's message, and, although he was satisfied that some great change in the administration must follow the removal of Lord Althorpe from the House of Commons, that message was as much a matter of surprise to him as it possibly could be to any of their lordships The late administration had been dissolved by the impossibility of going on longer, from the time they lost their leader in the House of Commons. When Lord Althorpe had resigned on a former occasion, Earl Grey had stated that he could not, under such circumstances, continue at the head of the government, for, by the resignation of Lord Althorpe, he had lost his right hand, and it would be impossible to carry on the government with advantage from the time that that noble lord had quitted power. When, then, the question of the government came before his majesty, it was fairly put to him, whether he would seek for other counsels, and whether he would consent to other arrangements for the formation of a government, or whether he would be content to abide by that particular administration which at that moment existed. Let their lordships only observe the situation in which the king was placed, and ask themselves what he

WILLIAM IV.

The third son of George III. was born at Buckingham Palace in August, 1765. He entered the navy at the age of fourteen, and served for a time in America and the West Indies. On his sudden return to England, without the consent of the Admiralty, he received a reprimand, but subsequently he was created Duke of Clarence. His professional career then came to an end, although he was afterwards known as the "sailor king", and held the office of Lord High Admiral For twenty years he lived with the actress, Mrs Jordan, but in 1818 he married Adelaide, eldest daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen. When his brother, the Duke of York, died in 1827, William became heir-presumptive, and on the death of George IV. in 1830 he succeeded to the throne. He was a plain, bluff king, who accepted somewhat reluctantly the great Reform Bill of 1832, and the various constitutional changes which sprang from it. He died in 1837 after a short illness.

Drawn by J. L. Williams

Engraved by A. Krausse

FROM THE PICTURE BY SIR DAVID WILKIE R.A
IN THE WATERLOO GALLERY WINDSOR CASTLE

was to think of the new position in which he found himself. Earl Grey had been under the necessity of resigning, when Lord Althorpe, then chancellor of the exchequer, resigned. The noble viscount, too, had declared that he considered the noble lord's assistance essentially necessary to him. But when his majesty was left by Earl Grey, and when Lord Althorpe was removed from the other house, his majesty, forsooth, was not to be permitted to consider whether his position was not materially altered by these events, and whether it would not be expedient for him to make some other arrangements for the carrying on of his service. Everybody, indeed, but his majesty was to be allowed to consider the alterations which had taken place by the loss of Lord Althorpe in the House of Commons. Their lordships, however, he was convinced, would not acquiesce in this exclusion. Lastly, as to the dissolution of parliament, it was true that a ministry who advised the dissolution of a parliament was liable to be called on for some reason which might have induced them so to do, but he had seldom heard of such a course of proceeding as that ministers should be told, on the first day of the assembling of parliament, "Give me some reason why you thought fit to dissolve, and justify your dissolution of parliament, by showing that the effort you have made has been a successful one" And now as to this success, he wanted to know, after all, how great was the measure of success which the late ministry enjoyed in the late parliament, when it appeared to rest solely and exclusively on the shoulders of a single individual, from which, too, there was no mantle to fall for a successor? So that, when he was removed to the upper house, the government to which he belonged had found it impossible to go on. As to himself, he was convinced that the course which had been pursued was correct, and by it he was ready to stand or fall. He believed there were a great number of persons determined to support the administration, and he hoped the house would have the patience to wait and see what were the measures they had to propose for the benefit of the country.

Lord Brougham, on the other hand, maintained that the Duke of Wellington was responsible for the dismissal of the late ministry, not as having advised or produced it, which he certainly had not done, but as having succeeded to it; for whoever, he argued, takes the place of a dismissed ministry becomes answerable for that dismissal. For many acts of a government a minister might be held responsible, and would by law be held responsible, although ignorant of those acts, and albeit he did not advise them. The reason was simply this—the king could do no wrong; he must, however, have some adviser, and therefore some responsible adviser. Now, the noble duke stood in this position; he was peculiarly, he was emphatically, responsible for the change of his majesty's advisers. For who could be responsible but he who came into the space which the change had made vacant! If the king thought proper to take the seals from one man to give them to another, the man who took the seals became responsible for the change, he was responsible in point of fact as well as in law; but for his assistance the act could not have been committed His lordship then argued that nothing like a tangible or intelligible reason for the change of ministry had been ever hinted at. The king's speech, he maintained, admitted that the late ministers had not been dismissed on account of any misconduct of their own According to that speech, peace had been maintained abroad and prosperity at home The scheme for the emancipation of the negroes had been successful. The commission for inquiring into municipal corporations, instead of being denounced as illegal, was to be allowed to proceed, and its results were to be submitted to the legislature The revenue was flourishing, trade was most prosperous, an eulogium was delivered upon the happy state of our commercial concerns, and the clearest evidences were afforded of the general prosperity of the country without a particle of blame being attached to—without the least imaginable imputation being cast on—the policy of the late administration It was not for a single moment pretended that the dismissal of the late administration arose from any incapacity on their part, it was not from any want of success in their measures; it was not from any failure of any sort or description that, on the 14th of last November, the late administration was dissolved. But, forsooth, it was dissolved because Lord Althorpe had been called from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, and without him, it was said, the government could not go on.

Passing to the dissolution of parliament, his lordship said that the reason given for that proceeding, and the assertion which was made the pretext for dismissing the ministry, were contradictory and destructive of each other Ministers were turned out because the House of Commons would not follow them after they had lost Lord Althorpe, and then the House of Commons was turned out because it would follow them too much although Lord Althorpe had left them. The reason, and the only reason for getting rid of the late parliament, was, that the late ministers were still its favourites, and that the new ministers durst not allow that house to meet, knowing, as well as he knew, that their first vote would have been, not that they could no longer trust the late ministers because of the loss of Lord Althorpe, but that although they regretted

that event, they still confided in them. Lord Brougham then pronounced a long invective against what he considered the inconsistency between the former policy of the members of the existing administration, and that which they now professed themselves willing to adopt It was the result, perhaps not more of reason and experience than of a sort of instinct, that men mistrusted all sudden, unaccountable, and miraculous conversions, of which this was one That a man who had been the enemy of change, and the vituperator of all innovations—who had confounded with revolution, anarchy, and political

LORD LYNDHURST —From a portrait by A Wivell

insanity, if not depravity, any attempt to touch even one of the outworks of any of the venerable institutions of the country—who had signalized these opinions by years of uninterrupted hostility to every species of reform, and whose protests had stigmatized it in the boldest terms on their lordships' journals, that such a man—without any event having happened, or any change in public affairs—should have so decided a change produced upon him all at once, appeared to him one of the most unaccountable phenomena in human nature which he had ever been called on to contemplate This was the Duke of Wellington's second conversion, and Lord Lyndhurst likewise had given an example of the nimbleness with which he could be converted. It was always suspicious when people changed their principles and gained something

The lord-chancellor (Lyndhurst), after repelling the insinuations of Lord Brougham, that the ministry which had carried the Catholic question had abandoned their principles on that occasion for the sake of retaining their offices, which, in fact, were endangered by the course which they then adopted, adverted to the responsibility which the present ministers were supposed to have incurred, in virtually advising the dismissal of their predecessors by having consented to succeed them

His lordship next referred to the blame thrown on the Duke of Wellington, as having usurped all the great offices of the state. It was necessary, he said, either that the old government should have remained in power till the return of Sir Robert Peel, or that a new government should be formed provisionally. If the former course had been adopted, where would the new government have been? The late ministers would have used their continued power only to prevent a new ministry from being formed Even as it was, symptoms of that kind had shown themselves No lord-chancellor had ever been in the habit of inserting names in the commissions of the peace without consulting the lord-lieutenants of the respective counties; but Lord Brougham, when he was out of office, did that which he could not have done if he had been in office—he had sent for the commissions of six counties, and made out the fiats for the insertion of certain names, not only without application to the lord-lieutenants of the counties, but in direct opposition to their known wishes He did not say that this proceeding was absolutely illegal, but was it right that such powers should be left in the hands of ministers who would exercise them even after their removal from office? It was necessary that the government should be taken up by some person, and who more fit for the task than the Duke of Wellington? There were repeated instances of such a plurality of offices. Lord Liverpool had been first lord of the treasury and secretary of state at the same time When the chancellorship of the exchequer was vacant, who was to hold the seals? The law itself said, the Lord Chief-justice of the King's Bench, who also held another high office. He himself, too, had taken on this occasion the great seal, while he was still chief-baron of the exchequer; but in that there was nothing illegal—nay, Lord Brougham himself had told him to do it, and had declared to him it was the best course he could take.

In the commons, also, there was a long and obstinate contest. Lord Morpeth moved an amendment to the address, proposing that words should be substituted, "expressing a trust that his majesty's counsels would be directed in a spirit of well-considered and effective reform, and that in the same liberal and comprehensive policy which had dictated the reform of the representation and the abolition of negro slavery: that the municipal corporations would be placed under vigilant popular control; all the well-

founded grievances of the Protestant dissenters removed; and the abuses in the church, which impair its efficacy in England, and disturb the peace of society in Ireland, corrected. also representing to his majesty that his faithful commons begged submissively to add, that they could not but lament that the progress of these and other reforms should have been unnecessarily interrupted and endangered by the dissolution of the late parliament." This amendment being seconded by Mr Bannerman, gave rise to a debate which lasted three nights. The principal speakers for the original address were Messrs Pemberton and Richards, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, Messrs Robinson, Goulburn, and Praed, Mr. Serjeant Goulburn and Sir James Graham; for the amendment, Messrs. Grote, Poulter, and Ward, Dr. Lushington, Lord John Russell, Messrs Harvey, Fox Maule, and Gisborne, Lord Howick, Mr T. Duncombe, and Mr O'Connell On a division the opposition had a majority of seven in an assembly of 625 members; when Sir Robert Peel insinuated that it was possible he might take the sense of the house again on the question of bringing up a report, but next evening he stated that, after having made due inquiries, he felt convinced he could not succeed in that measure It was understood, indeed, that Sir Robert would not have been supported in it by Lord Stanley, who, in the course of the debate, declared that he would go the whole length of the amendment on the subject of corporation reform. His lordship also said, that the omission of any particular notice of that subject, both in the speech from the throne and the exposition of ministerial intentions, which Sir Robert had given to the house, induced him to regard the government with a more jealous eye than he should otherwise have been inclined to view it. Lord Howick stated, he did not consider that the necessary effect of carrying the amendment would be to remove the present administration, for he should scarcely give the vote he intended to give, if it were likely to have that result; but though he did not desire the immediate retirement of Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, he should regard it as a great calamity if the present government continued without any change

On the 28th, when the order of the day was read for the house going into a committee of supply, the premier stated in answer to questions put by Lord John Russell, that he had not felt it his duty, in consequence of the vote on the address, to tender his resignation. Sir Robert further said, that, with respect to the church, he was still of opinion that ecclesiastical property ought not to be diverted from ecclesiastical purposes, although any measures not inconsistent with this principle should have his best consideration; that he had no motive or intention to obstruct corporation reform; and, finally, that in regard to a rumour which had been spread abroad about another dissolution, and an alleged intention of government, in case the mutiny bill should not pass, to keep up a standing army in defiance of parliament—the first he never sanctioned directly or indirectly, and the second he never heard a whisper of until it fell from Lord John Russell's own lips

The majority of the opposition party was still mainly dependent on the Irish members, who had by no means improved in moderation. The following evening was occupied by discussions respecting the state of Ireland and bribery at elections, but the sitting on Wednesday produced a debate which was of much greater importance to the stability of the administration. This arose from a question put—Whether it was true that 182 addresses from Orange societies had been presented to the king, and whether answers had not been returned to the parties, stating that the addresses had been most graciously received? The question seemed to take ministers by surprise; and the only defence they offered to the charge of returning such answers to Protestant societies, alleged to be illegal, was, that the illegality of the Orange lodges had never been judicially declared; and that the addresses had been received and answered, merely according to the usual form On the following Friday, Mr. Shiel moved for the production of copies of the said Orange addresses, also for the copy of a letter written by Lord Manners, when Chancellor of Ireland, relative to the illegality of Orange societies, and for the opinions of the Irish attorney and solicitor general on the same point. The latter part of this motion was resisted by ministers, and it was finally withdrawn, but the production of the addresses and answers was agreed to.

On Tuesday the 10th, in a very full house, the Marquis of Chandos moved his resolution for the repeal of the malt-tax. The debate lasted till near one o'clock in the morning Sir Robert Peel delivered an admirable and most convincing speech The numbers upon a division were 192 for the resolution, and 350 against it. On this occasion most of the adherents of the late Whig ministry voted in the majority. Mr Charles Wood declared he was happy to give the present government that support which he and his friends had received in similar circumstances from Sir Robert Peel.

A terrible storm was raised by the rumoured appointment of Lord Londonderry as ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg. The Irish members saw in this appointment nothing but a proof that ministers intended to forward the designs

of despotism and tyranny. On the 13th of March, Mr. Shiel moved an address to his majesty for a copy of any appointment made within the last four months of an ambassador from the court of London to St. Petersburg, and of the salary and emoluments attached to such embassy. He entered into a statement of the aggrandizing policy which Russia had been pursuing towards Persia and Turkey. He blamed the English government for not having interfered on behalf of Turkey during the war between her and Russia, which was terminated by the peace of Adrianople in 1829, and disapproved of the conduct of the late ministers in not having stopped the progress of Ibrahim Pacha in 1833, and in allowing a Russian army to be landed on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. By the treaty at Constantinople, in 1833, ratified by that of St Petersburg, in January, 1834, Russia had gained great advantages. Turkey was now united with her defensively and offensively If Russia went to war with England, Turkey would be compelled to do the same, and the English would find the Dardanelles closed against them Russia had likewise assembled a large army on the frontiers of Persia, where she seemed to be only waiting a pretext for invasion. In the west of Europe the influence of that power was felt in every cabinet, tending to countervail the great principle to which Englishmen were attached. From these considerations he inferred the great importance of a proper person being appointed to the embassy at St Petersburg He clearly ought to be wise, sagacious, firm, and discreet He should be inflexibly attached to those principles to which the great mass of the people of this country were devoted, qualified to protect the commercial interests, and to represent, in his own calm dignity, the honour of this empire, and, perhaps it might be added, to raise his voice in favour of neglected and unfortunate Poland Lord Londonderry did not possess these qualities He might be qualified to act as an orator in the county of Down, but was not competent to perform the part of a diplomatist at St Petersburg.

Mr Cutler Ferguson likewise objected to the appointment, principally on account of the opinion which the marquis had expressed in regard to Poland. He believed that noble person to be the first individual who in this country had ventured to call the Poles rebels The Poles were not rebels; they had been driven into resistance. He did not ask that any person should be sent to St. Petersburg to remonstrate with Russia on her conduct towards Poland; the time for such a proceeding had perhaps gone by· but of this he was convinced—that we ought not to send as ambassador one who had spoken of the Poles in the terms which he had stated. That house had admitted, and the late foreign secretary had admitted, that the resistance of the Poles to Russia was justifiable. Ought, then, a person to be sent as ambassador to Russia who entertained a decided feeling against the cause of that gallant but unfortunate nation, and who maintained that the British government had already gone too far in its favour? Lord Stanley expressed similar opinions.

In reply, Sir Robert Peel said he was in no degree surprised that the intended appointment had occasioned dissatisfaction on the opposite side of the house; for no one appointment of the government had as yet produced in that quarter any satisfaction. He had taken the attorney-general for Ireland of the late government, but even that was objected to. The appointment, too, of paymaster of the forces had been blamed; yet it had been confidently stated, and not contradicted, that Earl Grey's government had offered to that very gentleman the office of secretary at war. He had not a doubt, therefore, of the appointment of Lord Londonderry being unsatisfactory to those whose policy he opposed; but he wanted to know from the course of the present debate what were the allegations which had been made against Lord Londonderry? Was it fair, in this manner, to come down against a public man with a single extract from a speech which it was said he had at some time or other delivered? Lord Londonderry was on the staff of the Duke of Wellington from 1809 to 1813, and filled the office of adjutant-general during that time; he had besides served in a diplomatic character from the year 1813 until the year 1823. He was appointed minister to Berlin in April, 1813, he was appointed ambassador to Vienna in 1814, and he retired from the service in 1823 at his own request. Surely, the question, after all, was the manner in which he had conducted himself, not indeed in his military capacity, not even in his office of adjutant-general, although that office had civil as well as military duties connected with it, but in his diplomatic situation, which he had held with the utmost credit to himself in Vienna, during a very critical time, for a period of ten years. When Lord Londonderry expressed his wish to resign the situation he held at Vienna, this was the letter he received from Mr. Canning:—"My lord— Having laid before the king your excellency's despatch of the 26th ult, requesting his majesty's gracious permission to retire from the eminent post of his majesty's ambassador at the court of Vienna, I have received his majesty's commands to signify to your excellency the permission which your excellency solicits, accompanied with the expression of his majesty's deep regret for the loss of your excellency's services, and of his full and entire appro-

bation of the manner in which your excellency has, for a series of years, and in times of the most critical importance, conducted the affairs of the embassy intrusted to your charge, and maintained the intimate, cordial, and good understanding so happily subsisting between his majesty and his imperial ally." This was the testimony borne by Mr. Canning to the conduct of Lord Londonderry. Yet his lordship was to be excluded from the public service on account of a single expression, said to have been used on one particular occasion. Sir John Cam Hobhouse replied to Sir Robert Peel, insisting that the prime minister having in his manifesto to the electors of Tamworth, in the king's speech, and in his explanatory address in that house, intimated his determination to adhere to the foreign policy of the late government, it would be imprudent, indiscreet, if he sent to St. Petersburg a nobleman entertaining the opinions which the Marquis of Londonderry was known to entertain.

As the motion was for the production of a copy of the appointment, and no appointment had been made out, the motion itself was withdrawn, but the effect of the discussion, although Sir Robert Peel had declared himself ready to maintain the nomination, was to induce the Marquis of Londonderry to decline the situation. The debate in the commons was published on Saturday the 14th; on the following Monday, his lordship stated in the House of Peers, that he felt, so soon as he had read the discussion in the other House of Parliament, that he had but one course to follow, as a good subject, and one attached to the public service. Situated as he now was, were he to depart from this country after what had passed in the House of Commons, he should feel himself, as a representative of majesty, placed in a new, a false, and an improper position. He would go with the remarks and animadversions of one branch of the legislature so strongly imprinted on him, that his efficiency would be impaired, and it would be impossible for him to fill the office to which he had been called with proper dignity and effect. It was on these grounds, standing, as he did, upon his sense of duty to his sovereign, and not meaning to succumb to faction, though he should be devoid of feeling if he were insensible to the scoffs and scorn with which he had been so unjustly attacked, that he had determined, upon no consideration whatever to accept of the appointment. He had had no communication directly or indirectly with the government. He had neither sought advice, nor had advice been proffered. He had taken this position firmly and after due deliberation. The Duke of Wellington, besides defending the appointment, and acknowledging the delicacy which had led Lord Londonderry to withdraw rather than injure or embarrass the public service, questioned the legality of what the House of Commons had seemed inclined to do. There was no part of the prerogative of the crown so important as that of sending ambassadors to foreign courts; nor was there any branch of that prerogative which ought to be kept more inviolate. But the ministers of the crown were responsible for those nominations. They were responsible for the instructions under which ambassadors were bound to act. They were, moreover, responsible for the proper performance of those duties (by the ambassadors whom they selected) to the other House of Parliament, and to the country at large. It was impossible, therefore, for him to believe that the House of Commons would proceed so far as to interfere with that peculiar prerogative, and to say that the person nominated should not fill the situation, inasmuch as, by so doing, the House of Commons would not only take upon itself the nomination of the officer, and the direction of the particular duties which he was to discharge, but would also relieve the minister from the constitutional responsibility of the appointment. He did not think that sentiments of such a description were general; and he could not bring himself to believe that a vote, affirming such a violation of the royal prerogative, would have passed the House of Commons.

The ministry was clearly going to pieces; but the premier introduced his measure for the relief of persons dissenting from the Established church in regard to the celebration of marriage. The chancellor presented the first report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the Established church, and Sir Henry Hardinge, in the commons, brought forward the ministerial plan for settling the Irish tithe question The plan was this that in future Irish tithes shall be recoverable only from the chief landlord, or person having the first estate of inheritance in the land, that the owner shall be entitled to demand only seventy-five per cent. on the amount to which he at present has a right, that the tithe shall be redeemable by the landlord at twenty years' purchase, calculated on the diminished rate, that the proceeds thus arising shall be invested in land or otherwise, for the benefit of the tithe-owners; that present incumbents shall be indemnified against any loss accruing in the amount of their incomes below the seventy-five per cent., but that their successors shall receive only the income, whatever it may be, which the investment shall produce; that all litigation for the recovery of tithes due shall be carried on through the incorporated commissioners of the ecclesiastical fund; that the repayment of sums granted under the million act shall not be called

for, but that the residue of that sum shall be further distributed among tithe-owners, in lieu of tithes due to them for the year 1834, which they have not been able to collect.

A long debate followed the proposal of these resolutions. Lord John Russell contended, that in principle they were perfectly identical with the bill brought in last session by the late ministers, and which had been thrown out in the House of Lords by the present government and their friends. his lordship said that of course he had no opposition to offer to the measure Mr O'Connell, on the contrary, endeavoured to show that the two measures were entirely dissimilar in point of fact the main distinctions between them appeared to be, that the bill of last session made the landlords a present of two-fifths of the tithes, or of £40 in every £100, securing to the clergyman seventy-seven and a half per cent of his legal income, and devolving an annual charge equal to seventeen and a half per cent of the whole tithes on the consolidated fund, while it was now proposed to give the landlords only one-fourth of the tithes, to secure to the clergyman only seventy-five per cent of his legal income, and to devolve no charge on the consolidated fund In the course of the debate such strong objections were taken to the clauses dispensing with the repayment of the sums distributed and to be distributed under the million act, that ministers consented to withdraw them On the 23d the report of the committee was brought up, and the bill, embodying the resolutions which had been agreed to, was read a first time, when Sir R. Peel intimated that he should move for the reinsertion of the rejected clauses relating to the million act when the measure had arrived at a subsequent stage In the course of a conversation which arose out of this subject, Mr Barron denounced what he described as inconsistency and abandonment of principle in Sir R Peel and his colleagues, whom he charged with being merely actuated with a base desire of office for these expressions the honourable member was directed by the speaker to apologize to the house, which he accordingly did Mr. Finn then brought forward his motion for a select committee to inquire into the nature, extent, and tendency of Orange lodges, which was agreed to without a division.

On Tuesday the 24th, in the House of Lords, a select committee was appointed, on the motion of the Duke of Richmond, to consider the subject of prison discipline in England and Wales, and the same evening in the commons, the house having resolved itself into a committee, Sir R Peel brought forward his plan for effecting a commutation of tithes in England by a voluntary agreement between the owner and payer of tithe in each parish; when, after a short debate, a resolution, embodying the leading principle of the plan, was agreed to. On the 26th, Mr Tooke moved that an address should be presented to the crown, to grant a charter to the London University; and, after a debate of some length, the motion was carried against ministers by a majority of 246 to 110 His majesty's answer, which was returned in a few days, stated that the address had been laid before the privy council, and that he would, without delay, call for a report of its proceedings, in order that he might be enabled to judge of the best means of carrying into effect the wishes of his faithful commons

On the 27th, the army and ordnance estimates were carried by large majorities, though not without a fierce struggle with that champion of economy, Mr. Hume, and his partizans, and on Monday the 30th, after the house had been called over, Lord John Russell brought forward his motion on the Irish church in the form of a resolution —"That the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house to consider respecting the temporalities of the Church of Ireland" A debate ensued, which was continued by adjournments over the three following nights. The house divided at three o'clock in the morning of Friday the 4th of April, when there appeared for the motion 322, and against it 289 On the evening of the same day the house went into committee on the motion of Lord John, who moved—"That it is the opinion of this committee, that any surplus which may remain, after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of the members of the Established church in Ireland, ought to be applied to the general education of all classes of Christians" When the debate had continued for some time, Mr Peter Borthwick moved an adjournment, but the motion was negatived Shortly after, however, the house adjourned to Monday the 6th On that day the debate was resumed, and the resolution was finally carried by 262 against 237. The house then went into committee on the navy estimates On Tuesday the 7th, the report of the committee on the Irish church was brought up, when Lord John Russell rose and moved—"That it is the opinion of this house, that no measure on the subject of tithes in Ireland can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment, which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution" The house divided after another long debate, when 285 voted with Lord John, and 258 against him.

In all these divisions, it was the collective weight of the Irish Catholic members that told on the side of the opposition.

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1835—1837.

WILLIAM IV

Causes of the resignation of the ministry—Sir Robert Peel's statement on the subject—Lord Melbourne becomes premier—Members of the new cabinet—Failures in elections of ministers belonging to parliament—The few measures designed by the new ministry—Lord John Russell's statement on the subject—Changes in the municipal elections through the reform bill—Explanation given of the plan of municipal government—Settlement of the boundaries of boroughs—Demand of the Church of Scotland for church extension—Unsatisfactory committee appointed for inquiry—Dissatisfaction of the General Assembly with the appointment—Their resolution on the subject—Motion for vote by ballot in parliamentary elections—The motion negatived—Parliament prorogued—Affairs of Spain—Affairs of France—Fieschi's infernal machine—Opening of parliament in 1836—The king's speech—Committee of inquiry into agricultural distress—Plan for the commutation of tithes—Passing of the bill for the registration of marriages, &c., and amendment of the marriage laws—Plan of reform for the English church—Union of old bishoprics and creation of new—Newspaper stamp tax—Its reduction—Reduction of the duty on paper—Irish municipal bill passed—Irish tithe bill lost—Opposition to the new poor law—Motion against it rejected—Parliament prorogued—Foreign affairs—Aid of British ships and troops to the Queen of Spain—Atrocities of the Spaniards in the civil war—Revolutions in Madrid—Modifications in the Spanish constitution—Revolutionary insurrections in Portugal—Quarrel between France and Switzerland—Parliament of 1837—Bills brought before it—Its attention called to the affairs of Spain—Amendment of our criminal law—Postponement of the Irish municipal bill—Death of William IV.—His character—The Duke of Cumberland succeeds to the throne of Hanover.

THE question of the temporalities of the Irish church, by which the strength of the ministry was tested, was the crowning defeat that left them no alternative but retirement from office Sir Robert Peel had declared that under no circumstances he would consent to the appropriation of ecclesiastical funds to any but strictly ecclesiastical purposes, and in justification of this resolution, he alluded to the compact with the church in the act of union with Ireland. There were circumstances, he granted, under which all compacts must be broken, and even constitutions themselves dissolved, but the necessity for such moral sacrifices must be inevitable, and as yet, he saw no proof for any such necessity. Before any convulsive proceeding could be honestly proposed, the innovators should be ready with a comprehensive and complete new policy to supersede the existing compact; but no such policy had been prepared. And here he was in the right The appropriation principle had taken no hold of the public mind, and when it was carried, the Whig leaders had bitter cause of complaint that the people in general cared little about it On the 8th of April, Sir Robert announced his resignation, and the causes that had led to it. "Considering all that has occurred," he said, "since the commencement of the present session—the little progress we have been able to make from the want of the support and confidence of the house—that ministers have had the misfortune, on each of four successive nights, to be left in a minority, although on that question they had received the support of those who, not having a general and unlimited confidence in the government, yet have given it their cordial and honourable assistance on every occasion on which it was consistent with their public principles to give it—adverting to all these considerations, in my opinion, the time is come when it is incumbent on us to withdraw from the responsibility which office, under such circumstances, imposes. The vote, too, of last night implies, I conceive, a want of confidence in his majesty's government; because, in my opinion, it was not necessary, for any public purpose, to come to that vote. It was tantamount to a declaration, that the house has not that confidence in the present government which would entitle its members to submit to the consideration of the house the measures of which they had given notice An intention has been announced likewise, if that vote did not lead to the result which it had led to, to follow it up with an address to the crown. As embarrassment to public affairs would have arisen from the presentation of that address, . . I have been anxious to give this explanation in a manner the least calculated to give offence or to excite angry feelings. For myself, the whole of my political life has been spent in the House of Commons—the remainder of it shall be spent there; and whatever may be the conflicts of parties, I, for one, would always wish to stand well with the house, whether in a majority or in a minority."

Both houses remained inactive until the 18th, when Lord Melbourne announced in the lords

that he had been appointed first lord of the treasury, and that the new administration was formed. To a question asked by Lord Alvanley, the new premier replied, that he did not know whether he should have the assistance of Mr. O'Connell or not, but that he had taken no means to secure it, and had entered into no terms whatever with that honourable and learned gentleman His lordship added, that to Mr. O'Connell's opinions, in favour of a repeal of the union and the abolition of the House of Peers, he was entirely opposed. The house then adjourned to the 30th of April, but on an understanding that no public business should be undertaken till the 12th of May. The same evening, in the commons, there was a motion for new writs on account of vacancies occasioned by the appointment of seventeen members of the house to offices under the crown, and the commons also adjourned to the 12th of May.

This was the construction of the new cabinet — Viscount Melbourne, first lord of the treasury; Lord Palmerston, Lord J Russell, and Mr. C. Grant, secretaries respectively for the foreign, home, and colonial departments, Lord Lansdowne, president of the council, Lord Duncannon, privy seal and chief commissioner of woods and forests, Lord Auckland, first lord of the admiralty; Sir J C. Hobhouse and Mr Poulett Thompson, presidents of the board of control and of trade, Lord Howick, secretary at war, Lord Holland, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, and Mr Spring Rice, chancellor of the exchequer Sir John Campbell and Mr R. M Rolfe were made attorney and solicitor general, and Mr. Cutler Ferguson, judge-advocate, the Earl of Mulgrave went as lord-lieutenant to advance the popularity of ministers in Ireland, where Lord Plunkett was made chancellor, and Lord Morpeth chief secretary, with Mr Sergeant Perrin and Mr O'Loughlin as attorney and solicitor general The lord-advocate of Scotland was Mr J A. Murray. Among other appointments were those of Sir Henry Parnell as paymaster of the forces and treasurer of the navy; the Marquis of Conyngham, postmaster-general; and Marquis Wellesley, lord-chamberlain. The great seal was not restored to Lord Brougham. for the present it was put in commission, the commissioners being Sir Charles Pepys, master of the rolls; Sir Lancelot Shadwell, vice-chancellor; and Mr. Justice Bosanquet

In the interim, the new ministers who belonged to the House of Commons had to be re-elected; and, although they were in general successful, they encountered failures, some of which were extremely discouraging, and gave symptoms of the alarm which they had excited in the public mind. Mr. Littleton being raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Hatherton, a vacancy occurred in the county of Stafford. A conservative candidate took the field, and was returned. Mr. Charles Grant was likewise called to the House of Lords as Baron Glenelg; and Inverness-shire, for which he had been chosen at the general election, immediately returned a conservative candidate. But the severest stroke of all occurred in the case of Lord John Russell himself. He again presented himself to the electors of the southern division of Devonshire: Mr Parker took the field against him, and beat the secretary of state by a majority of 627 votes. These three elections disposed of six out of the seven votes which had carried the amendment on the address. Lord John Russell did not procure a seat till after parliament had re-assembled. Colonel Fox, member for Stroud, accepted the Chiltern Hundreds in his favour, and became secretary to the ordnance. By a similar negotiation, Mr Kennedy, member for Tiverton, made room for Lord Palmerston. In Yorkshire, Lord Morpeth was opposed, but carried his election by a very great majority.

When the new ministers proceeded to explain what they intended to do, it was found that the only measures which they meant to bring forward, were a bill for the reform of municipal corporations, and a bill regarding tithes in Ireland, founded on the late resolutions of the commons. Nothing was to be done in relation to the dissenters. The bill brought in by Sir Robert Peel, and which the dissenters had received with so much satisfaction, was to be dropped no other was to be proposed in its place, for Lord John Russell had not had time to consider the details of the measure, which he thought would require considerable alterations in order to effect its purpose, or to make up his mind as to the changes which he would be inclined to adopt There was to be no measure of English ecclesiastical reform, nor any use made of the commission which the late ministry had appointed for that purpose. Commutation of tithes in England and the conversion or abolition of church-rates were not to be brought forward. Lord John Russell said, that if he had learned anything by the experience of the last three years, during which he had been a member of the government, it was that they frequently fell into difficulties by undertaking too great a multiplicity of matters, so that there were questions with which, at the end of the session, they could not proceed from want of sufficient time for due consideration. He was perfectly inclined to consider any question that had been brought before the house by the late ministry, but still he would not undertake, on the part of the government, to go further than municipal reform in England and Wales, and the regulation of tithes in Ireland. The new opposition admitted that it was much wiser to proceed with

caution than bring forward measures hastily, to abandon them as hastily. But, they asked, Did you not complain, in the amendment which you carried upon the address, that besides the questions of municipal corporations and Irish tithes, "the progress of other reforms had been interrupted and endangered by the unnecessary dissolution of a parliament earnestly intent upon their prosecution?" These other reforms undoubtedly meant commutation of tithes, abolition of church-rates, and the removal of some, at least, of the grievances of the dissenters. It now turned out, that, instead of these having been endangered or interrupted by the accession of the late ministry, that ministry was prepared to have brought them all forward, and they were to be laid aside, in the meantime, by the new administration, who had complained that their progress would be stopped.

Great changes in the mode of electing municipal authorities, and in the general government of borough affairs, had become inevitable from and after the passing of the reform bill. It was difficult to exclude from the election of their new town-councils the inhabitants of boroughs who were everywhere trusted with the election of the members of the legislature. The boroughs of Scotland had already undergone the system of purification, without even waiting for the report of a commission of inquiry The election of the magistrates and the town-councillors had been vested in the ten-pound householders. England had been more leisurely dealt with In accordance with a recommendation of a committee of the House of Commons in 1833, a commission had been appointed to inquire into the state of corporations in England and Wales. In the royal speech at the prorogation of parliament in that year, the object of the commission had been thus stated.—"The result of its inquiries will enable you to mature those measures which may seem best fitted to place the internal government of corporate cities and towns upon a solid foundation in respect to their finances, their judicature, and their police," and in the speech at the opening of last session, his majesty had said, in reference to the expected reports, "they cannot fail to afford you much useful information, by which you will be enabled to judge of the nature and extent of any existing defects and abuses, and in what manner the necessary corrections may, in due season, be safely and beneficially applied." On the 5th of June, Lord John Russell detailed the plan of municipal government which ministers intended to provide for 183 corporations, including a population of more than 2,000,000. He maintained that, having extended considerably to the people the right of choosing the members of the legislature, the inferior right of choosing their own local authorities could not consistently be withheld. Hitherto there had been a close monopoly of those local authorities. A few persons composing the corporation for their own benefit were connected with a portion of the lower classes of the people, whose votes they bought, whose habits they demoralized. The abuses resulting from this were enormous. In the distribution of the charity funds of such places, it would be found that two-thirds or three-fourths of the whole were distributed to those who belonged to the governing body. It would appear in the case of some of the corporations that funds intended to be used for the general benefit of the towns, were partly devoted to the private benefit of individuals, partly applied to defray the expense of feasts and entertainments provided for the mayors, corporations, and municipal officers.

Many difficulties presented themselves in settling the boundaries of the boroughs, and in deciding whether the right of such settling belonged to the legislature or to the crown Sir Robert Peel complained of the too strong democratic spirit of the measure—complained that ministers did not undertake to alter the reform bill explicitly, but were proceeding to effect their purpose indirectly He had always prophesied, when his friends expressed their willingness to accept the reform bill as our constitutional charter, and to abide by it, that any proposal for its modification was much more likely to come from the authors of the measure than from its opponents The question was carried entirely by the majority of Scotch and Irish members. Among the English members there was, on one division, a majority of fifteen against ministers On the 20th of July, the bill was read a third time and passed, without any further division. In the House of Lords, counsel were heard against the bill, and several very important alterations were made in it. The most important clause they inserted, was one preserving the rights of property and parliamentary franchise of the freemen. The commons debated long upon some of the alterations, but, on the 7th of September, they agreed to the bill as it had been returned to them from the lords; and in that shape it was finally passed.

Lord Morpeth introduced a bill for regulating the Irish church, by suppressing benefices to create a surplus, &c. The bill passed the commons, but the lords, though agreeing to some of the clauses, stickled at the appropriation of the funds; and ministers were compelled to abandon the bill

The Church of Scotland, finding the means of spiritual instruction in many places very disproportionate to the amount of the population, had made application to former governments for

a grant in aid to a very limited extent, and their application had been favourably entertained. Mr. P. M. Stewart stated in the House of Commons, on the 20th of May, that he had been one of a deputation who had waited on Lord Brougham, when lord-chancellor, and Lord Melbourne, regarding this matter within the last two years; and the impression made on himself, as well as on all the other members of the deputation, had been, that these two noblemen were favourable to the grant. The request, indeed, was a very moderate one All that was done, however, was to appoint a commission, composed of persons who were Whigs or more than Whigs, the Earl of Minto, Mr Mountstuart Elphinstone, and the member for the county of Dumfries, being considered as merely the ornamental part of the commission This gave great offence to the General Assembly, who passed an all but unanimous resolution—"That the commission of the General Assembly feel it incumbent on them, in the discharge of their duty to the Church of Scotland, to state to the government the sentiments they entertain of the constitution of the commission, that they do not consider it entirely friendly to the church, individual members having publicly professed opposition to the connection between church and state; and further, that, with few exceptions, it does not contain the names of individuals of experience, or men interested in the church. and that on those grounds the commission is not entitled to the confidence of the church." This resolution, however, produced no change in the composition of the commission. The great body of the church, though dissatisfied with the conduct of government, would not give their adversaries any advantage by appearing to be afraid of inquiry or of the commissioners. They held another meeting of the commission of the assembly on the 30th of September It was attended by no fewer than 155 members, of whom eighty-five were clergymen, and seventy lay elders They unanimously passed the following resolution "The commission having maturely deliberated on the instructions to the royal commissioners for inquiring into the means of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence afforded to the people of Scotland, express their deep regret that his majesty's ministers have not been pleased, in consequence of the judgment of the last meeting of the commission of the General Assembly, to make any change in the composition of the said royal commission. And whereas that commission, from its authorizing the commissioners to inquire generally into the opportunities of religious worship, the means of religious instruction, and the pastoral superintendence afforded to the people of Scotland, may be, and has been, interpreted as at variance with the principles and policy of the Established church, and as calculated to weaken or to overthrow it, particularly in so far as it seems to involve in it a principle subversive of this and all other ecclesiastical establishments—viz., that whenever religious instruction and pastoral superintendence are found to a certain extent afforded by any sect or denomination whatever, there the services of an Established church are not required, and may be dispensed with; the commission of the General Assembly publicly and solemnly protest against whatever has such a tendency, and declare that they consider it to be the sacred duty of the legislature to support and to protect the national church, and to secure accommodation and religious instruction to the people of Scotland, so that they may attend regularly upon divine ordinances, and may profit by the pastoral exertions and superintendence of its ministers. With a view to these most important objects, and under the protestation herein contained, they approve of such members of the church as may be required to do so by the commissioners nominated by his majesty, furnishing accurate information as to all statistical matters, and also approve of all church courts allowing inspection of, or giving extracts from their records, of all entries relating to the same matters, it being clearly understood that the commission of the assembly hold, that it is not competent to the commissioners to put to individual members any questions relating to the doctrine, worship, government, or discipline of the church"

A select committee was appointed to inquire into the extent and tendency of the Orange societies.

On the 2d of June, Mr Grote made his annual motion in favour of vote by ballot, by proposing a resolution—"That it is the opinion of this house that the votes at elections for members of parliament should be taken by way of secret ballot." The motion was supported on the same grounds which had been urged to the house on former occasions, but a new feature in the discussion consisted in the admission, made by some of the friends of the ballot, that a majority of the landed property, at least, of the country, was opposed to the ministry, and that the ballot was necessary and would be effectual to prevent the continued influence of that property from being exercised against them. Sir W. Molesworth, member for Cornwall (East), who seconded the motion, said, that ministers ought now to be aware of the fact, to them undoubtedly a most mortifying fact, that amongst the gentry of England their party was decidedly in the minority; they ought now to be aware that the great majority of the aristocracy, of the landed gentry, and all the clergy to

a man, were their determined and irreconcileable foes, who would spare no efforts, who would use every species of intimidation and undue influence to compass their destruction. They could not, with the same weapons, successfully contend against their too powerful antagonists: if they could not protect their friends—and they were too weak to do so without the aid of the ballot—if they left their supporters exposed to the tender mercies of the Tory party, they would by degrees be ejected, like Lord John Russell, from the representation of all the counties of England. Did they remember their fatal losses in the counties during the last general election? Did they remember that their friends were ejected and replaced by their antagonists in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Denbighshire, Derbyshire, Devonshire (South), Essex (South), Gloucestershire (West), Hampshire (South), Lancashire (South), Leicestershire (South), Lincolnshire, Norfolk (East), Suffolk (West), Surrey (East), Surrey (West), Warwickshire (South), that within the last few weeks they had been again dismissed from Devonshire, Inverness-shire, and Staffordshire? Was this list not a sufficient proof to them of the absolute necessity of the ballot? Did they prefer to be utterly annihilated as a party in the house rather than have the ballot? If so, their fate was nigh at hand, and they would well merit it. In the same spirit, Mr. C. Buller, member for Liskeard, in arguing that an election conducted by ballot would be attended with less popular excitement than at present, said, that he objected to having that excitement carried to any degree beyond that which was absolutely necessary; but, under existing circumstances, feeling, as the liberal party did, that the majority of those enjoying wealth, property, and influence was against them, it was essential that they should endeavour to excite a fervid feeling in the breasts of the multitude, and therefore it was that they were obliged *to resort to popular agitation*, to counterbalance the force that was marshalled against them. The original motion was negatived, 317 voted against it and only 144 for it. Various notices of motions were given for leave to bring in bills for preventing bribery and corruption, for reducing expenses at elections, for protecting electors against intimidation, for indemnifying witnesses giving evidence in case of bribery, &c., but the only legislative measure carried through was a bill altering the reform bill, in so far as it allowed two days for taking the votes at a contested election; and limited the poll to one day, unless it should be found necessary to adjourn it in consequence of riot.

An unsuccessful motion was made for the relief of the agricultural interests; debates took place on that most perplexing subject, the currency, and a motion was made for a repeal of the window-tax. This last led to considerable discussion, in the course of which a general revision of our taxation was strongly and properly recommended.

Parliament was prorogued on the 10th of September, his majesty lamenting that the civil contest in the northern provinces of Spain had not yet been brought to a termination

This year Donna Maria, Queen of Portugal, achieved something new in politics She dismissed and recalled a ministry all in one day! Unable to form a new administration, she was compelled to accept the services of her former advisers, with Saldanha at their head In a week after Saldanha was a second time dismissed, and Marquis Loulé appointed prime minister The change was satisfactory to the mob and to the national guards, who now ruled the country. In Spain as well as in Portugal the ultra-liberals, the first of all bad politicians, seemed to be gaining the ascendency; from their former intolerant Catholicism both these countries were fast falling into irreligion and materialism, and were ready to prove, as their exemplars the French Jacobins had done before them, that atheists can be as intolerant as bigoted Papists.

In France many attempts had been made to assassinate the king. If Louis Philippe had not worn a charmed life he must have perished long ago. The most terrible attempt against him was reserved for this year On the 28th of July, during the festivities of the annual commemoration of the revolution of 1830, he narrowly escaped assassination. It was the second day of the rejoicings, and appointed for a military review As Louis Philippe was riding along the line of the national guard, on the Boulevard du Temple, accompanied by his three sons and a splendid suite, an explosion like a discharge of musketry took place from the window of an adjoining house. The effect was terrific Marshal Mortier, General de Virigny, several grenadiers, besides lookers-on, among whom was a child, were shot dead upon the spot, some of them having received two or three bullets Upwards of forty were killed and wounded, of whom fourteen were killed; yet the object of this indiscriminate slaughter escaped—the king was unhurt. The police, guided by the smoke, rushed into the house whence the explosion proceeded. They seized the assassin covered with blood, in the act of letting himself down by a rope from the back window of the apartment He was himself severely wounded by the bursting of some of the barrels of his "infernal machine," and his wounds had delayed his escape. The machine consisted of twenty-five barrels, arranged hori-

zontally side by side upon a frame, the back part of which could be raised or lowered according to the angle requisite to reach and sweep the space below. Each barrel was loaded with deadly missiles, the touch-holes communicated by means of a train of gunpowder, and the lighting of one simultaneously discharged them all. The window, at a little distance from which the machine was placed, stood open, but the machine itself had been screened from observation by Persian blinds which were not withdrawn till the instant of explosion. It was conjectured that the time required to open the blinds had not been calculated, which omission saved the king, for the discharge took place immediately behind him, one of the bullets wounding his horse. The assassin turned out to be a Corsican named Fieschi, who had gone through many disreputable vicissitudes—had been a soldier—stood in the pillory for forgery—suffered two years' imprisonment for theft—and had been a spy of the police. He made no attempt to deny his guilt, he acknowledged no motive except dislike of the king. His trial showed that two persons as obscure as himself had been privy to his enterprise, but not the slightest thread of connection could be traced between the desperado and any formidable conspiracy or political party. A momentary stupor followed the explosion, but as soon as it was known that neither the king nor the princes were hurt, it gave place to tumultuous expressions of joy, mingled with rage against the author of the crime The forms of the review were gone through by the king, but the rejoicings of the revolutionary anniversary were suspended; the tri-coloured flag was veiled in crape; the victims of the massacre were buried with the honours of a public funeral, which the king and his family attended, and pensions were voted by the chambers to the poor persons who had been wounded, and the relatives of those who had been killed.

Parliament was opened by the king in person on the 4th of February, 1836. The speech expressed regret at the continuance of the civil war in Spain, and a hope that our mediation between France and the United States of America would be attended with success. The quarrel which had arisen between those two governments was entirely a money-quarrel. The Americans, who had submitted to be plundered by Bonaparte, had been clamouring for restitution and indemnity ever since the restoration of the Bourbons the French had been very slow in recognizing the justice of their claims; and, after acknowledging them, had been still slower in paying. There had been a terrible blustering on the other side of the Atlantic, with threats of going to war for the recovery of the money. Our mediation did in the end prove successful. The king's speech affirmed that the state of commerce and manufactures was highly satisfactory, but that difficulties continued to press on agriculture. Attention was directed to measures that would be submitted for increasing the efficiency of the church, for the commutation of tithes, and for alleviating the grievances of dissenters. The necessity of maintaining the maritime strength, and of giving adequate protection to commerce, had occasioned an increase in the naval estimates. Improvements in the administration of justice were recommended, especially in the Court of Chancery; a just settlement of tithes in Ireland; a remedy to defects in the municipal corporations of Ireland, founded on the same principles as the municipal acts passed for England and Scotland. Finally, the condition of the poor of Ireland was alluded to, and an intimation thrown out that the experience afforded of the "salutary effect" of the poor-law amendment act in England might guide them in their approaches to this difficult subject In both houses amendments were moved to the ministerial address, by the Duke of Wellington and Sir R Peel, with a view of avoiding a specific pledge to reform the corporations of Ireland on the same principles as those of Britain In the upper house, where opposition by ministers would have been unavailing, the amendment was agreed to without a division. In the commons the house divided, when the original address was carried by 284 against 243

The paragraph relating to agricultural distress in the king's speech having been read, Lord John Russell moved for a select committee to inquire into the causes of the depression of that interest. His lordship, however, confessed that he did not anticipate any satisfactory result from the investigation It appears that the principal problem to be solved was, why the price of wheat was at present so much lower than it used to be, in relation to the price of barley; but, if this be an evil, it was one that was likely to puzzle parliament to cure The landed interest was left to solve the difficulty in their own way, for the proportion of country to town members in the committee was nearly four to one. The committee sat four months, but was unable to agree to a report, and merely laid before the house the evidence they had taken.

On the 9th of February, Lord John Russell brought forward the cabinet plan for the commutation of tithes in England. It was easily carried, and became an act. By this act, which extends to Wales, provision was made for the final extinction, within two years, of the right of exacting tithes in kind, and for commuting them into a corn rent-charge, payable in money according to the value of a fixed quantity of corn, as

yearly ascertained by the average of the preceding seven years. If the parties could not agree among themselves upon a permanent commutation before October 1st, 1838, commissioners were to proceed to make an award, which should be binding for ever after.

On the 12th of February, Lord John Russell submitted to the commons two measures of great importance the first being a bill for a general registration of marriages, births, and deaths, the second a bill for the amendment of the marriage laws. They both became statutes By the second of them dissenters were allowed to be married in their own chapels or meeting-houses, or wherever else they might think fit, instead of being forced, as heretofore, to comply with the rites of the Established church; or any person that chose might be lawfully married without any religious ceremony at all, or any other form except that of making a declaration of the act before a public officer The dissenters, who had clamoured for this boon, seemed in very many cases to be averse to it when it was conceded

On the 8th of July, Lord John Russell explained the ministerial plan for the reform of the English church. It was founded on four reports made by the ecclesiastical commissioners. In its full scope it went to a new arrangement of dioceses and their revenues, to the creation of two new bishoprics, to the appropriation of the redundant revenues of the deans and chapters, to the improvement of poor livings, and to the diminution of non-residence and pluralities. Only one of the four bills intended was brought forward, namely, that respecting the sees. The house seems to have been taken by surprise, and the bill was read a second time without opposition or special notice. At this stage the radicals evinced such a determined hostility to the ministers' scheme of church reform, that they were only able to carry the Established church bill during the short remainder of the session By this bill the bishopric of Bristol was to be united to that of Gloucester, that of St Asaph to that of Bangor, and that of Sodor and Man to that of Chester, and two new bishoprics were to be erected, one at Manchester and the other at Ripon. The income of the Archbishop of Canterbury was to be reduced to £15,000; that of the Archbishop of York to £10,000; that of the Bishop of London to £10,000; that of the Bishop of Durham to £8000; that of the Bishop of Winchester to £7000, that of the Bishop of Ely to £5500; that of the Bishop of St. Asaph and Bangor to £5200; and that of the Bishop of Worcester to £5000. These reductions amount altogether to a sum of about £28,500 per annum. The other bishops were to have incomes ranging from £4000 to £5000. No ecclesiastical dignity or benefice was to be in future granted to any bishop to be held *in commendam*. These regulations, it was expected, would lessen translations, by leaving only three or four sees objects of temptation. Acts were also passed for separating the palatine jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely in certain districts, and for imposing restrictions on the renewal of ecclesiastical leases. Finally, on the abandonment of the other church bills relative to residence and pluralities, and a new appropriation of the revenues of cathedral and collegiate churches, a bill was introduced for suspending for one year appointments to dignities in those establishments, and to sinecure rectories.

For some time a war had been vigorously carried on against the newspaper-stamp tax On the 15th of March, Mr Spring Rice, as chancellor of the exchequer, stated that it was the intention of government to revise the whole of the law respecting stamp-duties, first, by consolidating into one statute the 150 acts of parliament over which the law was at present distributed, secondly, by the apportionment of the various rates on a new principle—namely, by the simple and uniform rule of making the price of the stamp in every case correspond to the pecuniary value involved in the transaction for which it is required. The effect of this change would be to reduce the stamp-duty upon indentures of apprenticeship, bills of lading, and many others of the more common instruments, and to increase it somewhat upon mortgages and conveyances of large amounts of property, but it was not expected that it would make much difference upon the entire produce of the duties. The consolidation act which was in preparation, it was intimated, would contain no fewer than 330 sections; but it was suggested by some members that it might probably be a more convenient plan to divide all this matter into a short series of acts, one for each class of stamp-duties. With regard to the stamp on newspapers, Mr Rice stated that it was proposed to reduce it from its present amount of 4*d* with the discount, to 1*d* without discount. This would be a reduction of exactly 2½*d* on all newspapers sold for 7*d*. or less, and of rather more than 2½*d* on all sold for more than 7*d*. A portion varying between two-thirds and three-fourths of the whole tax would thus be remitted. To this remission parliament assented, by which the illicit circulation of unstamped newspapers, which had long been followed, was at once rendered so profitless as to be entirely abandoned Some members were opposed to the retention of the penny stamp, considering it the duty of government to remove every obstacle to the diffusion of political information. But this would have made a postage

necessary, to which the newspaper-proprietors were opposed as practically inconvenient; and which, moreover, would have been virtually a tax on the country reader of a London newspaper, from which the town reader would have been exempt. The transmission of papers at the public expense, without either stamp or postage, appeared an inadmissible proposition. It would have evinced a desire to spread political intelligence to the exclusion of literature and science. Some were in favour of the repeal of the duties on paper in lieu of the stamp-duty on newspapers. The reduction of the newspaper-tax was the only proposition of Mr Rice on the stamp-duties that was carried.

Shortly after this the chancellor of the exchequer, after stating that the income for the year would exceed the expenditure by £662,000, reduced the duty on first class paper from 3*d* to 1½*d*. per pound, and altogether abolished the duty on stained paper, he remitted the South Sea duties, and proposed the reduction of the duties on insurances of farming-stock, taxed carts, &c.

The lords went into committee on the Irish municipal bill, when an amendment, moved by Lord Lyndhurst on the second clause, which went to raise the whole question between the plan of the reform of the corporations as proposed by ministers, and that simply of abolition brought forward by the opposition, was finally carried on a division by 107 against 15 All the rest of the clauses of the bill to the 21st inclusive were then struck out on the motion of the said noble lord, except the 3d and the 10th, which were agreed to

On the first of June, on the second reading of the Irish tithe bill, Lord Stanley moved an amendment, the object of which was to get rid of the appropriation clause, and preserve to the church undiminished its revenues The discussion lasted three nights, during which all the leading members on both sides addressed the house. Lord Stanley intimated that the adoption of his amendment would obtain for the ministerial bill the support of those whose co-operation never could nor would be otherwise obtained Lord John Russell in reply contended that, in legislating for Ireland, it was necessary to consult the interest and feelings of the great body of the people The real question in controversy, both in regard to the church and corporations, in the future government of Ireland, was, whether the old Protestant ascendency or the national interests should be consulted. On the other hand, it was urged by a third class of reasoners, that the ministers' bill was weak, and remote from a final settlement. If, for example, according to their own position, the Church of Ireland were in future to be regulated according to the prevailing taste of a majority of its inhabitants, the mere abstraction, as proposed, of £90,000 from its present revenues, would not obtain that object. The debate was very long; but on a division, Lord Stanley's amendment was rejected by 300 against 261. Lord John Russell's bill was then read a second time. In the lords great alterations were made in the bill; the commons refused to concur in their lordships' amendments, and in the end the bill was allowed to drop. Precisely the same fate befell the Irish corporations reform bill

Loud complaints had already been raised against the new poor-law statutes, and still more against the harshness with which the government functionaries had administered those laws. On the 1st of August, Mr. Walter moved for a select committee to inquire into the operation of the new poor-law, particularly in regard to out-door relief and the separation of husbands from wives, and children from their parents. Lord John Russell, recurring to arithmetical figures and not to the domestic affections, affirmed that the country was saving nearly £2,000,000 per annum by the present mode of treating the poor. This was considered so very satisfactory that the house rejected Mr. Walter's motion by a majority of nearly two to one.

For a considerable number of years the public had obtained admission to the Houses of Parliament only by written orders of peers of the upper house, and for the commons by the speaker's order to a seat below the gallery, and either by a member's order, or by the payment of 2*s* 6*d*, to the gallery But it was now regulated that admission to the commons' gallery by paying the 2*s* 6*d* should be abolished, and that the written order of a member should be made the only passport This was certainly not a change for the better It has had the effect of restricting the number of those who frequented the commons' gallery, and it is constantly felt as an inconvenience

On the 20th of August, while Mr Hume was in the middle of a vituperative speech directed against the House of Lords, the usher of the black rod summoned the commons to the upper house to hear the prorogation speech His majesty congratulated parliament and the country on the flourishing state of commerce and manufactures

For some time a considerable body of British troops, called the Spanish Legion, in the pay of Spain, and under the command of Colonel Evans, had been fighting for the young Queen Isabella against the Carlists in the Basque provinces. It cannot be said that they or their gallant commander had much raised the military reputation of our country, or that they had done much

good for the cause which they were supporting. Colonel Evans either proved that he was no strategist, or that his men and the Spaniards co-operating with them were incapable of executing combined movements, or any difficult evolution or movement whatsoever. The minds of these Englishmen became familiarized with scenes of horror and Spanish cruelty. Lord John Hay, commander of the British naval squadron stationed off the Basque provinces on the northern coast of Spain, received orders from the British government to co-operate with Queen Isabella's army and the auxiliary forces of Evans In the month of May his lordship rendered very important services, by sending in two armed steamers, which, by a well-directed fire, opened a passage through the Carlist fortified works near Hernani. Evans' legion carried those works, but not until they had lost in killed and wounded from seventy to eighty officers and nearly 800 men. The Carlist general was killed in the action At other points Lord John Hay's squadron rendered efficient aid, discouraging the brave Basques far more than any other force or any other circumstance could have done These men were perpetually declaring, that, if England would keep her ships of war neutral, and recall Evans and his legion, they could easily maintain their provinces, and the liberties which they had so long enjoyed in them, against their Spanish enemies The Spanish constitutionalists were broken up into desperate factions, and there was an almost total want of morality and common honesty among the functionaries of their government The most atrocious cruelties were being perpetrated all over the kingdom. At Barcelona the populace massacred all the Carlist prisoners, and then shouted for the constitution of 1812. At Tortosa, General Nogueras, who commanded the queen's troops, ordered the governor to seize the aged mother of the Carlist partizan Cabrera, and to put her to death in retaliation for the cruel deeds of her son The governor refused to comply with this monstrous command, on which General Nogueras applied to General Mina, who, having entirely failed in the Basque provinces, was now captain-general of Catalonia Mina directed that the orders should be immediately executed, and the very old and infirm woman was actually shot in one of the public places of Tortosa Mina did not long survive this detestable act: he died in his bed, leaving a name which had once been honoured covered with everlasting infamy. Cabrera took vengeance into his own hands. He issued a sort of proclamation, ordering his troops to put to death every prisoner they made; and he began his reprisals by shooting the wives of four constitutional officers. Other victims were soon added to this list, Cabrera declaring that thirty at least must fall to expiate the murder of his mother.

The Spanish government was deplorably weak, and hurried on its destruction by an attempt to appear strong Being left in a minority, ministers dissolved the cortes. At Malaga, Cadiz, Seville, and Cordova, the constitution of 1812 was proclaimed, and provincial juntas were established, wholly independent of the queen's authority. On the 3d, a movement commenced in Madrid, but it was put down, and the capital declared in a state of siege. But on the 12th the insurrection became more serious, and a regiment of provincial militia doing duty at St. Ildefonso demanded the constitution of 1812 They forced themselves into the apartment of the queen-regent in spite of the remonstrances of the French and English ambassadors, and obtained from her a promise of the acceptance of the constitution. This produced a revolution in the metropolis. Isturitz, the prime minister, made his escape, reached Lisbon, and from thence proceeded to England. General Quesada, the military governor of Madrid, was not so fortunate, being taken by the populace about three miles from the capital, and savagely put to death Ultimately, the constitution was proclaimed by the queen-regent, subject to the revision of the cortes, and a new ministry of decided liberals was formed The new government commenced with vigour A forced loan to the amount of £2,000,000 was sought to be raised, a conscription of 50,000 soldiers was called for to send against the Carlists; the property of emigrant Carlists was confiscated, and the example of France and Portugal was proposed to be followed, by the extinction of the remaining moiety of tithe, leaving the clergy stipendiaries of the state, or dependent on voluntary contributions Early in the ensuing year some modifications in the constitution of 1812 were proposed and adopted by the cortes. It was, however, impossible to make anything good out of a constitution so fundamentally and so thoroughly bad The new ministry, who were indebted for their possession of office to an insurgent sergeant of the guards, soon tottered on their seats, and felt how much more easy it is to go along with a fierce democracy than to check or control it. It was made visible that no government could be made permanent in Spain A fearful waste was made of the church and monastic property. In the remote country districts, where there were no inns, the reign of hospitality was over. It ended with the suppression of the monasteries, at whose gates the wayfarer, let his religion be what it might, had never applied in vain. A revolution in Spain was usually a prelude to a revolution in Portugal. At Lisbon serious disagreements had arisen between

the court and the assembled cortes, on account of the appointment of the young queen's husband to the command-in-chief of the army. The cortes were about voting an address against the army being under the command of a foreigner, when they were abruptly dissolved by the queen. Then came news of the revolution of Madrid. The political clubs put themselves in motion, and an insurrection was speedily organized. On the 9th of September, a motley band of troops of the line, caçadores, volunteers, and national guards, proclaimed the constitution adopted by John VI. Donna Maria would have resisted; but the non-commissioned officers of the regular troops, exercising the chief authority, as in Spain, refused to march, and joined the insurgents in calling for a change of government. The Duke of Terceira, Cavalho, and other individuals, took refuge from the popular fury on board the English squadron in the Tagus, and a new ministry was set up, to be speedily knocked down again. The Portuguese peers addressed a formal protest to the queen against this revolution. The Duke of Palmella, the first in influence as in ability, headed the protest The provinces expressed by deputations their approval of the proceedings in the capital.

Switzerland, which had never been quiet since the Paris revolution of 1830, was now involved in a serious quarrel with France, and was jealously and anxiously watched by the troops of Baden, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Piedmont, and all the contiguous states. M Thiers threatened the Swiss with an "hermetic blockade." The Swiss replied, that all the troubles of their country, and all the political conspiracies which France complained of, had been hatched by an agent of the French ambassador This charge was founded on the confession of the spy himself, who had been arrested while going about Switzerland with a passport signed by the French ambassador's chief secretary The British government offered its mediation, and the quarrel was made up before the end of the year

In France another unsuccessful attempt was made upon the life of Louis Philippe, as he was passing to open the chambers.

Parliament was opened by commission on the 31st of January, 1837 The speech from the throne was not gloomy, although the aspect of affairs was far from being cheerful. A mania for speculation and over-trading had created great commercial embarrassments, and there had been one of those money-panics which periodically visit the country. His majesty's speech recommended a renewal of the inquiry into the operation of joint-stock banks, which had contributed to create the existing disorder.

On the 13th of February, Lord John Russell detailed, in a committee of the whole house, the government plan for introducing poor laws into Ireland. It was favourably received by the house, though strenuously opposed by Mr. O'Connell. The progress of the bill was interrupted by the dissolution of parliament.

Mr. Walter again moved for a committee to inquire into the operation of the poor-law act. An amendment was proposed by Lord John Russell for a committee to inquire into the administration of the relief of the poor, under the orders and regulations of the poor law commissioners. This was carried, and a committee, having power for a full inquiry, short of calling in question the principle of the bill, was agreed to.

Ministers found themselves compelled to abandon their bill for the abolition of church-rates. They entertained the project of appointing a committee to inquire into the mode of leasing and managing the real estates of the church.

On the vote for the navy estimates, Lord Mahon called the attention of the house to the wretched state of Spain, and to the manner in which British forces had been employed in a civil war. Lord Palmerston defended the course of policy adopted by the present government. His lordship maintained that an interference would put an end to the civil war, and so carry into effect the quadripartite treaty of 1834. Sir Robert Peel in the commons and the Duke of Wellington in the lords censured the whole of this policy The duke had never approved of the treaty He thought that there should be no intervention in the internal affairs of Spain Indeed the notion of forcing any system of government in Spain was impracticable: to do so we must take into pay, not only our own army, but the Spanish—a proposition which he suspected would not be very palatable to a House of Commons or a chamber of deputies. He deprecated, therefore, any such attempt as absurd and ruinous to ourselves, and still more so for the sake of Spain herself. He could say, to his certain knowledge, that three several parties had already been ruined in Spain by our intervention. Individuals had been induced to take a certain line of action by the assurances of our government· they had afterwards, of necessity, been abandoned by their own, and were so left with their families ruined, their properties sacrificed, and their prospects blighted for ever.

Prior to the Easter recess Lord John Russell obtained leave to introduce a series of bills for the further amendment of the criminal law. These were eventually passed into statutes. They were to a great extent a realization of the humane views which Sir Samuel Romilly had so ably and so earnestly advocated a quarter of a century before this period. They removed the

extreme penalty of the law from all offences except seven of the most heinous kind. Lord Morpeth brought forward a resolution for the settlement of the Irish tithe question; but the measure had no better success than in the preceding session. The conservative party had greatly gained in parliamentary strength, and the Whigs in a good many cases could not depend upon their radical allies, although to them they had owed the possession of office.

On Lord Melbourne moving that the house go into committee on the Irish municipal bill, the Duke of Wellington said that the bill had a direct tendency to injure the Protestant church establishment in Ireland, which, for 300 years, it had been the policy of England to uphold; and that, as there were several other measures pendent in the House of Commons which affected the interests of the church, their lordships ought to wait till they had all the bills together. His grace therefore moved to postpone the bill to the 9th of June, and this was carried by 192 against 115. On June the 9th, Lord Lyndhurst moved a further postponement to the 3d of July.

On the 20th of June his majesty William IV. expired in Windsor Castle. He had expressed a wish to survive the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo on the 18th, and so far he had been gratified. He was in the seventy-third year of his age, and in a few days would have completed the seventh year of his reign. His character presented few distinguished traits to mark him out from the common class of sovereigns, and but for the passing of the reform bill his reign would have been one of the most uneventful in our history. In politics he had no system of government, or firmness to adhere to any system whatever, but this defect, which might have been fatal to the ruler of any other kingdom, was in his case so far fortunate, that it enabled him to drift quietly onward upon a tide of events where resistance could only have ended in civil strife and national calamity. He was thus popular as the "reforming king," a title he earned without the sacrifice and trouble which such a proud distinction has entailed upon other sovereigns, and this popularity, his frankness, warm-hearted affections, and domestic virtues were well fitted to retain. By his death, and consequent accession to the throne of his niece the Princess Victoria, the crowns of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of Hanover became dissevered, as the operation of the salique law excluded females in Hanover. The throne of that country therefore devolved to the Duke of Cumberland, the next heir male By parliamentary provision made in 1831, Adelaide, now queen-dowager, had £100,000 per annum for her natural life, with Marlborough House and Bushey Park for residences.

CHAPTER VI—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY—A.D. 1837—1838.

VICTORIA—ACCESSION, A.D. 1837.

Accession of Victoria to the throne—Interest excited by the event—Her royal declaration—Conduct of the Whig ministers—Parliamentary elections unfavourable to their cause—Disloyalty of Lower Canada—Review of disturbances in that colony—Discontent of the Canadians with the government concessions—Lord John Russell's bill for the colony—The subject discussed in parliament—Sir Robert Peel's statement of the support of Canadian discontent by the radical members of parliament—The subject debated in the House of Lords—Statements of Lord Glenelg and Lord Brougham—The Canada bill passed—Its provisions—Violence of the Irish members of parliament—Turbulent discussion about a reprimand to O'Connell—Annual motion for vote by ballot—Ministerial discords—Bill passed for the protection of voters—Bill passed for the extension of right to a seat in parliament—Motion for a vote of censure on Lord Glenelg—Amendment of the act for the abolition of slavery—Bills of Irish poor law and Irish tithes commutation—Debate on the annual grant to Maynooth college—Our policy criticised in reference to Spain—The quadruple treaty discussed—Reduction of the volunteer yeomanry cavalry—Bill passed for the abolition of arrests for debts on mesne process—Copyright bill for authors carried—Bill for alteration in administering oaths in courts of justice rejected—Complaints of the lord-chancellor's nomination of magistrates—Motion for the reappointment of a committee on church lands—Other parliamentary motions—The queen's coronation—Wild and fanatical outbreak at Canterbury—Account of Thom, the pretended prophet—His violent proceedings and death—Events in Canada—Open rebellion of the disaffected—It is suppressed in Lower Canada—Rising in Upper Canada—The rebels invest Toronto—They are defeated—They are aided by the American "sympathizers"—Affair of Navy Island and the *Caroline* steamer—Inroads from the United States upon the Canadian frontiers—Lord Durham's arrival in Canada—Proceedings against the leaders of the rebellion—Proclamation of the Canadian government—Attack on Lord Durham in the House of Lords—Lord Durham leaves his government without an official recall.

THE accession of a female sovereign to the throne of our country was of itself a popular event It was a change and a novelty for the unthinking multitude It was an omen of national prosperity to the more cultivated, and all who had read our national history, called to mind how England had become great and glorious under the reigns of Elizabeth and Anne The circumstance of an interesting youthful female, only eighteen years old, suddenly ushered into such a responsible station, awakened the chivalrous feelings of every class and party, by which political strife was composed, and loyalty invested with a more ardent feeling and nobler devotedness All was enthusiastic gladness for the present and joyful anticipation for the future, when on the 20th of June, Victoria was proclaimed queen with the usual solemnities, and when the ceremony of signing the act of allegiance had been performed by the privy council at the palace of Kensington, the manner so gentle and yet so dignified, and the clear, unfaltering tones with which her first royal declaration was delivered, were as the prelude of an universal harmony among her hitherto discordant people "This awful responsibility is imposed upon me so suddenly, and at so early a period of my life, that I should feel myself utterly oppressed by the burden, were I not sustained by the hope, that divine providence, which has called me to this work, will give me strength for the performance of it, and that I shall find in the purity of my intentions, and in my zeal for the public welfare, that support and those resources, which usually belong to a more mature age and to long experience

"I place my firm reliance upon the wisdom of parliament, and upon the loyalty and affection of my people I esteem it also a peculiar advantage that I succeed to a sovereign, whose constant regards for the rights and liberties of his subjects, and whose desire to promote the amelioration of the laws and institutions of the country, have rendered his name the object of general attachment and veneration

"Educated in England, under the tender and enlightened care of a most affectionate mother, I have learned from my infancy to respect and love the constitution of my native country.

"It will be my unceasing study to maintain the reformed religion as by law established, securing at the same time to all the full enjoyment of religious liberty. And I shall steadily promote, to the utmost of my power, the happiness and welfare of all classes of my subjects."

Fortunately the money panic was over, and the country was tranquil. The popularity of the Whig ministers was declining, and there was a rumour that the young queen would dismiss them. But she retained all those she found in place. They ostentatiously proclaimed that the queen

QUEEN VICTORIA'S FIRST COUNCIL

When William IV. died in 1837, the Privy Council was hastily summoned to do homage to the young girl of eighteen who had succeeded him as Queen of Great Britain. After the Council was assembled in Kensington Palace, Viscount Melbourne went to the Queen and asked her if she would enter the room accompanied by the officers of state, but she answered simply that she would prefer to come in alone. *When the doors were thrown open, therefore, the Young Queen advanced, bowed to the assembled lords, took her seat, and read her first speech in a clear audible voice* Then the Councillors came, one after another, to kiss her hand, during which ceremony she retained perfect self-possession. along with the most graceful modesty. As this was her first public appearance her manner was closely watched, and the dignified graciousness of her behaviour compelled instant praise and admiration.

Engraved by F Fraenkel

QUEEN VICTORIA'S FIRST COUNCIL

KENSINGTON PALACE 21ST JUNE 1837

FROM THE PICTURE BY SIR DAVID WILKIE R A IN WINDSOR CASTLE

entered warmly into their views, and had espoused their political creed without reservation. After the necessary dissolution of parliament, the ministerial candidates traversed the country placarded as it were with her majesty's name, and inviting the electors to show their loyalty by supporting her majesty's ministers. Lord John Russell, as well as the other ministers, took especial care to identify the queen with the cabinet, and to convince the country that the young sovereign was so thoroughly enamoured of Whig principles, and of the Whigs personally, that it would be impossible for her ever to tolerate Tories or conservatives Yet it can scarcely be said that ministers gained ground at the elections. The demonstration of public opinion was still less in favour of the radicals. Bath, Liverpool, and Hull rejected their late radical members, and returned conservatives. In the city of London, Mr. Grote, once the favourite member, found himself in a bare majority of six over the conservative candidate, Mr. Horsley Palmer. Mr. Hume was unseated in Middlesex, and driven to the necessity of appearing in the House of Commons as Daniel O'Connell's nominee for the city of Kilkenny. Generally the Whigs lost the county elections; yet Sir James Graham, the conservative candidate, was rejected by East Cumberland. Some new joints were added to the O'Connell tail.

QUEEN VICTORIA
From the portrait by Winterhalter

The loyalty of England did not reach to Lower Canada. The French or French-descended portion of the inhabitants of that province had long been in a very turbulent state; and the beginning of the reign of a youthful female sovereign seemed to these people a very proper period for driving on to the extremities of democracy, agitation, insurrection, and civil war. The subject engaged the attention of parliament, and vexed and perplexed ministers Mistakes were committed in the cabinet, and the hands of the resident governors of Canada were tied up.

A recapitulation of these annoying events is necessary for the better understanding of the parliamentary discussion they occasioned, and the rebellious outbreak in which they terminated. In 1828, when a committee appointed for the purpose had given in a report of the state of Canada, and the measures that were necessary for its welfare, the assembly of Lower Canada had themselves characterized this report as "an imperishable monument of the justice and profound wisdom of the committee—an authentic testimonial of the reality of their grievances, and of the justice of their complaints, faithfully interpreting their wishes and their wants" It might have, therefore, justly been supposed, that after the people and the government of this country had proved themselves anxious to perform all that was asked for, and that was indicated by the report of the committee, some satisfaction would have been produced in the minds of the Canadians, and some expression of cordiality towards the British government might have been elicited. But the reverse was the case On the 6th of December, 1828, the house of assembly resolved, that on the permanent settlement before-mentioned being effected, it would be expedient to render the governor, lieutenant-governor, or person administering the government for the time being, the judges and executive councillors, independent of the annual vote of that house, to the extent of their present salaries. Also, that amongst the questions not particularly mentioned on that occasion, that house held, as most essential to the peace, welfare, and good government of the province, the

independence of the judges, and their removal from the political business of the colony, the responsibility and accountability of public officers; a greater independence of support from the public revenues, and more intimate connection with the interests of the colony in the composition of the legislative council, the application of the late property of the Jesuits to the purposes of general education, a removal of the inconvenience attendant upon the crown and clergy reserves; and a diligent inquiry into, and a ready redress of all grievances and abuses that may be found to exist, or which may have been petitioned against by the subjects in the province

These were extensive and truly dangerous demands, especially when the state of the colony was taken into account; but still, much was done in order to remedy the particular grievances complained of. With respect to the independence of the judges, Lord Ripon (then colonial secretary) fully concurred in the reasonableness of the proposal, and himself suggested a method for carrying it into effect. But the house of assembly, instead of following out that suggestion, tacked to the law by which the independence of the judges was to be secured, certain provisions relating to the hereditary revenues of the crown, and to the establishment of a court of impeachment for the judges. And yet, the independence of the judges was simply and of itself a positive good, and the annexation of perplexing conditions was a pretty good proof that it was not their wish to rid themselves of the grievance complained of With respect to the accountability of public officers, Lord Ripon also proposed a measure which the house of assembly would not allow to pass, though it was planned with a view to secure the most beneficial results.

As regarded the subject on which the widest difference between the assembly and the imperial government existed, no opposition had been offered. The judges were forthwith informed, that, with the exception of the chief justice, it was no longer desirable that they should sit in the legislative council; and a number of persons, for the most part of French extraction, were added to that body, totally independent of the crown, and giving a great majority in the council to those who were unconnected with the government. The assembly might indeed say, that they were none of them persons agreeable to their wishes, or acquainted with their wants, but the question was, whether they were not independent of office, and closely connected with the interests of the colony. Of the forty members of the council, not less than eighteen were French Canadians; many of the members of English origin had quitted the province, and but seven remained in official connection with the government. As to the property of the Jesuits, it had actually been ordered to be applied to educational purposes, and the only grievance connected with that point now remaining was, that the estates had been leased to persons other than those whom the assembly desired to see in possession of them.

Another question related to the crown and clergy reserves. Lord Ripon had declared his readiness to put an end to the old system, and only differed from the assembly in wishing to prevent an undue facility from being afforded to poor and improvident purchasers of the waste lands.

The next grievance arose out of the much-contested question of the duties collected under the earlier acts, and which the crown had, according to law, the right of appropriating. The committee of 1828 had been of opinion, that these duties should be submitted to the appropriation of the assembly; but they recommended that this measure should be accompanied by a permanent settlement for the salaries of the judges and other functionaries Government, however, had in 1831 carried a bill through the imperial parliament which entirely repealed the power of appropriation by this country, and left it to the assembly without condition, without stipulation, to dispose altogether of those duties.

The Canadians made but a poor return for these concessions. In the year 1833, the house of assembly tacked to a supply bill some very unusual conditions, providing that the persons holding certain offices should not be allowed salaries, unless they relinquished other offices. This strange bill was rejected by the governor. In 1834, the same house of assembly adopted a new course which had led directly to the present difficulties. It passed ninety-two resolutions, some of grievance, some of eulogy, some of vituperation, and amounting in the whole to a vehement remonstrance against government; and, after spending an entire session in framing this remonstrance, it separated without passing any supply bill whatever. At this period the more able and more respectable of the party in opposition detached themselves from their former associates, for they saw that their policy was violent and aggressive, and that they were aiming not at reform, but at convulsion and revolution. Yet were there some Englishmen who continued to adhere to the French Canadian radical faction, and went with that faction to such lengths as would, under a less lenient government, have been construed into treason. Since 1834, no supplies were voted. During the very short administration of Sir Robert Peel, Lord Amherst was sent out, not merely as governor, but also as commissioner, to investigate and redress griev-

ances. That appointment had been made null by the dissolution of Sir Robert's administration. Returning to office, the Whigs despatched Lord Gosford to fill the place of Lord Amherst. The new governor and commissioner could not alter the temper of the house of assembly. The supplies continued to be refused.

Such was the difficulty that encountered parliament at its reassembling on the 16th of January, 1838; and after these events were recapitulated by Lord John Russell, he proposed a bill to suspend for a certain time the existing constitution of Lower Canada. He also moved an address to the throne, pledging the house to assist her majesty in restoring tranquillity to her Canadian dominions He proceeded to give an outline of the intended bill, and announced the person who was to be sent out to Canada to carry it into effect: this was the Earl of Durham, who, having accepted the office, would in due time proceed to the performance of its important duties. Lord John Russell concluded his long discourse by declaring that although, in his opinion, a time might arrive when he would not be indisposed to give the 1,400,000 of our present fellow-subjects living in Canada a participation in the perfect freedom enjoyed by the mother country, he thought that the day for separation was still at a distance.

Sir Robert Peel protested against the doctrine that the manifestation of a rebellious spirit on the part of a colony was reason sufficient for releasing it from its allegiance; and he promised his cordial consent to the address, because, in his opinion, this country had acted with justice and liberality towards Canada. But in supporting the address he begged that he might not be understood to place confidence in ministers, or to be satisfied with their past conduct Measures of precaution had been neglected. The military force in the colony ought to have been increased last year. Mr. Hume, with Mr Roebuck, had been one of the loudest performers on the trumpet of revolt and insurrection. Sir Robert Peel did not forget the fact. He agreed, he said, with the observation Mr. Hume had just made in the house, that the blame rested with those who had drawn an innocent and harmless people into a hopeless insurrection; and then he reminded the ex-member for Middlesex and present member for Kilkenny of an inflammatory letter which in the year 1834 he (Mr. Hume) had addressed to Mr. Mackenzie in Upper Canada, and which contained the following passage:—"Your triumphant election of the 16th, and your rejection from the assembly of the 17th, must hasten that crisis which is fast approaching in the affairs of the Canadas, and which will terminate in independence and freedom from the baneful domination of the mother country, and the tyrannical conduct of a small and despicable faction. The proceedings between 1772 and 1782 in America ought never to be forgotten; and, to the honour of the Americans, and for the interest of the civilized world, let their conduct and the result be ever in view!" "Surely," continued Sir Robert, "Mr Mackenzie, who has dragged the people into insurrection, may say, 'I acted on the authority of the honourable member for Kilkenny; visit not therefore this delusion and its consequences upon me!'"

An amendment to the address was rejected by 188 against 28. On the following day the new bill was presented to the House of Commons by Lord John Russell. The leading object of it, as stated by him, was to enable the governor-general and council (that council not to be limited in number, but of which five might be a quorum), on the motion of the governor, to pass any laws which might be considered necessary during the present suspension of the legislature of the province. In addition to these means for suppressing the insurrection, the governor-general would be authorized to grant a general amnesty. The powers conferred by the bill were to be vested in Sir John Colborne till the arrival of Lord Durham. With respect to the future government of the province, it was the intention of ministers that the governor-general should be invested with power to convene a certain number of persons—namely, three from the legislative councils of each of the two provinces, and ten "representatives" from each—to form a council to concert with the governor-general as to the measures which might be deemed advisable for the adjustment of the affairs of the two provinces. This was a power that might be given by the prerogative of the crown alone. The persons to be named from the legislative councils would be chosen by the governor-general; while those "who were to be convened having a representative character" might of course be taken from the legislative assembly; but as in Lower Canada it was almost impossible that the assembly could be brought to act beneficially, it would be competent to the governor-general, both in the upper and lower province, to hold elections for persons, amounting to twenty in the whole, to concert with him upon the general state of affairs.

In the House of Lords there had been some preliminary skirmishing about Canadian affairs. The Duke of Wellington, after expressing his hope that ministers would call upon parliament for the means of bringing the mad contest to a certain and speedy conclusion, let drop one of his concise and not-to-be-forgotten oracles—"A great country like England can have no such

thing as a little war." Lord Glenelg moved an appropriate address to the queen. His lordship considered that the main cause of the disturbances which prevailed in Lower Canada might be found in the division of the two races which inhabited the province—a division which circumstances had not mellowed, but embittered. Lord Brougham accused ministers of weakness and vacillation, and delivered a speech which, in many points of oratory, has never been surpassed. He called attention to the position of Lord Gosford, sent to the advanced posts of our empire, without instructions, unprovided with any but the ordinary force of the colony, to meet a crisis brought on by his employers' His lordship directed the most glowing invective against the ministerial policy which had provoked the Canadians, and yet adopted no step by way of precaution against the inevitable effect of the outrage offered He exclaimed—"Tyranny and oppression have here appeared stripped of their instinctive apprehension, and habitual circumspection. Compared with the conduct which we are now called on to contemplate, the most vacillating and imbecile, the most inconsistent and impotent rulers rise into some station commanding respect — King John, and Richard Cromwell himself, become wise, politic, and vigorous princes."

The address was agreed to.

In the commons the Canada bill was subjected to some important amendments, and it was eventually carried through that house by immense majorities on the 29th of January It was coercive and severe enough After coquetting with insurrection, ministers now seemed determined to show no mercy to the insurgents. In the upper house the Duke of Wellington dwelt on the hardship to Upper Canada of bringing that tranquil and well-affected province within the operations of the bill. On the 8th of February the bill came on to be read for the third time. It was opposed by Lord Ellenborough, Lord Brougham, and Lord Fitzwilliam. Lord Ashburton animadverted on the rapid and seemingly capricious manner in which the governors succeeded each other in the Canadas Sir John Colborne had been removed to make way for Sir Francis Head, Sir Francis Head for Sir George Arthur; and now Sir George Arthur must retire before the supreme authority of Lord Durham. The third reading was carried, and the royal assent was given to the bill. Its most important provisions were in substance the following.—The constitution of Lower Canada was suspended till November, 1840. Her majesty in council was empowered to constitute a special council, and to appoint or authorize the governor to appoint such and so many special councillors as she might think proper. It was declared that until November, 1840, it should be lawful for the governor, with the consent and advice of the majority of the said councillors convened for the purpose, to make such laws or ordinances for the peace, welfare, and good government of Lower Canada, as the legislature of that province, at the time of passing the act, was empowered to make; and that all laws or ordinances so made, subject to the provisions thereinafter contained for disallowance thereof by her majesty, should have the like force and effect as laws passed before the passing of the act by the legislative bodies. The governor was to have the initiative of all measures proposed to the council, five of whom were required for a quorum.

Then followed certain restrictive provisoes before noticed.

It was then directed that a copy of every such law or ordinance be transmitted to the home government, and her majesty was empowered by an order in council at any time within two years from the receipt thereof, to disallow the same

Irish affairs, or rather Irish orations, again occupied a disproportionate time in parliament. The Hibernian violence infected other members. On the 6th of December the House of Commons was turned into a bear-garden On the following evening Mr. Abercromby, the speaker, after commenting in a tone of temperate rebuke on the insubordination of the house, solemnly declared that he would resign if such disgraceful scenes were repeated

Mr. O'Connell, after a fearful tirade of abuse, charged some Tory committees of the House with having been guilty of "foul perjury" Lord Maidstone moved that he should be reprimanded in his place by the speaker A turbulent discussion ensued, and ended in the adjournment of the house. On the following day the debate was resumed. Upon a division the numbers were, for the reprimand 226, against it 197. As had been the case on more than one recent occasion, ministers were found voting with the minority. They pretended that a simple reprimand was not punishment enough—but they assuredly never thought of moving for any more severe penalty. On this occasion Lord John Russell was guilty of unusual heat and indiscretion. When Lord Maidstone first announced his intention of calling the great Irish agitator to account, he (Lord John) gave notice that, should that complaint be entertained by the house, he would bring forward on the same day an allegation of perjury made by the Bishop of Exeter, against certain members of the house.[1] This

[1] The obnoxious passage occurred in a charge to the clergy delivered by Dr. Philpot, the Bishop of Exeter, in 1836. He

strange and inconsiderate menace entangled his lordship in considerable difficulties. A "Freemen and Parliamentary Electors Bill," which had dropped in the preceding session, was re-introduced before the Christmas recess. It had two objects—the one to relieve householders entitled to the elective franchise, by extending the time fixed by the reform bill for payment of their rates and taxes from April to October; the other, to remove the stamp-duty payable by freemen on their admission The former branch of the bill met with considerable opposition on the conservative side of the house. In committee, Mr Thomas Duncombe moved an amendment which, in effect, would have altogether annulled the rate-paying clauses of the reform bill He was supported by Mr. Warburton, Colonel Evans, and Mr Hume, but his motion was negatived by 206 against 107 The bill itself, as originally framed, was carried through the commons by slender majorities, but was rejected by the lords on the second reading, on the 8th of March. The House of Commons, nevertheless, passed another bill, conceding the desired relief to freemen alone, but the session closed before the lords could take it into consideration.

Mr. Grote made his annual motion for vote by ballot, and was out-voted by 315 to 198 It was noticeable that, although four cabinet ministers voted with Lord John Russell against Mr. Grote, yet Mr Powlett Thompson, president of the board of trade, the two attorneys-general, the lord-advocate, Sir George Grey, colonial under-secretary, Sir Henry Parnell, treasurer of the ordnance, Mr J Parker, a lord of the treasury, and Mr E J Stanley, the very *whipper-in* of the Whigs, absented themselves from the division, while Mr. Bernal, chairman of committees, Mr Robert Steuart, a lord of the treasury, and Sir Hussey Vivian, master-general of the ordnance, voted for Mr Grote against ministers. In consequence of this, and of other indications, rumours of ministerial discords and resignations became very current.

Mr. Slaney moved for leave to introduce a bill for the protection of voters, by making it a misdemeanour, with a summary process before magistrates, for any landlord, customer, master, or other person to interfere with the independent exercise of the elective franchise. The motion was carried in a thin house by a majority of more than two to one: and there the matter rested.

A bill was introduced by Mr. Warburton, and passed before the session closed, which had for its object to extend to personal property the privilege hitherto confined to real property, of conferring a qualification for parliament. By this enactment an estate for life, or a term of years, of which thirteen shall be unexpired at the time of election, or personal estate and effects of any kind, within the United Kingdom, or the interest of dividends of such, may constitute the whole or part of the annual sum required to qualify a member. In the amount (£300 per annum) no alteration was made The members for universities, and the eldest sons of peers, and of persons qualified to be knights of the shire, were, as matter of course, excluded from the scope of this statute

The events which had taken place in Canada had drawn down severe criticism upon Lord Glenelg (formerly Mr C Grant), the colonial secretary. Sir W Molesworth moved for an address to the queen, declaring that her majesty's present secretary for the colonies did not enjoy the confidence of the House of Commons or of the country, &c Lord Palmerston said this was an attack, not upon Lord Glenelg alone, but upon the whole government. Lord Sandon moved as an amendment that an address should be presented to the queen, expressing the regret of the house at the treasonable movements in Canada, and their determination to support her in the suppression of the revolt, and the establishment of a sound constitution for those colonies; but representing also the opinion of the house that the present evil state of things in Canada was mainly owing to the want of foresight and energy, and to the ambiguous, dilatory, and irresolute course of her majesty's ministers. The debate occupied two nights, and, on a division, Lord Sandon's motion was negatived, but by a majority for ministers of only twenty-nine, the numbers being 316 to 287.

The anti-slavery agitation had not been set at rest by the abolition bill. Complaints were raised against the negro-apprenticeship system, and a cry was made for the immediate admission of the emancipated slaves into all the rights of free labourers Public meetings and petitions were put very actively in operation. Lord Brougham opened the parliamentary discussion on the 29th of June, and before the session closed there was passed "An act to amend the act for the abolition of slavery," containing various provisions giving further protection to the negro-apprentices, and enforcing such regulations of the former act as had been disregarded by the planters.

There were very long and very warm debates on the Irish poor-law bill. Mr. O'Connell violently opposed the measure. He declared that he was opposed to the introduction of any poor-laws whatsoever into Ireland. After various

said, in reference to the Irish temporalities bill, "In the discussion of the measure in parliament, I felt it my duty to rest my resistance to it on this point—to denounce as treachery, aggravated by perjury, such an exercise of rights acquired under an oath not to weaken or disturb the Protestant religion"

amendments, the bill, however, was carried through both houses. The Irish municipal corporations bill, having struggled with difficulty through the commons, was so altered in the lords, particularly by an amendment of Lord Lyndhurst's, that it came to a dead stop The amendments were altered in the commons; a useless conference was held between the two houses, and finally the commons rejected their lordships' amendments. The Irish tithes commutation bill was finally carried during the session, but without the appropriation clause, which ministers had abandoned In the course of the debates on this subject, Sir Robert Peel frankly acknowledged that he was quite ready to support a moderate reform of the established Anglican church in Ireland. Lord Brougham censured ministers for abandoning the appropriation clause, which, if properly carried into effect, might have greatly increased the means of popular education in Ireland

In the course of a debate on the customary annual grant of £8928 to the Irish Catholic college of Maynooth, Lord Morpeth made the first allusion in parliament to the new Oxford school of divinity which we now denominate Puseyism He said that these doctrines, which of late had become very fashionable at Oxford, had a strong savour of Romanism; and he read some extracts from a book which proceeded from that university, entitled the *Remains of the Rev R H. Froude*, and which certainly contained much that was averse to Protestantism.

The policy of the government with respect to Spain was once more severely criticised. Colonel Evans, who had been recently appointed a knight commander of the Bath, was present in the house to vindicate his own conduct, and the conduct of his legion. He extenuated much that had been set down in malice. or carelessness, or sheer ignorance, but he could not disguise the facts that the expedition had been a calamitous failure, and that great and cruel wrong had been done to the brave people of the Biscayan provinces Sir Henry Hardinge contended that Sir De Lacy Evans had by no means made out his case, and he proceeded to quote passages from various books and documents published by officers who had served in the legion, all tending to corroborate the prevailing opinion on the subject, and to show that the dreadful sufferings of that corps were of the most revolting nature, and that both the insubordination of the legion, as well as the punishments it provoked, were excessive.

In the upper house the quadruple treaty, and the constructions put upon it by ministers, were censured by the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, the Earl of Aberdeen, and others. It was contended that that treaty did not oblige us to blockade the coast of Spain as we had been doing. "Ministers," said the duke, "ought to explain what they mean by the obligations of the treaty." The premier, Lord Melbourne, was obliged to confess that it was in no respects a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with the Queen of Spain against the rest of the world—that any power had a right to assist Don Carlos. But, he added, whether the exercise of such right would lead to a war was another question.

Ministers had conceived a prejudice against our volunteer yeomanry cavalry This force had been reorganized in 1831, and at that period it consisted of 18,330 men; it was this year reduced by government by the amount of 4709 men This step excited a good deal of dissatisfaction, more especially in the rural districts. Sir Robert Peel censured the reduction of this truly national and inexpensive force. He denied that the yeomanry would be useless in time of war It was true they could not garrison towns. But was there no danger of collision with the people at such a period? One of the most valuable points in this force was, that so long as it continued in existence, there was a dormant spirit in being, which might at any moment be called into activity for the protection of property On the one hand, the loyal enjoyed a consciousness of strength and security, on the other, there was a dread of force, which awed the turbulent into peace. With respect to the inconvenience of summoning the vicinage in aid of the civil power, he had heard it alleged with great surprise, for it was one of the Saxon principles of the British constitution to impose on the vicinage the maintenance of the public peace

Lord John Russell spoke of promoting a far more efficient and constitutional force—a good militia, but he did nothing in this direction, and when the Whigs left office, little more remained of our old militia than a scarcely visible staff.

A bill was carried through both houses for the abolition of arrests for debts on mesne process. Mr Serjeant Talfourd introduced a bill for extending the duration of copyrights to authors; but it met with no success. An international copyright bill was, however, passed during the session. It empowers her majesty in council to direct that the authors of books published abroad shall have a copyright here, provided there be a reciprocal protection in favour of this country, in the state in which such publications first make their appearance.

A bill was brought in by Lord Denman, the lord chief-justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, which aimed at a considerable alteration in the practice of administering oaths in courts of justice. It was divided into two parts, the first being framed with a view to declare and restore

the common law of England, which allows any person who offers to speak the truth, according to the form binding on his conscience, to be admitted as a witness Such an enactment was

LORD DENMAN —From a portrait by E U Eddis

rendered necessary by reason of certain difficulties which existed in Ireland, in the case of Presbyterians, who are sworn after a form of their own, and whose testimony could not on that account, according to the construction put upon a certain Irish statute passed in 1783, on some occasions be received in a court of justice. The noble and learned lord said, that the second and more important part of his bill, which provided that persons believing an oath to be unlawful, should be permitted to make affirmation in lieu thereof, was founded on a similar principle with the first. If it were not fit to impose on a witness an oath in a form which he thought unlawful, or which he did not consider to be binding, it was equally wrong and impolitic to impose any at all upon an individual whose conscience would not permit him to be sworn. The best principle was, in the learned lord's opinion, to elicit the truth in the form the most binding upon the consciences of the witnesses, and he appealed to the example of the Quakers and Moravians, whose affirmation was found by experience to answer all the purposes of the most solemn oath. He then presented a petition from certain inhabitants of London, who, though neither Quakers nor Moravians, thought oaths opposed to their duties as Christians, and in some cases had suffered severe hardships in consequence of their conscientious scruples.

The House of Lords, however, was not prepared to sanction so sweeping an innovation as would be implied in the entire abolition of the sanction of the oath; and after an endeavour upon the part of Lord Denman to modify his measure, with a view to diminish the prevailing objections, the bill was lost by a majority of thirty-two to sixteen.

The first clause of the bill was afterwards embodied in a separate statute, and passed the legislature in the course of the session. And the principle of the second clause was, by another act, extended to persons who *had been* Quakers or Moravians, though they might have since seceded from those sects

Several complaints were made in the House of Lords during the session respecting the mode pursued by the lord-chancellor in the nomination of magistrates in England and Scotland It was more than insinuated that the noble and learned lord had no other than political motives for many of his appointments, and considerable dissatisfaction was the result amongst the conservative lords-lieutenants of counties Being attacked on this point by Lords Harewood and Warwick, the chancellor, Lord Cottenham, defended himself with great spirit He said he fully approved of the old-established custom of the lord-chancellors consulting the lords-lieutenants with respect to appointments to the magistracy, but that he could not consent to be told that he was not to exercise his own discretion, or that he was to put the great seal to any list that might be forwarded to him. But his lordship could not disprove the fact that he had almost invariably preferred Whig to Tory magistrates—even as the Tories when in power had preferred men of their own party to Whigs

The new poor laws again came under discussion in the House of Commons, but ministers would allow of no mitigation to their severity

Lord John Russell moved the re-appointment of a committee on church lands He estimated the net revenue of the Church of England at £3,439,767, and calculated that this income would admit of a considerable increase He denied that he had any intention of subtracting from this fund for education of the people, or for any other lay purpose. Mr Liddell observed, "that government had been driven on to this mischievous question, which would unsettle men's minds and properties, by the clamour of persons strongly their supporters, but little distinguished as friends of the church," and he moved two sweeping amendments, the latter of which was lost only by a majority of eleven, the numbers being, *ayes* 254, *noes* 265. And here, for the present, the matter rested.

Reprobating any *compulsory* system, Lord Brougham addressed himself to the subject of an improved national, universal education, and moved two bills, by the provisions of which he hoped to remove the jealousies and antipathies

of the dissenters. One of the bills (both were conceived in a fair, impartial, enlightened spirit) was read a first time, but did not again come under the consideration of parliament during this session.

The appointment of Lord Durham, and that nobleman's conduct in Canada, had been very far indeed from giving universal satisfaction. Complaints were raised in parliament against the enormous expenses of his mission, and, in defending his lordship, ministers were well-nigh left in a minority. But the most terrible castigation inflicted on ministers and their nominee was inflicted in a single speech by Lord Brougham.

The minor proceedings in parliament, and an infinitude of debates, unattended by any important result, must be passed over in total silence

On the 28th of June, the coronation of the young queen took place, amidst universal rejoicing. London had never witnessed so gay a sight, or seen so many approving happy faces The country had half emptied itself into the capital, the multitude assembled all along the line of procession, from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey, was countless, yet was there no disorder, no accidents, and, on that day, even the pickpockets seemed to have suspended their operations, for fewer offences than ordinary came within the cognizance of the police. Next to her majesty and the Duke of Wellington, the personage most cheered by the English people was the duke's old adversary, Marshal Soult, who had been sent over by Louis Philippe, as ambassador extraordinary, to attend the coronation

About a month before the coronation, some astounding and almost incredible occurrences took place in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, where a madman had set himself up as a saint and prophet, and more John Nicholls Thom, a respectable yeoman and maltster and corn-factor of Cornwall, had become deranged in his intellect. Some years ago he had abruptly left his home, and made his appearance in the county of Kent, under the style and title of Sir William Courtenay, Knight of Malta He had a tall advantageous person, which he set off by a rich and unusual costume; his countenance was strikingly handsome; he had received a tolerable education, and his insanity and frenzy made him eloquent. He soon became famous among the men of Kent, the populace, attracted at first by his romantic appearance, flocked around him with enthusiasm, and even the superior classes of society furnished him occasionally with partizans. In the year 1833, he became a candidate for the representation of the city of Canterbury, and actually found plenty of people mad enough, or thoughtless enough to support him, for he polled 350 votes on the conservative interest. Shortly after this he was convicted of perjury, and sentenced to six years' transportation. Thom re-appeared in Kent, in the spring of the present year (1838), where his conduct was far more extravagant than before; and the infatuation of the peasantry kept pace with it. To his political pretensions he now added others of a religious character; and his claims to a divine mission, and even to divine attributes, were implicitly recognized by some of the poor Kentish boors, so that he was acknowledged as another Messiah; and to the farm-labourers he made very inflammatory speeches, representing to them that they were oppressed by the laws in general, but more particularly by the new poor law. He told them that if they would place themselves under his command he would soon be king of Kent, and they should sit on his right hand on the day of his coronation. A farmer having had his men seduced from their employment, at this time made an application for their apprehension, and a constable of the name of Mears, assisted by two others, proceeded on Thursday morning (the 31st) to execute his mission. After a little parley, Courtenay inquired which was the constable, and on Mears replying that he was, he immediately produced a pistol, and shot him, after which he inflicted a wound upon him with a dagger, and then with the assistance of some of the excited labourers, he threw the body into a ditch The two other constables rode hastily back to the magistrates, who deemed it expedient to send off to Canterbury for military aid A party of soldiers soon arrived, accompanied by several magistrates But by this time the whole body of rioters had retreated into the depths of Bossenden Wood, where the pseudo-prophet was shouting, and encouraging his followers to behave like men On perceiving the soldiers coming up through the glades, he advanced to meet them, and deliberately shot the commanding officer, Lieutenant Bennett, of the 45th regiment, who was a few paces in advance of his party; whereupon the soldiers fired and killed his murderer. As Thom fell to the earth, he exclaimed —"I have Jesus in my heart!" In a few seconds ten lives were lost, and several of the rioters badly wounded. After the maniac had fallen, a woman was seen kneeling over him, washing his face, and endeavouring to pour water through his hard-closed lips. She said she had followed him with a pail of water, because he had told her, that if he fell, and she put water between his lips, he should arise again in a month. One of the prisoners told Major Armstrong, that they would have attacked 2000 soldiers, having been persuaded by the prophet that, while following him, they could not be shot. Some of his followers affirmed that they had seen the prophet shoot at a star in the heavens and hit it,

and that they had seen the star fall plump into the sea. He had told them that he had come to earth on a cloud, and that on a cloud he should some day be removed from them.

Dense must have been the cloud of ignorance which overhung these fair, rural districts, scarcely fifty miles from our capital, and barely four from Canterbury, the metropolis of the Anglican church! The delusion of those Kentish peasants was so great that for some time after the poor madman's death and burial, they expected to see him rise again and place himself at their head. Further tumults were apprehended, but none took place. The peasants retired quietly to their wonted labours, and soon began to wonder why they had quitted them. It is said, however, that even now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, a few enthusiasts make pilgrimage to the green sward in Herne-hill Churchyard which covers the mortal remains of their reputed saint

A few years earlier the case might have been otherwise, but now judge and jury shrank from visiting the temporary insanity of the poor boors with condign punishment Two were transported for life, one was transported for ten years, and six were sentenced to be imprisoned for one year with hard labour and one month's solitary confinement.

The great event of the year was the entire suppression of the unjustifiable, mad insurrection in Canada. The resolutions passed by the British parliament in reference to Canadian affairs during the preceding year brought matters to a crisis, and in Lower Canada the colonists broke out into open revolt For the purpose of dispersing the insurgents and arresting their leaders, the government authorities sent Colonel Gore with a strong military force to the villages of St. Denis and St Charles, both on the right bank of the Richelieu, where they were collected; but on arriving at St. Denis on the morning of the 23d of November, after a very fatiguing march of twelve hours, the colonel found the revolters, to the number of 1500, advantageously posted in the village, with a large stone house strongly fortified at the entrance, and other formidable defences. He attacked them, but was met with such a stout resistance that he was compelled to retire, with a loss of sixteen men in killed and wounded, and a field-piece, the only cannon he had brought along with him. Two days after, Lieutenant-colonel Wetherell attacked St. Charles, only seven miles distant from St. Denis, and succeeded in burning the village, and putting its defenders to the rout, upon which, the successful rebels at St. Denis abandoned their position, and fled with their compatriots into the United States, leaving their bravest leader, Wolfred Nelson, a prisoner. These successes enabled Sir John Colborne, the British commander-in-chief, to march his whole disposable force against the county of the Two Mountains, on the north of the Ottawa, where the disaffection had commenced, and was in greatest force and violence On the 14th of December he reached the fortified village of St. Eustache, on the left bank of the Ottawa, upon which the greater part of the rebels fled; but 400 fortified themselves in the church and adjoining buildings, and defended them against the whole British force, until both church and village were set on fire, when they retreated, after losing more than half their number in killed, wounded, and prisoners Awed by this defeat, the rebellious *habitans* of that district made an unconditional surrender, and were allowed to escape unpunished, notwithstanding the injuries they had inflicted upon the British residents. Of the chief leaders of this unfortunate outbreak, four were killed, eight were taken, and nine escaped, among whom were Mr. Papineau, the principal author of the mischief, who fled to New York as soon as hostilities commenced

This rising in Lower Canada had been the signal of revolt in the upper province, where the discontented were summoned to action by a manifesto in which the wildest proclamations of the old Puritans of England were outdone It told the Canadians that they had been hood winked by Baal's ministers, and tampered with by wolves in sheep's clothing, and it summoned them in the name of the Lord of hosts to buckle on their armour, and go forth to make the crooked paths straight, and the rough places plain Instead of suppressing this rebellion at the outset, the dangerous plan of Sir Francis Head, the governor, was, to allow it to gather to a height and then crush it, and for this purpose, he had cleared the province both of soldiers and warlike munitions, thereby inviting the enemy's approach. They fell into the trap, and on the 4th of December (1837) Toronto was suddenly invested by a body of armed rebels, numbering, as was supposed, about 3000, commanded by M'Kenzie, the editor of a republican newspaper, Van Egmont, a Bonapartean officer, Gibson, a land-surveyor, Lount, a blacksmith, and others of a similar stamp. But the militia were speedily assembled, the townhall put in a state of defence, and the rebels attacked with such spirit, that they were effectually routed and dispersed.

By these vigorous proceedings the rebellion would have been conclusively extinguished both in Upper and Lower Canada, had not the embers been fanned and kept alive by the "sympathizers" of the United States. M'Kenzie, Papineau, and their associates, who had taken shelter in New York, could find recruits in abundance among the Americans; and on the 13th of De-

cember, several hundreds of their citizens, under the command of a certain Mr. Van Rensselear, took possession of the small wooded island called Navy Island,[1] in the Niagara river, about three miles above the falls, and within the territory of Canada, where they proceeded to fortify themselves, and open their fire upon the Canadian shore, which was only 600 yards distant. As the communication of this hostile garrison with the mainland was kept up by a small steamer, called the *Caroline*, Colonel M'Nab, who was appointed to keep watch upon Navy Island, resolved to capture or destroy the vessel, and for this purpose sent a party of militia in boats, who boarded the *Caroline* after a desperate struggle, set it on fire, and sent it in flames down the river, to be extinguished in the mighty waterfall Soon after, Navy Island itself was invested, and the garrison, instead of resisting, hastily and silently decamped on the 14th of January (1838) Thus dislodged from their stronghold, the American sympathizers and Canadian patriots attempted a border warfare, and made incursions across the boundary at various points; but wherever they tried to establish a footing they were dislodged, and as often as they attempted an open fight they were defeated. It was a petty, but most annoying warfare, commenced on the part of the Americans not only without cause, but without formal proclamation; and although their own government endeavoured to suppress these outrages, and sent troops to the frontier for the purpose, these free-born citizens laughed at the prohibitions of their rulers, and continued to carry on this war of brigandage by their own sovereign and irresponsible authority.

While matters were in this state in Canada the ministry at home were not satisfied with Sir Francis Head, who resigned, and was succeeded by Sir George Arthur till the arrival of Lord Durham. When Lord Durham arrived in Canada with his great powers, his object was not to punish but to conciliate these revolutionists His lordship landed at Quebec on the 29th of May, and expressed himself highly gratified "with the more than friendly feeling which seemed to animate the assembled multitude." Like Sir Francis Head and other governors, Lord Durham received contradictory instructions from Lord Glenelg and the colonial office. On the 28th of June his lordship appointed a special Canadian council, which consisted of only five members—namely, Vice-admiral Sir Charles Paget, Major-general Sir James Macdonnell, Colonel Couper, the governor's military secretary and principal aide-de-camp, Colonel Grey, and Mr. Charles Buller. This council thought fit to take proceedings against a few of the most notorious of the rebels. They issued an "ordinance" importing that Wolfred Nelson and seven others therein named, had acknowledged their participation in high treason, and submitted themselves

LORD DURHAM —From a portrait by Sir T Lawrence

to her majesty's pleasure, and that Papineau, with fifteen others also named, had absconded; and that it was enacted, that it should be lawful for her majesty to transport Nelson and his seven associates to Bermuda during pleasure, there to be subjected to such restraints as should be deemed fit; and further, that if any persons of either of the above parties were found at large, or within the province without permission, they should be deemed guilty of high treason, and, on conviction of being so found at large, or coming within the province, should suffer death. The ordinance further empowered the governor for the time being, to grant, whenever he should think fit, permission to all or any of the above-named individuals to return to the province and reside therein. By a special clause, two other classes of persons, respectively implicated in the murders of Lieutenant Weir and of one Joseph Chartrand, were excluded from the operation of the ordinance, and also from the benefit of any amnesty which might hereafter be proclaimed.

The ordinance was accompanied by a proclamation of amnesty, which declared that, with the exception of the persons named therein, and whose cases were thereby provided for, all persons then in custody and charged with high treason, or other offences of a treasonable nature, or who had withdrawn themselves from justice beyond the limits of the province, should, on giving proper security, be at liberty to return to

[1] See plan, vol. iii p 382.

their homes. It also announced that no further proceedings would be taken against any persons, with the above exceptions, on account of political offences theretofore committed.

The gazette which communicated these instruments to the public contained also the following notification:—"We are authorized to state that his excellency the governor-general is actively engaged in the preparation of measures, which will, as soon as it may be possible, be embodied in ordinances of the governor and special council, relative to a jury law, a bankrupt law, municipal institutions for the whole province, general education, the establishment of registry offices, and the equitable commutation of feudal tenures." The exception in point of law was immediately seized upon at home, and objections of a more popular and general nature were raised in parliament, in the country, and by the newspaper press. All this led to Lord Durham's entire overthrow.

Meanwhile the prisoners excepted from the amnesty were deported to Bermuda. Sir Stephen Chapman, the governor of the Bermudas, was at once struck with his own want of legal authority in the matter, and the law-officers of the crown in that colony assured him that he had no power to impose, nor legal means to enforce, any restrictions upon the said prisoners with a view to their detention or otherwise With this opinion before him, Sir Stephen at first doubted whether it would be expedient to allow the prisoners to be even landed on the island. He, however, resolved to receive them, and was content to exact from them their parole of honour, that, during their residence in the Bermudas, they would confine themselves within such limits as might from time to time be prescribed by the authorities But Sir Stephen wrote to implore Lord Durham to remove these troublesome *detenus* as soon as possible, and not to send him any more

The main attack upon Lord Durham was opened in the House of Lords by Lord Brougham, on the 30th of July. His lordship showed how utterly the Canadian ordinance was at variance with the law. No power, he contended, to inflict pains and penalties upon individuals who had not been brought to trial was conferred upon Lord Durham. General laws for the good government of the colony he might make, but subject to an exception which restrained him from altering any act of the British parliament Now the ordinance in question contravened the provisions of the Act 7 Wm. III., "For the trial of treasonable offences." If Lord Durham had the power of dispensing with that act, he might condemn, in every case, as traitors, men against whom no witness had been examined, and into whose alleged offences no inquiry had been made.

Lord Glenelg observed that Lord Durham had been placed in a situation of extreme difficulty. On one side were parties calling for extreme punishments—on the other there was a demand for a complete amnesty. Lord Durham adopted a middle course; and when his decision was announced it gave general satisfaction throughout the colony.

Lord Brougham replied, that whatever the noble earl was desirous of doing in this respect might have been accomplished without a breach of the law. If he had said to parties accused or suspected, "I won't bring you to trial if you conduct yourselves properly," he would have effected his object in a legal manner But instead of doing this, he said, "I shall send you to Bermuda, and if you leave that island I declare you guilty of high treason."

Lord Melbourne, after adverting to the very extraordinary circumstances of the country which Lord Durham was called upon to govern, said it was not fair to the steps they had already taken, or just to the interests of this great empire, to dwell with such rigid criticism upon the first anomaly which might appear upon the face of these measures, or to lay stress upon every disparity which might exist between the practice in Canada and in this country. If the house considered that the powers intrusted to Lord Durham had been imprudently or unjustly exercised, it behoved them unquestionably to interfere. But if they did not see ground for such interference, then, said the noble lord, there is but one other course—to exercise some confidence, to place some reliance, instead of constantly interrupting proceedings by perpetual comments on them, and weakening your own authority by condemnations which it is not intended to follow up All governments, continued Lord Melbourne, had their faults and their errors, their *ingenita vitia;* and, in consequence of party spite, of political attacks one upon another, of personal dislikes and animosities, the enemies of the country, whether foreign or domestic, have always found their greatest assistance and encouragement in the bosom of the legislative assemblies of this country. His lordship gave up all that part of the ordinance which related to Bermuda, as illegal, but he contended that the rest was perfectly legal and warranted by the powers which parliament had conferred on Lord Durham.

Lord Brougham brought in a bill "To make temporary provisions for the government of Lower Canada," and for indemnifying those who had acted under the ordinance This bill in the end became in fact a bill of indemnity The entire ordinance was annulled, and those who had been sent to the Bermudas were set at liberty, and allowed to return to Canada, without suffer-

ing any further penalty, without giving any further security for their good behaviour.

The pride of Lord Durham was wounded, was cut to the quick. Conceiving that ministers had not supported him as they ought to have done, his lordship—without having been recalled, without having obtained leave to return, without so much as giving notice that he would return—hurried down to Quebec, and there embarked for England in the month of November. And for this precipitate conduct some there were who thought that Lord Durham was amenable to impeachment. The only way in which government resented his unprecedented step was to order that the usual salute with which the governors of colonies were welcomed at their return, should not be fired at his landing. He in consequence made his wife resign her place in the queen's household.

CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D 1838—1841.

VICTORIA.

Radicalism succeeded by chartism—Origin and causes of chartism—Chartist meetings—Meeting on Kersal Moor—Inflammatory harangue of the principal speaker—Weakness and unpopularity of the ministry—Opening of parliament—The queen's speech—Canada affairs—Duke of Wellington's opinion of them—Lord Melbourne's statement on the corn laws—Lord Brougham's declarations on the Afghan war—Assassination of the Earl of Norbury—Motions on Irish affairs—Discontent of the Jamaica planters—Mr. Labouchere's bill for Jamaica—It is opposed by Sir Robert Peel—Sir Robert's apology for the discontented of Jamaica—His dissuasion of violent measures—Parliamentary discussion of the Jamaica bill—It is lost by a small minority—The Melbourne cabinet resigns—Sir Robert Peel commissioned to form a new ministry—His failure—His explanation of the causes—Ministerial plan of national education proposed—Its unpopularity with churchmen and dissenters—Royal message on the affairs of Canada—A new Jamaica bill passed—Portuguese slave-trade—Statements in parliament regarding it—Bill for its suppression rejected—Lord Brougham's proposal for a new bill agreed to—It is produced and passed—Motion for vote by ballot rejected—Establishment of the uniform penny postage—Parliament prorogued—Changes in the cabinet—Chartist insurrection in Monmouth—Attack of the chartists on Newport—They are defeated—Troubles in Afghanistan and China—The queen's marriage—Provision for Prince Albert decreed by parliament—Motion for a vote of want of confidence in ministers—Statement of their injudicious policy—The motion defeated by a small majority—Other parliamentary proceedings—Parliament prorogued.

A NEW political element, under the name of Chartism, was now to enter upon the scene. Great as were the concessions of the reform bill to the popular demands, they had not satisfied the general craving, and those who are, in modern phrase, termed the "masses," and who numerically constitute the bulk of the nation, felt as if their wants and their claims had been overlooked. They alleged that the suffrage had not been sufficiently extended, the durations of parliament shortened, the voters protected from the pressure of undue influence, and their representatives placed under proper control. The reform was not a radical one, and could not be such, unless there were annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and dutiful representatives, who should be paid a daily wage like themselves, and be the implicit mouth-pieces of their constituents, and without such parliaments, they declared it impossible that the will of the nation could be sufficiently expressed, or its collective interests promoted. These views, also, were not confined to one particular class, but comprised the disappointed and discontented of all ranks and parties, who found at least some one point in the people's charter upon which to take their stand. Thus, besides comprising the old radical reformers, who felt that their progress had been arrested mid-way, there were Tory chartists in abundance who hated the new poor law, with its workhouses, its stinted diet, and separation of parents and children, and who were opposed to a repeal of the corn laws, which they regarded as the best check upon the despotism of the mill-owners, and the preponderance of the manufacturing over the agricultural interests. The same ranks comprised indifferently the men who thought that the reform had gone too far and that it had not gone far enough. To these might be added the destitute peasantry by the thousand, who felt that, be the government what it might, they were still in starvation, and still consigned to neglect; and factory operatives, and the miners of our collieries, who squandered their weekly wages by the week, and had nothing in reserve when an evil day arrived. Such was the spirit which had been gathering and growing among the people since the passing of the reform bill,

but which, not until the present year (1838), was publicly recognized under the name of Chartism.

It was in autumn that this spirit began to display itself among the working classes of the manufacturing districts. The great political evil which they felt was starvation, and they had been taught that this could only be removed by universal suffrage and the other four points of the "people's charter," which was now drawn up and put in circulation. Their favourite form of meeting was in the open air, and at night by torchlight, by which such an aspect of mystery was imparted to the occasion as allured the weak and daunted the apprehensive. The doctrines usually propounded at their meetings can be best understood from a specimen of those held forth at a monster meeting which took place at Kersal Moor, near Manchester, where the numbers assembled did not fall short of 200,000 Mr Fielden, the member for Oldham, was called to the chair, while the principal speaker was Mr Stephens, a dissenting clergyman. "The principle of the people's charter," said this reverend orator, "was the right of every man that breathed God's free air, or trod God's free earth, to have his home and his hearth, and to have happiness to himself, his wife, and his children, as securely guaranteed to him as they are to every other man whom the Almighty has created. The question of universal suffrage," he added, "was after all a *knife and fork* question. If any man asked him what he meant by universal suffrage, he would tell him, he meant to say that every working man in the land had a right to have a good coat and hat, a good roof over his head, a good dinner upon his table, no more work than would keep him in health, and as much wages as would keep him in plenty, and the enjoyment of those pleasures of life which a reasonable man could desire" Whatever might be thought of these principles in the abstract, there could be no doubt of the interpretation they would receive from a fierce, lawless, and hungry mob And the hearers were not left in ignorance of the manner in which such doctrines should be enforced. "I am speaking," he continued, "to hundreds of thousands, three out of four of whom have, in all likelihood, left their arms at home to-day And why have they left them at home? Because you were afraid to bring them. [Here the speaker was interrupted by cries of "No."] No! why then have you left them behind you? Why? because the borough-reeve and constables of Manchester have declared that they repose the fullest confidence in the peaceable and loyal character of the people. If they had not made that declaration, I should have come myself armed to this meeting; I should have brought 10,000 armed men with me; I should have moved, had there been a necessity for it, an adjournment of this meeting for a month, and I should have exhorted every man in the country capable of bearing arms, to flock to his standard, and under it, to fight the battles of the constitution."

Such belligerent sentiments as these, when uttered by a minister of religion, were not likely to be modified by secular orators; and accordingly at the various meetings, which became more numerous during the following year, the people came to the rendezvous armed with muskets, stakes, and bludgeons, ready alike to resist the royal troops should they assail them, or to become themselves the assailants, and establish their doctrines by physical force, if such should be thought necessary by their leaders and advisers Musters for military discipline were frequent, in which the workmen at night were divided into parties, each under the command of a captain, put through the regular evolutions, and informed that all this marching and countermarching was designed for something very different from mere amusement and empty parade. Warlike tracts and broadsheets were also sent forth upon the art of street warfare in towns, in which it was shown how a mob armed with pikes, and standing shoulder to shoulder, would be an equal match for the regular infantry, and able to drive any amount of cavalry before them. The general impression among them was, that forbearance and petition were useless, that government had conceded its utmost and would grant nothing further, and that the "five points of the charter" must be established, not in a faithless House of Commons, but on the field of battle, and through the death-struggle of a civil war. And besides these demonstrations by which the insubordination and violence of the former radicalisms were outdone, a new mode of annoyance was devised by these chartists, either to show their contempt of religion or hostility to the Established church. this was, to march in large bodies, and with an air of military bravado, to the parish church, and take possession of the pews, to the exclusion of the regular congregation, while in several cases they previously announced their purpose to the clergyman, and intimated to him the text from which it was their will that he should preach to them.

While this formidable appearance of chartism at the beginning of the year 1839 was enough to perplex the ministry, another subject of trouble was the combination of the manufacturing interest against the corn laws, and the great struggle upon the subject which was evidently at hand. Having failed also to secure the confidence of the adverse party, and lost that of their own, the shifts to which the ministers had re-

course in their unpopularity only made their cause more unpopular, and their tenure of office more precarious. They endeavoured to identify the youthful sovereign with their cause; and it was noticed with general reprobation, that the premier was incessant in his attendance upon the queen, and had all but established himself as a regular inmate of the royal dwelling Another unfortunate step by which the ministry endeavoured to strengthen themselves, was their close alliance with O'Connell; for although this union secured for them the support of the Irish representation, the agitator and his party were so unpopular both in England and Scotland, that the price for such uncertain support was too great for the sacrifice, as they thereby lost the confidence of the Protestant community. It was by these Irish members that the ministerial majorities had for some time been effected, and such a circumstance could not fail to wound alike the national and religious spirit of England and Scotland. Chartist insurrections, corn-law agitations, and Protestant jealousies, were now the predominant subjects of popular feeling, as well as parliamentary debate, and they continued to pervade the course of public events until time, conciliation, and new interests had produced their usual effects For the present, however, the Whig government was weak and tottering, and the public tranquillity interrupted.

Such was the state of government and the nation at large when the parliament met on the 6th of February, 1839, and was opened by the queen in person After announcing our relationships with foreign countries, and the prospect of peace which continued uninterrupted, our troubles in North America were thus alluded to. "I have to acquaint you, with deep concern, that the province of Lower Canada has again been disturbed by insurrection, and that hostile incursions have been made into Upper Canada by certain lawless inhabitants of the United States of North America.

"These violations of the public peace have been promptly suppressed by the valour of my troops, and the loyalty of my Canadian subjects.

"The president of the United States has called upon the citizens of the Union, to abstain from proceedings so incompatible with the friendly relations which subsist between Great Britain and the United States."

In adverting to the more imminent but more delicate subject of our internal troubles, the speech thus touched upon them: "I have observed with pain the persevering efforts which have been made in some parts of the country, to excite my subjects to disobedience and resistance to the law, and to recommend dangerous and illegal practices. For the counteraction of all such designs, I depend upon the efficacy of the law, which it will be my duty to enforce upon the good sense and right disposition of my people, upon their attachment to the principles of justice, and their abhorrence of violence and disorder."

Before the commencement of the debate upon the address in the House of Lords, and even before the speech had been read, Lord Durham asked the premier when he intended to lay upon the table that information respecting the affairs of Canada which was referred to in her majesty's speech. Lord Melbourne replied that it would be produced as soon as ministers had an opportunity of examining its contents This intimation of delay, however short, gave great dissatisfaction to Lord Durham; and means were presently found for printing and publishing his famous "report," which was given in its original state, unmutilated by official caution

In the debate on the address, the Duke of Wellington said that, although hundreds after hundreds of the persons who assailed the loyal portion of the Canadian population had been captured, so ineffectual seemed the laws, that there had been no punishment, and no abatement put to the outrages "Unless vigorous steps are speedily taken," said his grace, "you will find your province of Upper Canada treated much as Texas has been!" He entreated government to consider this as a great national war; to remember that it involved the highest national interests, to remember that it behoved them to proceed on a large scale of action if they desired to bring it to a safe and satisfactory conclusion. Without entertaining any doubt of the intentions of the president of the United States, his grace could not but feel regret when he saw American citizens coming armed into our territories, armed, too, with cannon belonging to the United States, nor could he avoid feeling astonishment when he was assured that it was out of the power of the American government to prevent such transactions.

The corn laws were prematurely forced into debate. Lord Melbourne stated that these laws had been, ever since the formation of the present government, an entirely open question, a question on which the members of the administration had formed distinct opinions. "Unquestionably," said he, "the majority of these gentlemen are favourable to a change in the present system; but I am not willing to go into any debate on the corn laws now; I strongly wish to avoid it; but I have no reluctance to state my individual opinion on the subject: that opinion is, that though I am not prepared to pledge or bind myself to the maintenance of the present system as the best possible, I am not, at the same time,

prepared, either as a member of parliament or as a member of the government, to pledge myself, from any information which I have, to an alteration of the law as it stands."

In the preceding year, which had witnessed insurrection and civil war in Canada, an Anglo-Indian army had been marched into the country of the Afghans, and a struggle had been commenced with the Chinese. Lord Brougham, having some anticipations of the manner in which the Afghanistan war would terminate, called the attention of parliament to the extensive operations of this war. His lordship said that because the King of Persia had done something that our East India statesmen did not like, they must, forsooth, march an army to dethrone the King of Cabool. "Of these Afghan kings he would say nothing. It would not be possible to say much good of any of them. But what kind of man were we now about to set up? A pretender—a mendicant pensioner on our charity—a man twice dethroned because he was hateful to his people in Cabool! The only reason for preferring him to Dost Mohammed, now on the throne, was, that the one was the legitimate and the other only the popular sovereign, whom the people preferred. Very different was our policy on this side of the Cape of Good Hope, where men recognized particular sovereigns because they happened to be the choice of the people, while they countenanced the rejection of others, who, possessing a legitimate character, were expelled by their subjects Our empire in India was founded on opinion. He hoped sincerely that this opinion would not now be weakened by its being found that we had marched six hundred miles to the north-west of India on a speculation of dethroning one king and putting another in his room"

In the month of February a great number of petitions began to appear, in either house, against the continuance of the corn laws. Lord Brougham moved that they should "be referred to a committee of the whole house, and that evidence be heard at the bar" The motion was opposed by Lord Melbourne and the Duke of Wellington, and was negatived without a division. A similar motion was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Villiers, but this was rejected by a large majority Several members of the government voted with Mr. Villiers on this question.

An event had occurred on the first day of this year, which compelled the attention of parliament to the troubled condition of Ireland. The Earl of Norbury, while walking with his steward in the shrubbery near his own house at Kilbeggan, in the county of Meath, suddenly fell down, mortally wounded by a shot that was fired by some assassin from behind a hedge. This amiable nobleman had not only kept aloof from the political questions of the day, but was distinguished by his acts of kindness and charity to persons of every creed and party, and notwithstanding the most active search, and large rewards offered by government for the apprehension of the murderer, the culprit and the cause of the crime remained equally undetected A deed so foul and so audacious could not be passed over in silence in parliament. Lord Roden moved for a committee on the state of Ireland. He was supported by the Duke of Wellington and by Lord Brougham, and opposed by Lord Melbourne and Lord Plunkett. Upon a division there appeared for Lord Roden's motion sixty-three, and against it fifty-eight; ministers were thus outvoted by five. This proceeding in the House of Lords gave them singular dissatisfaction On the very next day Lord John Russell rose in the commons and announced his intention of taking the opinion of that house on the government of Ireland in late years. This subject, together with the Irish municipal corporations bill, &c, occupied the house for a very long time In the course of the debates Mr. O'Connell, and most of his tail, disclaimed the duty of obedience to ministers, and were exceedingly personal and intemperate.

The interference of the legislature on the subject of West Indian slavery had irritated the minds of the legislative assemblies in several of our West Indian colonies. In Jamaica the planters had become almost as mutinous as the Lower Canadians. The governor, Sir Lionel Smith, had been compelled to prorogue that assembly, who had declared that the parliament of Great Britain had violated their inherent rights, &c. A ministerial bill to suspend the existing constitution of Jamaica for five years was intrusted to the hands of Mr Labouchere, and was now brought into the House of Commons as a specific for the cure of Jamaica insubordination This brought matters to a crisis. The increase of unpopularity to the Whig ministry was incalculably great. Sir Robert Peel could put his foot upon this tyrannical bill, and stand out as the champion of liberty against Whiggish despotism. Sir Robert admitted that the conduct of the Jamaica assembly was open to censure, but, in his opinion, a far greater amount of blame was attaching to the course which had been taken by the ministry It was impossible not to be aware of the serious consequences involved in the mode of proceeding now projected by ministers. It was proposed to suspend in a free colony the popular form of government which had existed for 200 years, and after a short interval of abeyance to revive it again But was this so very easy of accomplishment? In a country, moreover, which

had always been accustomed to impose its own taxation, it was in contemplation to vest in a governor and council, with three commissioners appointed by the crown, the authority of levying taxes to the amount of £500,000 of money; and this at the same time that Lord Durham, in his report on Canada, recommended them to make the executive officers responsible to the control, not of the crown or home government, but of the popular colonial assembly. Another matter for grave consideration was, whether by exhibiting the emancipation of the negro as incompatible with a representative form of government, those who were desirous of the complete abolition of slavery were not deterring the slave-holding portion of the United States from the adoption of their experiment. This was, moreover, a measure calculated, in no slight degree, to alarm other colonies that were in the enjoyment of a similar form of government Many important considerations, said the right honourable baronet, called upon them to consider most maturely whether no other alternative could be adopted than the abolition of the constitution. The insolent language used by the assembly had been pleaded in justification of those proceedings, but could there be a more dangerous ground for legislation than the intemperate demeanour of a popular assembly? No popular government could be maintained for an hour if that ground were held to be justifiable The assembly of Jamaica had possibly no inconsiderable grounds for provocation. When it was proposed last year to abolish the remaining term of negro apprenticeship, ministers very justly met the demand with a refusal, alleging that the national faith was pledged to the maintenance of the bill, or rather it was pledged to the full term of service, and that, independently of this consideration, it was better for it to continue till its proper expiration This was right. But what did the house think of the governor of Jamaica holding language to the assembly, to the effect that though parliament had refused to curtail the apprenticeship, they ought, nevertheless to terminate it of themselves? When they found the executive authority combining with, perhaps he ought not to say physical force, but with the influence of numbers, no option was left them but to do that which the government at home refused to sanction, and abolish the apprenticeship. The colonial assembly was then entitled to some little indulgence.

On the 23d of April, Sir Robert Peel stated that he would allow Mr Labouchere's bill to be read *pro formâ*. Counsel could then be heard at the bar against the measure. Counsel were then heard, as, indeed, was the case on almost every stage of this bill, and the one which was afterwards substituted for it. On the 3d of May, in opening the debate upon the question that the speaker do now leave the chair, Sir Robert Peel could not help expressing his disappointment that it had not been found practicable to come to some arrangement with regard to the government of Jamaica, without any party conflict, or even any serious division of opinion on the course to be pursued. He had looked in vain for any message delivered to the house lamenting the necessity, while it recommended the measure of suspending the functions of the representative assembly of Jamaica. The temporary abrogation of a popular form of government in Canada in the preceding year was by no means a precedent to be followed, lest it might seem to be a practice of the parliament to suspend a popular constitution every session Up to this very hour, said the right honourable baronet, the colonists were entirely unaware of the heavy penalty about to be inflicted on them, they were without any intimation of these heavy accusations, and a most careful examination of all the papers bearing on the subject, enabled him to declare his most sincere opinion that there was no vindication in justice or in equity for the method upon which they were on the point of entering "There are," said Mr. Canning in 1824, "three possible modes in which parliament might deal with the people of Jamaica By the application of direct force we might crush them with a finger, we might harass them with fiscal regulations, restraining their navigation, or we might pursue the slow and steady course of authoritative admonition. Now, I am for trying first that which I have last mentioned I trust we shall never be driven to the second, and, with respect to the first, I will only now say, that no feeling of wounded pride, no motive of questionable expediency, nothing short of real and demonstrable necessity, shall induce me to moot the awful question of the transcendental power of parliament over every dependency of the British crown That transcendental power is an arcanum of the empire which ought to be kept back within the penetralia of the constitution It exists, but it should be veiled. It should not be produced in cases of petty refractoriness or temporary misconduct, nor, indeed, on any occasion short of the utmost extremity of the state" Adopting the sentiments of that great statesman, he was not prepared to admit that the necessity had arrived for bringing the transcendental power from the penetralia of the temple; and only wished the house would be made to perceive the probable consequences of the double precedent now about to be set up, and the general uneasiness that would be caused in other colonies, with half the force of his own deep conviction.

Sir Robert severely criticised every part of the bill. The adjournment of the debate was moved by Mr. M'Lean, who opened the discussion on the Monday following, maintaining that in this measure, as in Mr. Fox's India bill under Geo III., the real object of the Whigs was to lay hands on the colonial power and patronage. Mr. Grote declared he was unable to discern in this bill any prospect of benefit to the blacks, while it betrayed many tokens of severity towards the white population Mr. Goulburn observed that none of its supporters had defended the bill upon the grounds on which it had been introduced. They all maintained that it was not possible for a body who had been accustomed to rule over slaves to make the laws necessary for those persons who had been emancipated Gentlemen in that house were called upon to support this bill on the grounds that it favoured the interests of humanity—a delusive expectation; for it is well known that in the United States emancipation had been combated with redoubled acrimony since this country had given freedom to the slaves in her colonial possessions Was it, indeed, to be hoped, continued Mr Goulburn, that Virginia, Carolina, or Maryland, could ever be brought to liberate their blacks, when the people of those countries were given to understand by the British parliament that emancipation was not possible without the abolition of existing free institutions—that emancipation and constitutional government could not go together? Lord Stanley called this one of the most arbitrary measures that had ever been presented to a British House of Commons. Lord John Russell closed the debate with a declamation against some former adherents who were about to desert him The house then divided, when there appeared, against the bill 289, and for it only 294. Upon this majority of five, the Melbourne cabinet sent in their resignation

A week was allowed for the formation of a new cabinet On the 13th of May, after the lapse of those seven days, Sir Robert Peel proceeded to detail all the facts necessary for the explanation of his failure in forming it. At the queen's desire, he had waited upon her so soon as Lord Melbourne had resigned Her majesty had already invited the Duke of Wellington to assist her in the formation of a government, and the duke had advised her majesty to send for him (Sir Robert) as the person best qualified to undertake the duties of prime minister. He had accordingly waited upon her majesty; and it was not until the following day that any difficulty or misconception arose to lead to his relinquishing his attempt to form a new administration. That difficulty related exclusively to the portion of the royal household which is filled by the ladies in her majesty's service. With reference to all the subordinate appointments below the rank of a lady of the bed-chamber, he should propose no change to her majesty; and, with respect to the superior class, he took it for granted they would relieve him from any difficulty by at once relinquishing their offices. At the same time he thought it of great importance, as an indication of her majesty's confidence, that certain offices in the household of the higher rank, if not voluntarily relinquished by the ladies holding them, should be subject to some change, although in several instances the absence of all political feeling might render any such change unnecessary. But to this proposal he had received by letter her majesty's reply in the negative

Upon receipt of this letter, he (Sir Robert) had written a long letter to the queen, explaining why he considered it indispensably necessary that he should have that public proof of her majesty's entire support and confidence, which would be afforded by the permission to make some changes in that part of the household which her majesty had resolved on maintaining entirely without change "Could I," continued Sir Robert, "look around me at this stormy time, and not see that it was my absolute duty to this country, and above all to her majesty, to require that every aid that could be given me should be given? What were the questions which would immediately press for my decision? The state of India—the state of Jamaica—the state of Canada—would all require my immediate consideration. I also considered the internal state of this country; I looked at the chartists—I saw insurrection in our provinces—I saw the letter of the noble lord opposite (Lord John Russell), inviting the respectable part of the population to form themselves into armed societies for resisting outrage. Surely in addition to the ordinary difficulties besetting the course of a prime minister, there are circumstances that render that position at the present moment peculiarly onerous and arduous I should have had to begin the government in a minority Who can conceal from himself that my difficulties were not Canada; that my difficulties were not Jamaica, *but my difficulties were Ireland*—(ironical cheers) I admit it fully, and thank you for the confirmation of my argument, which those cheers afford. And what is the fact? I, undertaking to be a minister of the crown, and wishing to carry on public affairs through the intervention of the present House of Commons, in order that I might exempt the country from the agitation and possibly the peril of a dissolution—I, upon that very question of Ireland, should have begun in a minority of upwards of twenty members. A majority of twenty-two had decided in favour of the policy

of the Irish government. The chief members of the Irish government, whose policy was so approved of, were the Marquis of Normanby and the noble lord opposite, the member for Yorkshire (Lord Morpeth). By whom are the two chief offices in the household at this moment held? By the sister of Lord Morpeth and the wife of Lord Normanby.

"But the question is, Would it be considered by the public that a minister had the confidence of the crown, when the relatives of his immediate political opponents held the highest offices about the person of the sovereign? My impression decidedly was that I should not appear to the country to be in possession of that confidence, and that impression I could not overcome, and upon that impression I resolved to act Who were my political opponents? Why, of the two I have named, one, the Marquis of Normanby, was publicly stated to be a candidate for the very same office which it was proposed I should fill, namely, the office of prime minister The other noble lord (Lord Morpeth) has been designated as the leader of this house; and I know not why his talents might not justify his appointment in case of the retirement of his predecessor Is it possible—I ask you to go back to other times, take Pitt or Fox, or any other minister of this proud country, and answer for yourselves this question—is it fitting that one man shall be the minister, responsible for the most arduous charge that can fall to the lot of man, and that the wife of the other—that other his most formidable political enemy—shall, with his express consent, hold office in immediate attendance on the sovereign? Oh, no' I felt it was impossible—I could not consent to this"

Lord Melbourne's cabinet was, therefore, restored, but it was weakened and without prestige On the 27th of May, as soon as the ministry had been reconstructed, the house met for the election of a new speaker in the room of Mr Abercromby, who had three weeks previously declared his intention of resigning, having no longer sufficient strength to perform the arduous duties imposed on him by the office. He had on that occasion received through Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell the highest testimonies as to the esteem in which he was held by the two great parties, not only for his conduct in the chair, but also for his strenuous exertions to improve the mode of conducting the private business of the house This worthy son of the brave, good, and morally great General Sir Ralph Abercromby, had since been called to the House of Peers by the title of Lord Dunfermline

Mr Shaw Lefevre, member for North Hants, was proposed for the vacant chair by the ministerialists, and Mr. Goulburn, member for the university of Cambridge, by the opposition. The former gentleman was chosen by a majority of eighteen, the numbers being 317 against 299.

Since the year 1833, the sum of £20,000 had been annually granted by parliament in aid of the great work of national education. It was now felt that much more ought to be done for this important object. Lord John Russell presented a ministerial plan. He proposed that the president of the council and other privy councillors, not exceeding five, should form a board, to consider in what manner the grants made by parliament should be distributed. He also stated that, in his opinion, the first object of such a board should be, the establishment of a good normal school, and that in order to make such a school as perfect as possible, attention should be mainly directed to four objects. 1st, religious instruction, 2d, general education, 3d, moral training, 4th, habits of industry applied in learning some trade or profession The project was opposed by the high-church party, who considered that sufficient security would not be given to the church, and it was opposed still more vehemently by the dissenters, who conceived that in a state education, in a country where church and state were linked together, sufficient consideration would not be paid to their several tenets. After some very interesting debates in both houses, the matter was left to rest nearly as it was before Lord Brougham brought forward a plan of his own, but the consideration of it was adjourned until the next session.

The affairs of Canada long engaged the attention of parliament On the 3d of May, Lord Melbourne presented the following message from the queen:—

"Her majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the House of Lords, that it appears to her majesty that the future welfare of her majesty's subjects in Upper and Lower Canada would be promoted by the union of the said provinces into one province for the purpose of legislation, from and after the period to be fixed by parliament.

"Her majesty therefore recommends it to the house to consider such measures as may be submitted to them for that purpose

"Her majesty is persuaded that the House of Lords will be careful to combine a due regard for the peace and security of these important provinces with such provisions as may be conducive to the welfare of England, and the permanent freedom and prosperity of her North American provinces"

The act for the union of the provinces was not, however, passed until the 23d of July, 1840, ministers in the meanwhile having recourse to temporary measures, which were most severely criticised by Lord Lyndhurst.

A second Jamaica bill was passed, after it had undergone important amendments in the upper house, by which it was restored to the form originally proposed by Sir Robert Peel. It allowed time to the assembly to re-enact the annual laws, without which the affairs of the island could not proceed; and invested the governor in council with power to renew those laws, if, after the expiration of two months, the assembly should have separated without re-enacting them. This measure, which was declared by the ministers to be only better than none, was finally passed on the 9th of July.

The question of the Portuguese slave-trade—a trade still actively pursued—was brought under discussion in the commons by Sir Robert Inglis. Lord Palmerston, secretary for foreign affairs, confessed that, after four years spent in negotiation, a note had just been received from Lord Howard de Walden, our ambassador at Lisbon, in which it was stated that he no longer entertained any hopes of procuring the assent of the Portuguese cabinet to a treaty for the suppression of the traffic. It was therefore the intention of the government, after having laid on the table the whole of the papers relating to their intercourse with Portugal, to introduce a bill, which should give to her majesty's cruisers and commissioners the same right of search, with regard to slave-trading vessels met with below the line, which they already possessed in the case of those which were found north of the equator. A bill was accordingly introduced on the 10th of July, and passed throughout all its stages *sub silentio*, until it arrived at the second reading in the House of Lords On this occasion the Earl of Minto thought it necessary to make a short statement of the present condition of the law relating to the slave-trade, and the existing treaties between Great Britain and Portugal, before he entered into any explanation of the objects of the present bill. The most important treaty was that of 1815. The slave-trade was declared illegal, and Portugal undertook to bring about eventually its entire abolition, consenting in the meantime not to suffer her flag to be employed in that traffic for any other purpose than to furnish slaves for her own transatlantic dominions. In consideration of this concession, Great Britain agreed to remit the balance of a debt, amounting to £600,000, due by Portugal to this country; which was thus paid down to Portugal as the price of her compliance. Lord Minto went on to say that notwithstanding this and other solemn engagements, the traffic had been almost entirely carried on under the flags of Portugal and Spain With the latter country, however, we had concluded a very efficient treaty, which gave us the power of seizing vessels equipped for the slave-trade, without waiting till they had taken on board their miserable cargo, and there were hopes that this would have the effect of thoroughly extinguishing it. It was therefore extremely desirable that we should obtain similar conditions from Portugal.

The Duke of Wellington admitted that the object of all the treaties of 1810, 1815, and 1817, was to arrive at the total suppression of the infamous traffic in question, nor could there be any doubt but that this country had a full right to call upon Portugal to carry the obligation she had contracted effectually into execution, he contended, however, that the right of enforcing the due observance of such provisions did not lie within the province of parliament

When the house divided, the bill was rejected by thirty-eight against thirty-two

On the following evening Lord Brougham moved, "That an humble address be presented to her majesty, praying her majesty, by all the means within her majesty's power, to negotiate with the governments of foreign nations, as well in America as in Europe, for their concurrence in effectually putting down the traffic in slaves; and also that her majesty will be graciously pleased to give such orders to her majesty's cruisers, as may be most efficacious in stopping the said traffic, more especially that carried on under the Portuguese and Brazilian flags, or by Brazilian and Portuguese ships, assuring her majesty that this house will cheerfully concur with the other House of Parliament in whatever measure might be rendered necessary, if her majesty shall be graciously pleased to comply with this prayer" Lord Brougham assured the Duke of Wellington that in voting for this address he could not possibly stand committed to anything beyond a general declaration of readiness to countenance the government in any legitimate attempt to abolish the slave-trade The resolution was agreed to, and ordered to be communicated to the other House of Parliament. In the commons Lord Palmerston brought in another bill, in the place of that which the lords had rejected; and this was eventually carried through both houses, after an amendment introduced by Lord Lyndhurst. The Duke of Wellington protested against the bill, as a breach of the law of nations, as a violation of national treaties, and as tending rather to encourage than to prevent the traffic against which its enactments were directed. And, in fact, the slave-trade has scarcely been diminished since the passing of the act, while new horrors have been added to it, in order that, at whatsoever risk, it might still be rendered profitable to those engaged in it.

Mr. Grote made another unsuccessful motion for the ballot. Mr. Attwood moved for a committee

of the whole house to take into consideration what was called the "national petition." The honourable agitator explained that this enormous instrument was signed by no fewer than 1,200,000 persons, the *élite* of the working classes, who put forward five demands—1 Universal suffrage. 2. Vote by ballot. 3. Annual parliaments. 4. Remuneration of members for their attendance in parliament. 5 The abolition of the property qualification. The proposal was rejected by 235 against 189 There followed very alarming riots, attended with extensive destruction of property at Birmingham; and ministers found themselves obliged to advance £10,000 out of the consolidated fund, for establishing an efficient police force at Birmingham, and to call for an addition of 5000 men to the army. Bills were also passed to improve the police in Manchester and Bolton, and to give more power to the justices of the peace for appointing constables, &c.

The chancellor of the exchequer, Mr Spring Rice, took a cheerful view of the commercial prospects of the country. Our exports had considerably increased. The amount of deposits in the savings' banks had also very much risen, notwithstanding the insubordination of the chartists, and the attempts which had been made to create a run upon those banks After these explanations Mr Spring Rice introduced the scheme for a uniform penny postage. This plan had been formed and matured by Mr. Rowland Hill, the brother of the late member for Hull, who had so excited the fury of the Irish members after many objections, and a long and stern opposition, the measure was carried It has proved an inestimable blessing to the community.

Many other projected reforms were postponed by ministers, who felt that they had not parliamentary strength enough to carry them. At the close of the session, Lord Brougham affirmed that the country would be glad to see the conservatives restored to office, for they would, as a matter of course, be compelled to grant reforms, and they would possess the power of passing measures of administrative improvement, which the present cabinet had neither the will to introduce nor the means of carrying.

The queen prorogued parliament on the 27th of August. Her majesty's speech announced that, at last, a definitive treaty between Holland and Belgium had settled the differences between those two countries, and had secured the peace of Europe from dangers to which it had been so long exposed.

Shortly after the close of the session very considerable alterations were made in the cabinet, in the hope of gaining strength The Marquis of Normanby changed places with Lord John Russell, Mr. Francis Baring was made chancellor of the exchequer in lieu of Mr. Spring Rice, who was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Monteagle, and soon after succeeded Sir John Newport, who was induced to retire upon a pension, in the post of comptroller of the exchequer, with a salary of £2000 per annum; Mr. Poulett Thompson was appointed to supersede Sir John Colborne in the government of Canada; the Earl of Clarendon took the privy seal; Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay was made secretary at war, with a seat in the cabinet. Lord Howick, who had retired from the office into which Mr. Macaulay was placed, and who, while in it, had given great satisfaction to the army, now offered very satisfactory explanations of the reasons which had induced him to quit this enfeebled government. Mr Charles Wood, secretary of the admiralty, and brother-in-law to Lord Howick, resigned shortly after, and was succeeded by Mr More O'Ferral Two other Irish members were brought in, Mr. Wyse filling the vacated seat among the lords of the treasury, and Mr Shiel being created vice-president of the board of trade Sir George Grey was taken into the cabinet, Mr. Labouchere became president of the board of trade in the room of Mr Poulett Thompson, and Mr Vernon Smith became undersecretary for the colonies

On the 23d of November, her majesty announced to the members of the privy council assembled at Buckingham Palace, her intention of contracting a matrimonial alliance with the Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

The chartists had created more or less confusion in all our manufacturing districts Towards the close of the year, Frost, a bankrupt linen-draper, of Newport, in Monmouthshire (who some years before had been created a magistrate by Lord John Russell, in spite of a strong remonstrance), stirred up a miserable commotion in Monmouthshire He persuaded a most uneducated rabble that they would all be made wealthy and happy by and through the charter, with its vote by ballot, annual parliaments, salaried members, division of property, &c , that the charter was not to be obtained except by revolution beginning in civil war; and that he, John Frost, the broken linen-draper, was the man to conduct this revolution He had correspondents; he had friends and allies among the chartists and unionists of Birmingham, Manchester, Bolton, Sheffield; he had "sympathizers" all through the north, and surely these hardy men would not be inactive when he had struck his first good blow. The stoppage of the mail-coaches would be the signal—as agreed upon—for these heavy-handed heroes of Lancashire and Yorkshire to rise and be doing. One company of regular troops, commanded by a young lieutenant, and a few con-

stables under the orders of Sir Thomas Phillips, the mayor of Newport, knocked Frost and his grand scheme on the head. On the evening of Sunday, the 4th of November, the insurgents, to the number of 4000 or 5000, moved down, through Tredegar Park, upon Newport. They marched in something like martial order, five abreast, armed some with guns, others with bludgeons, others with pikes or pick-axes. The troops were stationed in the Westgate Inn, on the market-place, the door of which was guarded by special constables. The insurgents called upon them to surrender, and, receiving a refusal, the word was given by Frost, or one of his superior officers, to fire; and a volley was forthwith discharged against the bow-window of the room wherein the military were stationed. At nearly the same moment, the rioters broke open a door of the inn, and poured through the hall into the house Now was it time for the soldiers to look to themselves; a moment's delay might have ended in a massacre. The word was given in the room to fire, and the soldiers fired down the passage through which the Frostites were advancing At the same moment Lieutenant Grey, with the worshipful mayor, who behaved with much more than common civic gallantry, and Sergeant Daley, opened each one of the shutters of the window that looked upon the street. A shower of slugs was immediately poured in by the insurgents, and the mayor and several other persons were wounded, but the oblique sides of the windows enabled the soldiers to open a severe raking discharge upon the mob, who, after standing a few rounds, broke away and fled in all directions, leaving behind them a good many killed or severely wounded Frost was captured in the course of the evening in Newport. Zephaniah Williams, and one Jones, who were bringing up other columns of attack, but who arrived too late to take part in the action, and had no heart to begin a new one when the first was over, disbanded their men and fled. They were both captured shortly after, and were indicted with Frost and several others for high treason. A special commission, presided over by Sir Nicholas Tindal, the admirable chief-justice of the common pleas, was sent down to Monmouth to try the rioters. Sentence of death was recorded against Frost, Williams, and Jones: but the punishment was ultimately commuted to transportation for life.

The coming events in Afghanistan were casting very black shadows before them. The sanguine and uninformed were looking only to the easy advance our armies had made to Cabool, the wary and well-informed—the Duke of Wellington and the few men like him—were thinking how that army would ever get back to the banks of the Indus. The troubles in China went on increasing.

The parliament was opened by her majesty in person on the 16th of January, 1840. The first paragraph of the speech announced her approaching marriage. Her majesty congratulated

PRINCE ALBERT
From a portrait by Sir W C Ross, R A

the parliament on the satisfactory termination of the civil war which had so long desolated the northern provinces of Spain; and mentioned as a subject of great satisfaction the *success* of the European and native troops in India, in the expedition against Afghanistan.

Both houses congratulated her majesty on her happy choice of a consort. With very little loss of time Lord John Russell moved "That her majesty be enabled to grant an annual sum, not exceeding £50,000, out of the consolidated fund, for a provision to Prince Albert, to commence on the day of his marriage with her majesty, and to continue during his life." Mr. Hume said that £21,000 per annum would be quite enough, and he moved an amendment to that effect, which was negatived by 305 against 38. Colonel Sibthorp then moved that the grant should be for £30,000, and he was supported by Sir Robert Peel, and by all the conservative members, except Sir Robert Inglis; and upon a division this amendment was carried by 262 against 158. This was considered as a remarkable triumph over ministers, and as a plain proof of the uncertain tenure by which they held office. This auspicious marriage, a union of affection and mutual spontaneous choice, instead of a mere political and state alliance, was solemnized on the 10th of February, and gave that satisfaction to all parties, which has continued to the present hour.

The government was very severely censured for the riots at Newport, and for the disorders in Yorkshire and elsewhere. Sir John Yarde Buller moved a vote of want of confidence in ministers, assigning, as the chief ground for such vote, the disturbed and unsatisfactory state of the country—a state which he mainly ascribed to the system of popular agitation which ministers had themselves nurtured and encouraged in preceding years. He said that in Ireland a similar system had been pursued, and had been carried much farther than in England; that, instead of checking or discouraging the chief author of these most unconstitutional proceedings, government had placed some of his family and connections in situations of trust and emolument, and he had himself been received as a guest at the lord-lieutenant's table. Another ground which rendered her majesty's ministers, in Sir John Y. Buller's opinion, undeserving of the confidence of the country, was the apparent coalition with those who were uniformly hostile to the Established church of this realm On first taking office these ministers had declared that they would put an end to all sinecures and unfair pensions, and they had endeavoured to bring all former governments into disrepute by denouncing their corruption and extravagance in these matters "And yet," said Sir John, "in spite of all their professions, they had really made a more corrupt use of the patronage of the crown than any of the governments which preceded them Only the other day they granted £1000 a year as a pension to a gentleman who retired from his sinecure office, in order that he might be succeeded by the retiring chancellor of the exchequer." Another ground of complaint was the uncertainty attending all their measures. Lord John Russell voted last session against the introduction of the vote by ballot, and regretted that the honourable member for Edinburgh should not have more maturely considered his opinions on this subject. And now, what was the case? The honourable member for Edinburgh (Mr. T. B. Macaulay) *was secretary at war, and a member of the cabinet.* The honourable baronet alluded to another point as being important. Lord Melbourne had recently presented at court to the young and virtuous queen, just about to enter the holy state of matrimony, the notorious Robert Owen, who was opposed to marriage, who was opposed to every branch or portion of Christianity — who entertained, and who had long been publicly lecturing upon, projects and views identical with those entertained by the chartists and John Frost! The honourable baronet was seconded by Alderman Thompson. The motion was defeated, but only by a majority of twenty-one, the numbers dividing being 287 against 308.

By this time dreadful news began to arrive from India—news of events which had scarcely a parallel in British history. Hence fresh discredit fell upon the existing government. At the same time ministers were warmly attacked for the conflicting instructions they had sent out to our officers and authorities in China. Sir Robert Peel most convincingly demonstrated that government had not furnished our chief superintendent there with proper powers. Upon this China question the ministerial majority sank to nine.

The affairs of Ireland were still more embarrassing. They carried through both houses the Irish municipal corporations bill; but they were obliged to let drop their English and Irish registration bills, and their scheme for settling the poor law in Ireland.

The finances of the country now presented such an aspect that the commons were obliged to look the affairs of the nation fairly in the face An alarming deficiency was apprehended. There had been already, in the course of three years, an actual deficiency of six millions, and the chancellor of the exchequer (Mr Baring) seemed not ready with any measure by which to make this up.

Mr Ewart made an unsuccessful motion for the total abolition of capital punishments Mr. Serjeant Talfourd brought in a bill for securing to authors and their families a longer enjoyment of the profits of copyrights. He was opposed by Mr Warburton, by Mr Joseph Hume, and others, and found himself under the necessity of dropping the measure. The bill was not the wisest which might have been framed, but it certainly contained more generous principles than Lord Mahon's bill which Mr. Macaulay helped in carrying through parliament in 1842.

In consequence of a message from the crown, a bill was passed appointing his royal highness Prince Albert regent, in the possible event of her majesty's decease, during the minority of her children. On the 11th of August the queen went down to the lords and prorogued parliament. The speech stated that she was engaged, in concert with the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the sultan, in measures intended to effect the permanent pacification of the Levant, and to maintain the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire —that the violent injuries inflicted upon some of her subjects by the officers of the Emperor of China had compelled her to send to the coast of China a naval and military force.

But the absorbing subject now was the terrible disasters in Afghanistan.

PRINCE ALBERT.

The second son of Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Coburg, was born on the 26th of August, 1819, and received a careful education under the supervision of his uncle, Leopold. As the house of Coburg was intimately allied by marriage to the royal family of England, it was most natural that this accomplished prince should be considered by his relations as a suitable husband for the young Queen Victoria. Yet nothing was definitely settled until they met in England in 1839, when the Prince and the Queen were so captivated by each other that their betrothal was forthwith and finally settled. The marriage with this manly and gentle prince which followed was one of pure affection, and this affection retained its lustre undimmed until the death of the Prince in December, 1861.

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY WINTERHALTER.
IN THE THRONE ROOM WINDSOR CASTLE

CHAPTER VIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1840—1842.

VICTORIA.

Dread of a Russian invasion upon our Indian possessions—Lord Auckland appointed Governor-general of India—His participation of the popular apprehension—Improbability of a Russian invasion of India—Former wars of the Afghans—Successes of the "Lion of Lahore"—The Persians brought into the country by the Indian wars—Dread of the influence of Russia upon India through her predominance in Persia—The Persians besiege Herat—The governor-general's plan to defend India against the Persians and Russians—The Simla proclamation—British expedition to Karrack—The siege of Herat raised—Preparations for a campaign in Afghanistan—Improvidence of the measure—It is disapproved of by Sir Henry Fane—Unpropitious opening of the campaign—Faithlessness of the Ameers of Scinde—Military errors in the advance of our army beyond the Indus—Deceitful tokens of success at the commencement of the war—Sir John Keane, the British commander, raised to the peerage—Forebodings of a reverse—Continued errors and mismanagement of the campaign—Afghanistan apparently subdued—Proceedings in the British parliament at the opening of 1841—Decline of the Whig administration—The Jewish disabilities bill rejected—Motion for the appointment of a minister of public education—The motion withdrawn—Statement of finance—Its unpropitious aspect—The question of the corn laws introduced—The ministry out-voted—It continues in office—New parliament assembled—Continued unpopularity of the ministers—They resign—Members of the new cabinet—Sir Robert Peel appointed premier—His first proceedings—Birth of an heir to the British throne—Events in India—Conspiracy and outbreak against the British in Cabool—Assassination of the British officials—Disasters to our army in Cabool—Its fatal retreat—Its ignominious surrender—Treaty with the Afghans for a safe retreat—Disgraces and miseries with which the campaign closes—Affairs of Turkey—Mediation of the allied powers between the sultan and Mehemet Ali—A treaty signed—Aid given to Turkey—Mehemet's army driven out of Syria.

IT was in the East that the chief interest of British history was now contained, and it was to the disasters of our arms in Afghanistan that the attention of our statesmen was principally confined.

At this period our Indian empire was bounded by the great sandy desert which extends from the jungles on the Ghara, in the hill territories of Gurwal, to the sea. To the north-west, beyond this desert, lay the Punjab, of which Runjeet Sing was the sovereign Beyond the Punjab, and south of Independent Tartary, was the region called Cabool or Afghanistan, lying directly between the Punjab and Persia. It was to this remote and ominous spot in the map of India that the attention of our Anglo-Indian rulers was now directed, and apparently not without reason; for it was through the plains and mountain passes of Cabool, that the tide of conquest from the Caspian, the Black Sea, or the Mediterranean had hitherto overflowed the fertile regions of India, and the histories of Alexander the Great, Tamerlane, Baber, and Mahmoud, the conquerors of Hindoostan, who had all entered by this route, had confirmed the ancient proverb, that no one can be king of India without first being lord of Cabool. Here, then, was the question at issue: Might not Russia, which had now obtained a predominant influence in the government of Persia, be tempted to use that influence for the invasion of our Indian possessions? Her armies being once introduced into the friendly territory of Persia, nothing interposed between them and our Indian empire but Cabool and the Punjab

When this epidemic dread was at the strongest, a civilian was Governor-general of India. Hitherto, the natural practice had been adopted of ruling our eastern empire by a soldier, and thus maintaining by the sword the conquest which the sword had won. Had this principle been adopted on the present occasion, a military viceroy's experience would have taught him to treat this fear of Russian invasion as a bugbear. He would have calculated from the difficulties of the march the improbability of such an attempt being made, or the impossibility of its success even if it should be hazarded. But the present governor-general, Lord Auckland, a very amiable nobleman, who, since the accession of the Whigs to power, had passed through the various offices of president of the board of trade, master of the mint, and first lord of the admiralty, had seen no military service. It was supposed on this account that he would be sure to prefer the pacific and non-interfering system to every other But he had not been long in India when he was infected with the prevalent dread, and driven by his inexperience into an unnecessary war—a war attended not with conquest and aggrandizement, not with an increase of security to ourselves and to our allies and dependants, but with defeat, frightful disasters, and such an amount of disgrace as never fell upon our arms in any part of the world

His lordship admitted into his entire confidence

Captain Alexander Burnes, and other stirring over-confident officers of the Company, who were impatient for opportunities of distinguishing themselves as soldiers or diplomatists, or as both, and whose groundless alarm had been worked upon by Russian emissaries, who confidently predicted the speedy invasion of India by their countrymen, and the reduction of the whole country within the dominion of the czar. As a boast, the threat should have been despised; as a political device and snare, it should have been carefully investigated and exposed, instead of being adopted as a ground of the most hazardous expedition to which the British arms in India had ever been summoned It had been pointed out by a foreign writer[1] that if all the powers of the Russian empire were exerted in equipping an army for the invasion of India, and if that mighty army, overcoming obstacles that were scarcely to be overcome by an army of any size, reached the western borders of Beloochistan in safety, with its complete appointments, a descent by the British on Bushire would put us in possession of all the communications of that army, compel Persia at her peril to act against it, and place the rear of that army and the line of its advance and relief completely at our mercy. Moreover, it had been shown pretty clearly, that for Russia to send an army as far as the eastern border of Persia was *impossible;* and our own experience has now convinced the most sceptical, that were the Russians *there*, the mountain tribes, without our intervention, would cut off their supplies, destroy their cattle, and seize their baggage. We could, any day, cut an expedition from the westward to pieces, by landing a force at Bushire, where the coast country, with our commanding fleets and uninterrupted supplies, would furnish a base of operations from which Europe and Asia united together could not drive us. It had further been shown that a Russian army would take twice the time to march from their farthest to our nearest Indian frontier, that the armies of England would occupy in being wafted from the banks of the Thames to the banks of the Indus. and that during the interval, our fleets might annihilate the navy of the czar, or blockade it, and render it utterly useless in the Baltic and in the Black Sea.[2] But these simple considerations were despised or overlooked by Lord Auckland and the incompetent diplomatists whom he had taken into his counsels, and it was the Russian bugbear that was the primary cause of all our woe, and of all our shame. As the Mahrattas had been thoroughly conquered, the Pindarees extirpated, the Nepaulese and Burmese checked, driven back, and reduced to order, and as even the Jauts and Bhurtpoor had been disposed of, there seemed absolutely nothing to fear from any of our neighbours or old foes; but still our Indian statesmen looked for possible foes 600 or 1200 or more miles beyond our frontier —to the mountains of Afghanistan, the plains of Bokhara, the deserts, the frontiers of Persia, and the shores of the Caspian Sea.

Although in former years, the Afghans had frequently spread devastation through the upper provinces of India, they had ceased to be an object of alarm ever since the mission to Cabool of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1809. They had never been enabled to cross the Indus. Instead of descending in that direction, they had been driven back considerably to the north by the Ameers of Scinde and Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore The same state of constant war and anarchy which Mr Elphinstone saw in Afghanistan, had continued ever since, or rather, it had become much worse. In fact, the Afghan monarchy had been dismembered.

In 1809 Shah Sujah had been vanquished in battle, and had been compelled to flee for refuge into the territories of Runjeet Sing. The authority of the usurper, Shah Mahmood, was acknowledged in part of Afghanistan, the rest of the country submitting to the misrule of divers chiefs or princes, who were frequently at war with each other Shah Mahmood's brothers revolted against him, and his authority was soon confined to Herat and its dependencies. Cabool, Kandahar, and Peshawer, were held by different brothers of Mahmood, who soon fell out amongst themselves. During this decay of the monarchy, Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore, was rapidly improving the discipline of his army by means of European officers. The final downfall of Bonaparte, in 1815, broke up the trade of war in Europe, and drove a considerable number of adventurers, Frenchmen and Italians, to the East, to Persia, and even into India. Some of these men found their way to Lahore, and under their care the troops of Runjeet Sing were trained. The Lion[3] became irresistible: he took Cashmere, Mooltan, Leia, Upper Scinde, and the nearest part of Damaun, and reduced all the Afghan tribes south of Cashmere After this, taking advantage of a quarrel and war between the Dooraunee prince of Cabool and his brother at Peshawer, and of an expedition which he enabled the expelled Shah Sujah, who had long been his guest, to make against Kandahar, Runjeet Sing succeeded in conquering Peshawer for himself, with all the level country which the Afghans had occupied between the mountains and the river Indus. The Ameers of Scinde seized upon other terri-

[1] *The British Empire in the East*, by Count Bjornsterna, translated by H Evans Lloyd. London, 1840

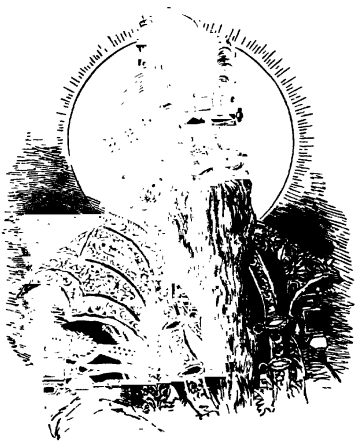
[2] George Buist, *Spectator* newspaper

[3] Runjeet Sing.

tories which had belonged to the Dooraunee monarchy. Balkh threw off its nominal dependence, and in other territories of vast extent and thin population which lie between India and Persia, and which had all obeyed Zemaun Shah, various chiefs and princes asserted their independence. Dost Mahomed, however, maintained himself at Cabool, and his brother, or half-brother, after a sharp contest with the Shah Sujah, remained master of Kandahar.

Their brother Mahmood died, or was secretly murdered, at Herat, and was succeeded by his son Khamran or Camraum, who appears to have made some fruitless attempts to recover from his uncle, Dost Mahomed, the dominion of Cabool The unfortunate Shah Sujah, having failed in other expeditions and enterprises undertaken in concert with Runjeet Sing, was at one time perfidiously seized and barbarously treated by the ungenerous Lion of Lahore, whose main object was to extort from him the famous Afghan diamond called the Koohi Noor he was delivered from his cruel captivity by the spirit and ability of his queen After all these adventures, Shah Sujah again found a safe asylum beyond the river Sutlej, in the British cantonment of Loodiana, where a liberal pension was allowed him

War followed between Dost Mahomed Khan and Runjeet Sing A victory, gained by the Afghans in 1836, was thrown away through the feuds and jealousies of the chieftains, and the Lion of Lahore, instead of losing territory, soon began to make new conquests. Dost Mahomed had been constantly seeking for the friendship of the British government, but by the treaty made between Lord William Bentinck and Runjeet Sing in 1831, Runjeet was allowed to do what he pleased in the country beyond the Sutlej; and all notion of our succouring the distracted Afghan monarchy was given up. Dost Mahomed had then applied not only to the Persians and to the Tartars, but also to the *Russians*, for aid and assistance. The young Shah of Persia, who had succeeded his grandfather in 1834, had lost no time in responding to Dost Mahomed's desired alliance. The court of Teheran hoped that whilst Runjeet Sing and the Sikhs were pressing upon Afghanistan on one side, a Persian army, favoured still further by the dissensions of the Afghan rulers and chiefs, might easily make conquests on the other, recover Herat, and establish the dominion of the young shah at least over the whole of Khorassan and Kandahar. Khamran, the Afghan ruler of Herat, on the death of the old Shah of Persia in 1834, had made a predatory incursion into the Persian territories, in concert with Turcomans, Hazarees, and other robbers, and had captured some thousands of Persian subjects for the purpose of selling them as slaves in Central Asia. Although this wholesale kidnapping was a very ancient practice, it certainly seemed, of itself, to justify the young shah in marching an army against



RUNJEET SING.—From an oriental painting on glass, in the Museum at the East India House

Herat and the Afghan ruler Khamran. At the same time, he was invited and pressed to the enterprise by most of the Afghan sirdars of Kandahar, who had long been engaged in a blood feud with Khamran, and who, for the gratification of their vengeance, were willing to bring their old enemies, the Persians, even into the heart of Afghanistan Proper But when it was found, or rather suspected, by our mission at Teheran, that the young Shah of Persia had been encouraged and promised pecuniary assistance by the Russians, who, it was reasoned, must know that the conquest of Herat and Kandahar by the Persians would be, in fact, an advance gained for the Russians towards India, if not for the purpose of actual invasion, certainly for that of intrigue and disorganization, great alarm was felt by our mission, and was by them communicated from Teheran to Downing Street. In short, our ministers at home, and our diplomatists in Persia, were suddenly excited by all that jealousy and dread of Russia which had been diffused through the greater part of our Indian government by Burnes and others The cabinet of St Petersburg must have laughed at this groundless panic. It was quite in keeping with the crooked policy of that cabinet to resort to sundry paltry and secret measures in order to keep up the panic, while they were publicly assuring Lord Palmerston that they

entertained no designs of aggrandisement on the side of India. In spite of all the remonstrances of our ambassador, the young shah, in July, 1837, put himself and an army of 40,000 men, with seventy pieces of artillery, on their march from Teheran to Herat. Owing to their empty treasury, defective commissariat, and want of discipline, this Persian army frequently threatened to melt away before they had seen an enemy; and when they approached Herat, they were but a miserable and half-starved rabble. Nothing could be more unlike the vanguard of a mighty force competent to overthrow our empire in the East. At this moment, Captain Burnes was at Cabool, and there, came in contact with a certain Captain Vicovich, who gave himself out, among the Afghans, as an envoy from the court of St. Petersburg This drove the previous alarm of our Indian statesmen into downright consternation. Cost what it might, Dost Mahomed must be driven out of Cabool, or we should soon see a Russian army there! Yet, after this, the Dost offered to ally himself with us if we would only protect him against the Persians. Lord Auckland declared, in a minute, that he would not oppose the hostile advance of Persia either by arms or by money. His lordship must have known by this time, that the Persians had no chance of making such advance, and that the operations contemplated by his government in the Persian Gulf would make the young shah at once retreat towards Teheran, even though he should have reduced Herat previously.

On returning to the governor-general, Captain Burnes, whose opinions seem to have varied according to times and circumstances and the opinions of other men higher in office than himself, declared that Dost Mahomed was an irreconcileable enemy; that our guest, the dethroned Shah Sujah, had many friends in the country; and that with a little aid of men and money, he might advance to Cabool in triumph, and without bloodshed. Yet, not long before this, Burnes had represented Shah Sujah as an imbecile prince, without a party in his own country, and Dost Mahomed as the best ally the governor-general could find. Had there been wisdom in these Indian councils, it would have been felt that we ought to have nothing to do either with the dethroning or enthroning of these rulers. But in a most fatal hour, it was decided to carry Shah Sujah back to Cabool, as the best means of barring the approaches to the Indus against both Persians and Russians[1]

Our warlike preparations went on the while, but it was not until the 1st of October that his lordship issued his famous Simla proclamation. At this moment, if the governor-general did not know that the siege of Herat, the first alleged great cause of our inquietude, had been raised, and the reduced Persian army forced into a disgraceful and ruinous retreat, he might at least have known that the young shah had no chance of success, and that the British expedition sent to the Persian Gulf could not fail in its proposed object. Persia had derived nothing but disaster and shame from the rashly undertaken expedition, and ill-conducted siege. Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, who threw himself into the place, directed the defence. The ignorant besiegers could scarcely maintain so much as a blockade; they knew nothing about regular approaches, and in all their attempts to storm they were beaten back. In one assault, the shah lost 1800 men in killed and wounded, and altogether his casualties exceeded 3000. He was as remote from his object in September, 1838, as in November, 1837, when he first came in sight of Herat. His army was short of provisions, and without clothing and pay, and, rather than have continued through another winter before a fortress which had so repeatedly defeated them, the Persians would, in all likelihood, have dispersed themselves, in spite of all their shah could do to retain them.[1]

Our expedition from Bombay landed at Karrack in the Persian Gulf, in the middle of June, when Macnaghten and Burnes were preparing for the Afghanistan war by negotiating with Runjeet Sing at Lahore The possession of Karrack, an island belonging to Persia, and in the centre of the shah's dominions, showed him how completely those dominions were within our grasp; showed him that we could disembark any force we pleased at Bushire within a fortnight of its quitting Bombay, and possess ourselves of some of the chief towns of Persia, before the people at large could be made aware that hostilities were intended.

From the moment that our troops landed on his island of Karrack, the eyes of the Persian shah were turned more anxiously in that direction than upon the siege of Herat; and at the end of September, when he gave up that siege altogether, and put his diminished and rabble army in motion for a retreat into the heart of his own country, he declared that he did so in consequence of the presence of our armament, and that if Karrack had not been seized by us, Herat would have been taken by him. It is true that the possession of Karrack, and the descent we might so easily have effected on Bushire, were calculated to induce a rapid retreat, even if the Persians had been on the eve of victory and conquest: but it is not true that our menacing attitude at Karrack was the sole cause of the shah's

[1] Buist, *Outline of the Operations of the British Troops in Scinde and Afghanistan*

hasty retreat; his army was not on the eve of victory, but on the very brink of dissolution. After many defeats, it was half famished and wholly disheartened, and it could not by any possibility have continued its stupid operations round Herat through another winter, or so much as through another month.[1]

Well! Herat was safe; that key to the British dominions in India could not be given by Persia to Russia, for Persia could not get it. All the dispositions for a grand campaign beyond the Indus and in the heart of Afghanistan were made (badly enough, no doubt!), and marching orders were given, but it appears that not a single regiment had yet begun to march, when Lord Auckland received official intelligence of the retreat of the Persians from Herat. But this intelligence had no apparent effect on the counsels and conduct of men who had made up their minds for war, and who could not rest until the British flag should be carried over the snowy mountains and through the deep defiles of Afghanistan. These men did not see, or would not feel, what a bulwark nature and fortune had opposed to a successful invasion of British India from the westward, and that they were going to weaken by their agression, the most formidable portion of this bulwark. Long before the fearful catastrophe in which all this blindness, or rashness and obstinacy, ended, and while unthinking people were shouting for the victories our arms were obtaining, a sensible writer at home said: "We are making the false movement of a general who, finding a broad marsh between himself and his opponent, wantonly crosses it with great loss and inconvenience, posts himself on the opposite margin, and, cutting himself off from his supplies, affords his opponent, at the first favourable moment, an opportunity of driving him into the swamp, or starving him to death, or compelling him to surrender at discretion. Such is a fair view of our present adventure, nor can we see any termination, utter discomfiture excepted, to the course into which it leads, until it brings us to the very thing we deprecate—contiguity and collision with the power of Russia in Persia."[2]

In the month of October, 1838, when Lord Auckland issued his warlike proclamations at Simla, the army of India was raised to 203,000 men. Sir Henry Fane was at this time commander-in-chief of all India. He disapproved both of the principles of policy and of the arrangement of the details of the expedition; and viewed with alarm the prospect of having our armies so far removed from our own frontier. Sir Henry was, besides, in indifferent health when the first campaign was announced. Colonel Fane, the son of Sir Henry Fane, said, after his father's death, "I am prepared to prove that the military head in India, and second member of council of that country, did oppose, or perhaps rather point out to the governor-general, the extreme danger of this wild and unmeasured expedition. . . . . He insured Lord Auckland of the success which did at first appear to attend us, but warned him, that to maintain large bodies of troops in countries so distant, and which scarce produced food sufficient for the scanty population, was next to impossible."[3]

As a foretaste of what might be expected from him, Runjeet Sing, in despite of a treaty which had been drawn up at Lahore by Macnaghten and Burnes, refused to allow our troops to cross his territories in the Punjab. Our principal rendezvous was therefore appointed to be Shikarpoor in Scinde The Ameers of Scinde had faithfully promised to provide supplies and the means of conveyance for our armies, but our commanders found that they had provided nothing but jealousy, hatred, and enmity, and that the mass of the Scinde population were eager to attack our troops Sir Henry Fane, whose health was growing worse, resigned the command. Lord Auckland nominated Sir John Keane, a brave and experienced officer, but said to be headstrong, passionate, and domineering, to the direction of the whole force, and instructed him to send his own orders to Sir Willoughby Cotton, who, as senior officer, had succeeded to the command of the Bengal column as a temporary measure until its junction with the Bombay troops. This also gave the temporary command of a division to Major-general Nott, and of a brigade to Colonel Dennie. We can trace, even at this moment, some of the jealousies and heartburnings which helped to destroy the discipline of the whole army.

Sir Alexander Burnes (he had been made knight-commander of the Bath and lieutenant colonel for his previous services on the Indus, in Afghanistan, &c., and, perhaps, in part for his ample contribution to the unlucky scheme now in process of execution) had been employed to collect at Shikarpoor camels for the use of the whole army. The governor-general had calculated that 45,000 camels might be obtained; but Burnes could never collect 20,000. Everywhere the forebodings of calamity thickened, and warned men—who would not be warned—to stop their advance and retrace their steps. There was no dependence to be placed either on the Ameers of Scinde or upon the Lion of Lahore; there was little security for our communications and supplies; and such means as were adopted for the obtaining of some such security were in-

[1] C. Macfarlane, *Our Indian Empire.*

[2] *Spectator*, July 27, 1839.

[3] Letter published in the *Times* of 5th June, 1842.

adequate to the end, were slovenly, unsystematic, unworthy of British officers at this time of day.

Numerous and unpardonable military errors were committed on the advance. The several divisions of the army were accompanied by an amazing number of camp-followers, who could not shift for themselves in the countries beyond the Indus. thus provisions were made to run short even before our troops entered the mountain country. The camels died rapidly, the horses of our artillery were shot to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The com-

AFGHANS OF THE DOORAUNEE TRIBE.
From Elphinstone's Cabool.

munications between the front and rear division —left one hundred miles apart—were completely cut off by the fierce tribes in the mountain pass. The robbers in the pass were incessantly harassing our soldiers, and pouncing down from their rocks and hills upon the baggage. Savage and unwise orders were carried into execution by our harassed and exasperated troops: whenever these Afghans were captured they were shot or hanged, *no quarter being on any occasion given to them.* Shah Sujah, the dethroned sovereign, whom we were to substitute for Dost Mahomed, was allowed to put to death thirty-six out of thirty-eight captives he had made, and that, too, in the presence of at least one British field-officer, Major Macsherry. If the Afghans had concentrated their forces, and had acted under the command of any officer endowed with common sense, the progress of Sir John Keane must have been stopped before he got to Ghuznee. That last-named place was, however, stormed and taken, and the fall of Ghuznee opened the way to Cabool. As Sir John Keane drew nigh, Dost Mahomed quitted his throne and his capital, and fled with only 600 horsemen to seek a refuge in the wide, wild country beyond the Oxus. On the 7th August, 1839, Shah Sujah, Sir John Keane, the general officers of the army, Burnes, Macnaghten, and other officers of the mission, or of the staff, made a pompous and triumphant entrance into Cabool. Considering the work as done, Sir John Keane hurried back to India, and from India to England, to be raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Keane of Ghuznee and Cappoquin (with a pension of £2000 a year), and to receive the thanks of parliament and of the court of directors. The shouts of triumph and applause were, however, mingled with the expression of many doubts and some severe criticism. In the lords the Duke of Wellington said that he had never doubted but that the valour and discipline of our troops would secure victory to our arms in Afghanistan; but that it was when we had completed our first conquests that our difficulties would begin. Lord Ellenborough declared the war to have been a folly, and said it remained to be seen whether it might not prove a crime. Lord Auckland, as governor-general, received his meed. he was raised in the peerage to the rank of an earl. and the court of directors and the court of proprietors honoured him with their vote of thanks "for the sagacity and promptitude with which he had planned the expedition, and the zeal and vigour he had displayed in preparing the troops to take the field."[1]

Part of the army—the Bombay column—quitted Cabool on the 18th of September, and the Bengal troops were recalled in October. Independently of the shah's contingent, paid and officered by the English, about 8000 men, British troops and sepoys, were left in that cold and inhospitable country. Enormous errors were committed by Macnaghten and Burnes, who were left at Cabool, as envoy, and assistant to the envoy. Shah Sujah made bad worse by selecting a low-born, rapacious old scoundrel to be his prime minister. On the return of spring, the Ghilzies and other powerful tribes began to unite their cavalry and to attack our outposts. At the same time the people dwelling on the hills and in the glens not only refused to pay any taxes or tribute to Shah Sujah, but also refused to sell provisions to our commissariat. As the ice and snow melted, and left the roads and mountain tracks passable, a fierce war of posts commenced. Insurrections broke out among the tribes that inhabit the country to the east of the Bolan Pass. At the same time some of the Ameers of Scinde called their followers to the field, united their bands, and threatened all our communications

[1] C. Macfarlane, *Our Indian Empire.*

between Afghanistan and the Punjab. Several most serious disasters were sustained by our troops; and the brilliant capture of Khelat, and other achievements, could not disguise the fact that we had embarked in a ruinous contest.

Our army up the country was repeatedly reinforced. At the end of the year 1840, we had more than 16,000 men in Afghanistan, and at the first outbreak of the great insurrection in November, 1841, we had upwards of 14,000 men, besides the shah's contingent. The number of our political agents, scattered all about the country, as if it were conquered and submissive, and to be organized, like annexed provinces in Hindoostan, by means of the pen, exceeded thirty. All these men (and not a few of them appear to have been young and inexperienced) were paid large salaries by the Company. Sir William Macnaghten, as envoy and minister, had £11,220 per annum, his assistant, Lieutenant-colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, £3000. Among them they received more money than could be realized by taxes and duties in any one province of the Afghan empire Everything was on a prodigious scale of expense It was costing us more than £3,000,000 a year to occupy a country for Shah Sujah which never could render him £300,000 a year. The Russo-mania had abated; we had obtained substantial proofs of the difficulty of any army traversing Afghanistan, even if it could get so far; and we ought by this time to have learned that the Afghan tribes were neither to be depended upon in their own country, nor to be feared by us behind the Indus. but there our army was left, without any adequate arrangement either for its victualling or for its safe return; and there our money continued to be lavished without any security for its repayment [1]

A.D. 1841. On the 26th of January parliament was opened by her majesty. The speech dwelt upon the affairs of the Levant (of which we shall presently give a continuous though necessarily brief narrative), on the gallantry and skill displayed by our naval forces on the coast of Syria, and on the struggle still going on in China. On the subject of the Afghan war not a word was said—an omission which was afterwards noticed by Sir Robert Peel. The address was agreed to without a division.

On the 4th of February a vote of thanks was given in the House of Lords to Admiral Stopford, Commodore Napier, and the captains and officers of the fleet under their command during the operations conducted on the coast of Syria, and particularly for the decisive attack on St. Jean d'Acre. The Duke of Wellington declared that he considered this achievement one of the greatest of modern times. On the following day a similar vote of thanks passed the House of Commons. The ministry, however, seemed to be weaker than before, and unable to carry any important legislative measure. After very long and angry debates on a bill for the registration of voters in Ireland, they were outvoted by a majority of eleven; and then Lord John Russell threw up the bill. This was taken as a striking illustration of the decline and approaching downfall of the Whig administration.

Mr. Divett, one the members for Exeter, brought in a bill for removing the Jews' civil disabilities. It was opposed on the second reading by Sir R. Inglis, who protested against surrendering that principle of the constitution by which magistrates had hitherto been confined to persons professing Christianity. He was answered by Lord John Russell, who supported the bill, and declared his readiness to go further, and admit Jews to seats in parliament. The bill was carried through the commons, but rejected by the lords.

After wearying debates on the claims of the Church of Scotland, on the Catholic college of Maynooth, and on church-rates, Mr Ewart moved for the appointment of a minister of public education. The honourable member wished that such minister should be a member of the House of Commons, and should annually lay before it a statement of the condition and prospects of the education of the people. A minister of public instruction was to be found in almost every foreign kingdom, who regularly made such reports to the crown. Such a minister ought to mix and associate with the educational institutions of the country, but by no means to control them. He regretted the niggardliness of the grant now made by the state for education, amounting to only £30,000 a year; and called on the house to be more liberal Ministers opposed the whole motion, not, they said, because they objected to its principle, but on account of the difficulties attendant on its execution. They promised, however, soon to lay before the house, for the education committee of the privy council, information which they thought would go far to fulfil, for this year, the object of the motion Mr. Ewart acceded, and the motion was withdrawn.

A further mitigation of the criminal code was carried in the course of the session.

The state of the finances was still very unsatisfactory; and the chancellor of the exchequer, who had erred in his calculations the preceding year, was compelled to acknowledge a deficiency of nearly two millions. The expenditure had amounted to £49,285,000; the income had only reached the sum of £47,443,000. To make up

[1] Buist, and MS journal of a young officer on the Bombay establishment.

this deficiency Mr Baring proposed extensive alterations in our timber and sugar duties, not in the way of augmentation, but in that of reduction on timber and sugar imported from other countries or from colonies not our own. He calculated on a vast increase of consumption, on the benefits derivable from making England the one great mart and depôt for sugars, &c., and on the chance of the countries on the Baltic taking more of our manufactures if we took more of their timber, and reduced the amount of protection we gave to Canadian timber. The chancellor of the exchequer also suggested the expediency of altering the corn laws, as another sure means of increasing the revenue.

It was not until they were at the last extremity that ministers fairly took up the corn-law question. It was not long since Lord Melbourne, the premier, had solemnly declared that he would not agitate it—that he did not think that the advantages to be gained by the change were worth the evils of the struggle—that the corn laws could not be altered without a most violent struggle, without causing much ill blood and a deep sense of grievance. But the country was now nearly as much agitated for the repeal of the corn laws as it had been a few years ago for the passing of the reform bill, and the cabinet saw no other chance of recovering their popularity and making up the deficient revenue than in altering the corn laws together with the timber and sugar duties. But they found themselves unable to carry any of their proposed measures On the sugar duties they were outvoted by a majority of 36, there being for the motion 281, and against it 317. Hereupon it was fully expected that ministers would resign. Great, therefore, was the surprise when, on the following day, the chancellor of the exchequer rose in his place, as if nothing had occurred, and gave notice that, on the Monday following, he would move *the usual annual sugar duties*. Lord Darlington said that "it was plain that ministers meant to stay in office with a tenacity—he must be allowed to say—unparalleled in the history of governments, and with the deliberate decision of the House of Commons unequivocally declared against them."

A few days after this, Sir Robert Peel moved a resolution of want of confidence in the government, and carried it by 312 against 311. But still these most tenacious of Whigs would not resign. They would first try the effects of a dissolution of parliament, hoping to gain an augmentation of force through the anti-corn-law agitators. On the 22d of June, parliament was prorogued by the queen in person; and on the following day it was dissolved by proclamation.

The new parliament was opened by commission on the 19th of August. Many objections were taken to the royal speech, which was read on the 24th. The Earl of Ripon moved a vote of want of confidence, proposing to represent to her majesty that the public expenditure had for several successive years exceeded the annual income, and that the House of Lords were convinced of the necessity of adopting measures for the remedy of so great an evil, &c. He was warmly supported by the Duke of Wellington, who delivered a short speech condemnatory of the conduct of ministers as well abroad as at home. Ministers were here left with a majority of seventy-two against them It was not better for them in the commons, where, after four nights of stormy debate, Lord John Russell found that he was out-voted by ninety-one. At last, on the 30th of August, Lord Melbourne announced that his cabinet was no more.

Sir Robert Peel as premier, and the Duke of Wellington, speedily formed a new cabinet. Lord Lyndhurst became lord-chancellor, Mr. Goulburn chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Wharncliffe president of the council, the Duke of Buckingham privy seal, Sir James Graham home secretary, the Earl of Aberdeen foreign secretary, Lord Stanley colonial secretary, the Earl of Haddington first lord of the admiralty, Lord Ellenborough president of the board of control, the Earl of Ripon president of the board of trade, Sir Henry Hardinge secretary at war, and Sir Edward Knatchbull treasurer of the navy and paymaster of the forces. These formed the cabinet. Among the appointments, without seats in the cabinet, were those of Lord Lowther, postmaster-general, Sir George Murray, master-general of the ordnance; Lord Canning, under foreign secretary, Sir F. Pollock, attorney-general; Sir W. Follett, solicitor-general; and Sir Charles Bagot, Governor-general of Canada. A change, as extensive as any that had been usual, was made in the queen's household. Earl de Grey became Lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The re-elections of the members of the new government by their respective constituencies having taken place without the loss of a single seat, the House of Commons re-assembled on the 16th of September. The Whigs, who were now sitting on the opposition benches, attempted to bewilder Sir Robert Peel by a multiplicity of questions, and to force from him a premature disclosure of his intentions respecting the revenue, the corn laws, &c. The premier kept his own counsel until his own proper moment arrived. He had distinctly stated, at the close of the last session, that if called to power, he would not bring forward any premature declarations as to the intentions of her majesty's government. This declaration he had made repeatedly, and the sense of the country had been taken at the

general election under the distinct announcement that such was his intention. Moreover, the season was far advanced, and the house was thinning. Meeting the difficulty boldly in the face, and finding that the deficiency was even greater than had been believed, he demanded and obtained an addition to the ways and means of £2,467,432. So soon as the business of immediate urgency was despatched, the parliament was prorogued by commission. This was on the 7th of October. On the 9th of the following month an event occurred which served to unite our beloved sovereign still more closely if possible to the hearts of her devoted subjects. This was the birth of an heir to the British throne, at Buckingham Palace; and as it was on lord-mayor's day, the pleasure-loving citizens of London were enabled to double the congratulations of their time-honoured festival on account of such an auspicious national occurrence. May Albert Edward realize the best hopes which so often have been formed in favour of those who

BUCKINGHAM PALACE, as at the time, from the Inclosure, St James's Park.—Drawn and engraved by J. L. Williams

have borne the title of "Prince of Wales," and when the crown devolves to him—though late be that event—may he rule as his predecessor has ruled, and be honoured as she has been!

While the Whigs were sustaining the discomfitures which drove them from office, the sad effects of their policy beyond the Indus were becoming more and more apparent; and before the close of this year the Afghan tragedy was completed.

As early as the month of May, 1841, Major Pottinger prognosticated the coming storm, representing to Macnaghten the envoy the insufficiency of our military force in some places, and the badness of their cantonments in nearly all places. The major was looked upon as an alarmist. Sir A. Burnes was quite confident there was no danger. At the end of October, Cabool was surrounded by predatory bands, and our communication with Hindoostan was cut off. In October, General Sale cleared the pass of Khoord Cabool, but not without hard fighting and considerable loss. Yet all through that month our officers were insulted in their cantonments at Cabool, and many attempts were made to assassinate them. On the 2d of November, an attack was made on the house of Sir A. Burnes in the city; and he was massacred, together with his brother, Lieutenant Burnes, Lieutenant W. Broadfoot, and every man, woman, and child found on the premises. Sir William Macnaghten, who was in the cantonments, thought and said the storm would soon blow over of itself. Instead of blowing over, it increased in violence, while every minute that was lost in inaction raised the numbers and the audacity of the insurgents. The chief command of our astounded and bewildered army (bewildered much more by the inactivity and stupor of their leaders than by the proceedings of the Afghans) was at this time held by Major-general Elphinstone, a most amiable and at one time a gallant officer, but who had been suffering a long and painful illness, which had affected his nerves, and worn out his mind as much as his body. He was utterly incapable of acting in this sudden emergency with the promptitude and vigour necessary for the preservation of his troops, and the officers next in command under him seem to have been—without the same physical

and unavoidable causes—as incapable as himself, and to have shrunk from all responsibility. The cantonment occupied by the army for so many months was as bad as it could be, and the magazine of provisions was placed in the most exposed and least defensible part of it, detached from our works of strength. All the calamities which befell our ill-starred force might be traced more or less to the defects of our position; and whether we look to its situation or to its construction, this cantonment at Cabool must ever be spoken of as a disgrace to our military skill and judgment.[1]

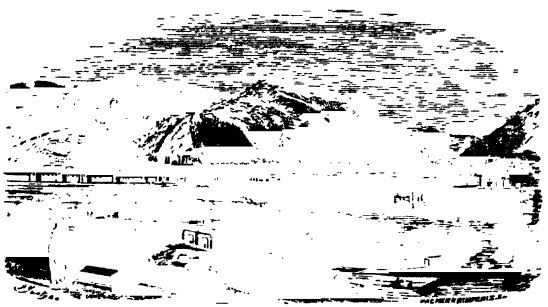
On the 3d of November, the day after the outbreak in Cabool, 3000 savage Ghilzies rushed towards our cantonments, and other numerous bands began to collect on the surrounding hills. We turn with shame from the details of the fearful humiliating story. Our commanding officers continued in their imbecility until our troops were infected with downright cowardice. On the 4th of November our people ran away from the commissariat fort, abandoning to the enemy all our stores, clothing, and provisions, except two days' supply of provisions in cantonments. On the 9th, General Elphinstone's weak state of health induced him to give up the command to Brigadier Shelton. A quarrel or wide difference of opinion immediately arose between Shelton and Macnaghten. How provisions had been obtained we know not; but our army was still motionless in its cantonments on the 22d of November, when the terrible Akbar Khan arrived at Cabool with some hundreds of well-mounted warriors. Shelton made a sally, committed no fewer than six capital military errors, and was beaten back with loss. On the 26th it was proposed by the enemy that the British should quietly evacuate the country, and leave the Afghans to themselves. On the 8th of December, Macnaghten requested General Elphinstone to state whether the only alternative left was not to negotiate for our safe retreat The despondent dying Elphinstone gave a fatal response in the affirmative. On the 11th of December, Macnaghten went out to meet Akbar Khan and certain great khans and heads of tribes, who had intimated that they were desirous of concluding a treaty. A treaty or an agreement was concluded—our troops were to be allowed to retire without molestation; the Afghans were to furnish them with provisions and the means of transport for the conveyance of our baggage, stores, &c. Instead of sending provisions, the savages murdered all our sick and wounded men that they could lay their hands upon.

On the 14th of December was commenced the most disastrous and appalling retreat that has ever been recorded in authentic history. Making allowance for the difference of numbers, the retreat of the French from Moscow was less dreadful than this. In both cases, the ice and snow, and nakedness and famine, slew more than the sword. On the 20th of December, Sir William Macnaghten had an interview with the chiefs, who now demanded that a portion of our guns and ammunition should be given up, and that Brigadier Shelton should be put into their hands as an hostage. Lieutenant Sturt, in whom the English spirit had not become extinct, proposed to the general to break off the treaty and march forthwith to Jellalabad, where Sale was stoutly maintaining himself But the general called a council of war—and a council of war never fights. On the 22d of December, as our troops were preparing to follow the van-division, Akbar Khan sent to propose a new and much more favourable treaty than the one which he had already broken, and to invite our envoy to another conference. On the following day Macnaghten went to the place appointed, presented Akbar with a beautiful Arab horse, and was barbarously murdered under the eyes of that khan and of other chiefs. It is even said that Akbar himself did the foul deed, shooting his victim through the body with a richly-mounted pistol which Macnaghten had sent him only a few hours before. The body was hacked to pieces by the armed fanatics, who carried the head into the city and triumphantly exhibited it to Captain Conolly, one of the prisoners who had been taken. Not an arm was raised to avenge Macnaghten's fate—nothing could re-animate our troops, or the wretched men who commanded them. All went on as if with one accord to complete their disgrace and seal their doom—all, except a few English hearts who murmured and remonstrated, but who had not moral courage sufficient to incur the heavy and awful responsibility of putting their commanding officers under arrest, appealing to the troops, and assuming the command themselves. There were more councils of war called, to end in more baseness and madness. it was agreed to leave behind all our guns, except six; to surrender all our treasure; to give up married men, with their wives and families, as hostages; to pay Osman Khan, and some other treacherous villains, five lacs of rupees in bills drawn upon India, but negotiated on the spot by a merchant of Cashmere and some Hindoo bankers, the said Osman Khan engaging to escort the whole army in safety to Peshawer. In vain did Major Pottinger raise his manly voice against this useless

[1] Lieutenant Vincent Eyre. The cantonment had a low rampart and a narrow ditch, its form was a parallelogram, it had round flanking bastions at each corner, *but every one of these bastions was commanded by some fort or hill.*

debasement (and never were English soldiers so debased before as to buy a way out of an enemy's country!)—the rest of the officers composing the council declared, one and all, that the bargain must be struck. And, accordingly, the bills were given, and English ladies were delivered over as hostages, if not at this moment, a little later.

On the 6th of January, 1842, our head-quarters and the rest of our army cleared out of the cantonments at Cabool, to march, in the depth of



Cabool.—From Atkinson's Sketches in Afghanistan

winter, through a country of perhaps unparalleled difficulty. The strength of our whole force was at this time estimated at about 4500 fighting men; the camp-followers at a moderate computation, amounted to about 12,000 men, besides women and children. At the moment the rear-guard cleared out of the cantonments, the Afghans began to plunder the baggage, and to follow and fire upon our soldiers; and these operations can scarcely be said to have ceased until there was nothing left to plunder—*or to kill*. We will not follow this demoralized and degraded army through the horrors of the passes of Khoord Cabool, Tezeen, and Gundamuck. General Elphinstone, almost at the point of death, gave himself up to one of the khans. The ladies and wounded were given up; Dr. Brydon, who escaped by a miracle, was the only officer that reached the garrison of Jellalabad, and a mere handful of sepoys and camp-followers entered the fortress, which Sale had held in spite of General Elphinstone's insane orders to him to evacuate. Counting camp-followers, women, and children, more than 26,000 human beings had perished in the retreat, through cold, famine, and the incessant attacks of the enemy. A few hundreds—mostly native Indians, had been carried away captives, to be turned into slaves, or to be kept for the sake of ransoms. Woe to this Afghan war! and mercy to the souls of those who planned it, and who nearly all perished in it.[1]

The upholding of the Ottoman empire and the settlement of the Levant, effected during this year, and while the Melbourne administration was yet in power, seems to us worthy of all praise and commendation. The war which was waged for these great objects cost but little bloodshed, and it gave back to the sultan the strength of which his rebel vassal, the Pacha of Egypt, ought never to have been allowed to deprive him.

In the month of May, 1829, Sultan Mahmoud sent Hafiz Pacha across the Euphrates, with an army to recover Syria. In the month of June of that year, Hafiz Pacha was thoroughly defeated by Ibrahim Pacha, who drove the Osmanlis to the other side of the Euphrates. On the 27th of June, Sultan Mahmoud died, and was succeeded by his son, Abdul Medjid, who was only in his sixteenth year. The new sultan offered the too-powerful pacha a full pardon for the past, and the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt; Mehemet Ali replied, that he must have Syria as well At first, France would have put herself forward as sole mediatrix in the quarrel; but this was a position which the other powers of Europe could not allow her to occupy. After pretending, for a time, to go along with Lord Palmerston, the French minister suddenly alleged that he could not coincide with us and the other powers; that he could have no part in the settlement of the Levant, as we pretended to settle it; and Lord Palmerston then said, the Levant should be settled without France. Upon this announcement, there was much blustering among the journalists on the other side of the Channel, but what could France now do against the allied powers of Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia? All that she did was to give false hopes to the Pacha of Egypt and Ibrahim Pacha, and to encourage them into a resistance which was utterly unavailing, and which cost them great sacrifices.

A few weeks after the death of Sultan Mahmoud, the Turkish fleet, under the command of a traitorous capitan-pacha, or lord high-admiral, sailed through the Dardanelles, went down to Alexandria, and there placed itself at the disposal of Mehemet Ali. The young sultan had therefore no available naval force at the time when he most wanted it. It was resolved that the British navy should make up this deficiency. Nearly at the same time insurrections broke out among the

[1] *Our Indian Empire*

mountaineers in Syria, against the oppressive government of the Pacha of Egypt. They complained of the conscription, which dragged them away in chains to fight for Mehemet Ali; they complained of corvées, and all manner of forced labour; they complained of the enormous taxes imposed upon property on the death of the owner, and the succession of his heir or heirs; and they could not brook the law which commanded every man among them who was not a soldier in the pacha's service to deliver up his arms.

The treaty between Britain, Austria, Russia, and Turkey, for the settlement of the eastern question, was signed at London, on the 15th of July, 1840, and was ratified on the 15th of September. By the beginning of October, our fleet, very effectually aided by a naval and land force of the Emperor of Austria, reduced the important city of Beyrout, on the Syrian coast, and drove off Ibrahim Pacha, with a loss of 7000 men, and nearly all his artillery and stores. Encouragement and substantial assistance were sent to the Syrian mountaineers; and the Egyptian army was compelled to retreat on Acre. Sidon was captured by the allies. The insurrection against Mehemet Ali spread over all Syria; and Emir Beschir, chief of the Druses of Mount Lebanon, placed himself in the hands of the allies. On the 3d of November, the decisive blow was struck; Acre, or St. Jean d'Acre, was bombarded by the British fleet, and in less than four hours was knocked to pieces—the Egyptians losing more than 2000 men in killed and wounded, and 300 as prisoners; whilst the British counted only twelve killed, and forty-two wounded. The remnant of the army of Mehemet Ali then evacuated Syria. On the 27th of November, 1840, Mehemet Ali, yielding to hard necessity, accepted the terms offered by Commodore Sir Charles Napier, and agreed to restore the Turkish fleet to the sultan, to renounce for ever all claims upon Syria, and to rest satisfied with the possession of Egypt as an hereditary fief of the Sublime Porte. Thus speedily was settled one of the most important questions of modern times; and thus was given strength and solidity to the shattered Ottoman empire, together with another chance of occupying the position among the first-rate powers which, for the sake of the peace of all Europe, she ought to hold. And, since that period the internal improvements of this empire have gone on at an accelerated pace.

CHAPTER IX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY—A.D. 1842—1844.

VICTORIA.

Changes in the cabinet—Opening of parliament—Advances towards free trade—Motions for modifications in the corn laws—Presentation of the "People's Petition"—Its rejection—Parliament prorogued—Affairs of India—Resolution to continue the Afghan war—Sale's successful defence of Jellalabad—The siege raised—Dissensions among the Afghan chiefs—Defeat of the Afghans at Kandahar—Advance of the British army into Afghanistan—Treatment of the English prisoners by Akbar Khan—They are hurried into the interior—Their deliverance and return—The Afghans quelled—Close of the war—War of the British in China—Its origin in the opium trade—Unsuccessful attempts to negotiate with the Chinese—Conflicts between the British and Chinese in the Canton river—Defeats of the Chinese—Canton invested—Captures made by the British in China—Treaty of peace with China—Terms of the treaty—Opening of parliament in 1843—Falling off in the revenue—Proposed remedy—The government scheme of education announced—Its unpopularity among all classes of Protestants—The scheme reduced into the factory bill—Colonization proposed for the relief of the industrial classes—Monster meetings in Ireland—O'Connell arrested—Disruption in the Church of Scotland—Rebekah riots in Wales—Their suppression—Trial of O'Connell—His conviction and sentence—He appeals against the sentence—His appeal sustained—His last appearances and death—Improvement in the revenue of 1844—Demand for the repeal of certain taxes—Discussion on the sugar duties bill—It is passed—Passing of the bill for the reduction of the three-and-a-half per cents—Sir Robert Peel's bill for the regulation of the Bank of England—His statement of its nature and specifications—The bill passed—Its mercantile importance—Passing of the regulation of railways bill—Regulation of joint stock-companies—Concessions made in the Irish charitable trusts bill—Abolition of old penal statutes against Roman Catholics.

WHEN the parliamentary business of 1842 commenced, there had been some slight changes in the cabinet. Lord Ellenborough, fortunately for the service, and for the tarnished honour of our arms, had been sent out to India as governor-general, and he had been succeeded at the board of control by Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci. The Duke of Buckingham, who, as Marquis of Chandos, had so long headed what was called the farming interest, had resigned the privy seal, being alienated from Sir Robert Peel by the intimations now given, that the corn laws

must and would be changed. His office had been taken by the Duke of Buccleuch.

The session of parliament was opened on the 3d of February. The addresses were carried without a division, and when divisions became necessary, it was seen that the ministry was strong enough to carry any such measure of reform as it might propose. The machine of government was no longer at a dead-lock. Sir Robert boldly brought forward and carried his property and income tax, reducing at the same time various other taxes and duties. There was no other certain mode of raising revenue sufficient to make up for past deficiencies and defray our annual expenditure. Upon more than 750 articles there was an abatement of duty. Immense strides were made towards the system of free trade. For the total abolition of the corn laws, Sir Robert was not yet prepared: he still clung to the sliding scale; but his grasp was evidently less tenacious than formerly, and instead of a sudden alteration which took place on the existing scale from 10*s* to 6*s*. 8*d*., 2*s*. 8*d*, and 1*s*., he proposed two stationary points, after which the duty would only fall by 1*s*. at each increase of 1*s*. in the average price. He believed that agricultural industry would stand on a firmer basis with prices between 54*s* and 58*s* the quarter, than when it was disturbed by violent fluctuations. He, however, disclaimed the idea that the legislature could guarantee any price for corn whatever. Another material part of the modification was the addition of 156 towns to the list of 150, in which the average prices of corn had been previously taken. Mr. Cobden denounced the plan of the government as an insult to a suffering people. This honourable member could consistently be violent, for he had been for years an enthusiast, a lecturer, and propagandist for a free trade in corn; and for some time he had devoted his entire life to this one object. But when the late ministers, who had only taken up the corn-law question when it was considerably past the eleventh hour, raised a clamour against Sir Robert Peel as loud as that of Mr. Cobden, it did seem inconsistent, unfair, and indelicate. And even now the Whig party were far from recognizing the principle of a free trade in corn. Lord John Russell moved a fixed duty of 8*s*. the quarter. Sir Robert Peel said that this was too high; and Lord John was outvoted by 349 against 226. Mr. Villiers, whose views on the corn laws had long differed from those entertained by the Melbourne cabinet, did indeed vote for the abolition of all duties payable on the importation of foreign corn. He was outvoted by 303 to ninety; and nearly all the Whigs were found in the majority. Sir Robert Peel's scale was carried by 306 against 104. On the 11th March, the premier developed his financial plans in a long and most able speech, which gave satisfaction to practical commercial men, and to all those whose habits and pursuits gave them the best means of judging of such matters.

On the 2d of May, Mr Thomas Duncombe presented to the commons what was facetiously called "The People's Petition;" which was said to have been signed by nearly three millions and a half of people. We had had monster meetings and monster balloons; here was a monster petition! When tacked together, it required sixteen men to carry it! It was escorted to Palace-yard by a long procession of working men, who marched in good order and with peaceable demeanour to the Houses of Parliament. It was so big that the door of the House of Commons was not wide enough to admit it. It was therefore divided into sections, and in that manner carried by the petitioners into the body of the house, where it was left to lie on the floor, for no table could have held it. There was much laughter, and those laughed most who best knew how the signatures had been obtained or manufactured. It demanded the enactment of the six points constituting "The People's Charter." Mr. Duncombe, though he laughed with those who laughed, moved that the petitioners by their agents or counsel, should be heard at the bar. He found 49 members to vote with him; but there were 287 against him. The best of the reformers, as Mr. Benjamin Hawes, said they could never think of conceding power to masses of men, blindly led, who had signed this trashy petition.

Sir Robert Peel announced that a supplementary grant of £10,000 would be proposed in addition to the usual education grant of £30,000. On the 9th of August, Sir Robert Peel moved an address for the erection of monuments to Sir Sidney Smith, Lord de Saumarez, and Lord Exmouth, three of our greatest naval heroes; and Mr. Hawes withdrew a motion for adding the names of Herschel, Watt, and Davy, hoping that Sir Robert himself would undertake that duty. The parliament was prorogued on the 12th of August, when her majesty deeply lamented the military reverses to the westward of the Indus, but turned with satisfaction to the gallant defence of Jellalabad, and a decisive victory in the field, which had evidently proved the courage and discipline of the European and native troops, and the skill and fortitude of their distinguished commander.

Lord Ellenborough arrived in India on the 28th of February, 1842. His earliest attention was claimed by the state of affairs on the Indus, where the Ameers of Scinde continued in a doubtful attitude, and by the state of affairs in Afghan-

istan, where our troops were remaining in a state of uncertainty as to their future operations, and where our captives were putting up earnest, but at times almost hopeless prayers for their liberation; a liberation which even the women of the party seem to have thought was not to be obtained by negotiation and ransom, but by hard fighting. At first his lordship adopted the notion of his predecessor; and it is said that positive orders were more than once drawn up for recalling all our troops, and commencing a treaty with men whom no treaty could bind. But the clear head and high heart of the Duke of Wellington revolted at this line of policy; and the English people, and assuredly the majority of the cabinet, felt with the duke. The indignation of the country would have broken up the new ministry if Lord Ellenborough had followed the plan which he had been induced to entertain, momentarily and reluctantly, by the advice of others, whose seat of sensibility was mostly in the purse. In a happy moment, his lordship in council pronounced the word "Forward," and from that moment our prestige began to brighten, our disgrace to be remedied. We speak not of vengeance for the past; this was not, and never ought to have been, a war of retaliation and revenge; it was a war of retrieval, a war of liberation. It was a war for retrieving all that was most valuable to us—our national character, the honour of our arms, and the spell of our prestige, wanting which we should have had not one, but

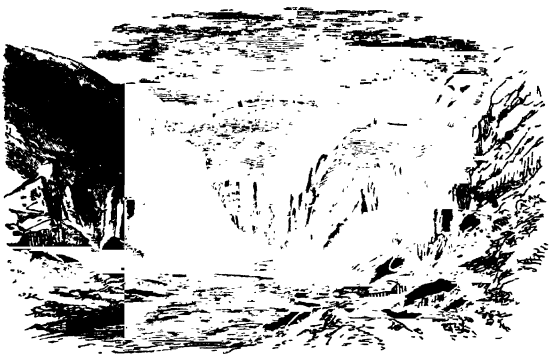
JELLALABAD.—From Masson's Narrative of Journeys in Beloochistan, &c.

many wars to undertake in the East; it was a war for releasing in the only becoming manner the sons and daughters of Britain from a foul Afghan imprisonment.

In the meanwhile, General Sale, in spite of doubt and uncertainty as to the orders he might receive, and in spite of many other discouraging circumstances, had continued to hold out manfully behind the shattered walls of Jellalabad. His sorties had continued to be frequent and successful. Through these sorties many of Akbar Khan's people were killed and wounded, while many were so disheartened that they quitted the camp, and turned their faces towards their own homes. On the morning of the 7th of April, Sale defeated Akbar Khan in the open field, with only a part of the troops that chief boasted he had been blockading. The defeat was signal: two Afghan standards, four guns which had been lost by our Cabool army, and nearly all Akbar Khan's ordnance, stores, tents, &c., were taken. Next to Sale himself, the heroes of this day were Lieutenant-colonel Dennie, Colonel Monteith, Captains Broadfoot, Fenwick, Pattison, Oldfield, and Havelock, and Lieutenant Mayne. Unhappily the gallant Dennie was killed. But notwithstanding this victory, the situation of the brigade was still very precarious, for the provisions were almost all consumed. At last, on Friday the 15th of April, Sale received the joyful intelligence that Pollock's camp was at Ali Boghan, only eight miles from Jellalabad, and that he would certainly be at Jellalabad in the course of the next morning. And accordingly, on Saturday morning, at about eight o'clock, General Pollock and his force arrived, under a salute of seventeen guns. On Sunday, the day after this opportune arrival, there were three distinct shocks of earthquake, but they did no harm, and passed almost unnoticed by our rejoicing soldiers. Pollock had soundly beaten the Afghans in the Khyber Pass and above it; and before he reached Jellalabad, the beleaguered army had dissolved, or was in rapid flight, although only a few days before, the Afghans, to deceive and distress some of their English captives, had been waving their hands and shouting, "Shabash (Bravo)! All is over. The Feringee army has been cut up in the Khyber Pass, and all their guns taken, by Sultan Jan."

As soon as it was known that General Pollock intended to advance and not to retreat, the people of Cabool began to desert the city in great numbers, from dread of our army; and all efforts to induce the people to meet and oppose Pollock on his march were found to be fruitless. Many of the khans either struck away for their own mountains, or agreed that some one or two

of the English prisoners should be released, in order to open friendly negotiations with the victorious general. Just at this crisis Major-general Elphinstone breathed his last. By this time several of the Afghan chiefs were waging war upon one another in the neighbourhood of Cabool. It was difficult, even with the best management, to occupy the country, but happily there was no longer any intention of so doing; it was easy to regain possession of Cabool and to scatter the divided, distracted army of such an anarchic people. The sirdar now offered to release the English ladies and children unconditionally, but his despatch was intercepted and destroyed by one of the khans One security for the lives at least of these interesting prisoners was in the circumstance that the women and children of Akbar's own family and some other chiefs were in our hands, and the barbarians thought that if they murdered their captives, we should retaliate by murdering ours The Shah Sujah was treacherously assassinated by one Sujah Dowlah, "a handsome, quiet-looking man," who now tried hard to persuade the English prisoners that the shah had played us false, and that he had committed a praiseworthy act in getting rid of him The assassin's real motive was to avenge an attempt which had been made upon the life of Akbar by an agent of Shah Sujah; but many of these Afghan chiefs had become wonderfully anxious to prove that they had always been the friends of the English, and that it was the late shah who made the insurrection, and called upon all the mountain tribes to destroy our army on its retreat through the passes. Shah Sujah's youngest son, Futty Jung, was proclaimed king by one party, while the Barukzies formed another party and opposed him. From the close neighbourhood of Cabool, the civil or clan warfare was carried into the very heart of that city; and Futty Jung, who hoped to retain the treasure, if not the throne, of his father, the murdered shah, was closely besieged in the Balla Hissar. On the 6th of June, a mine was sprung under one of the towers of the Balla Hissar; but the storming party was driven back with loss. On the following day, however, Futty Jung, finding his people disinclined to support him any longer, made terms with Akbar and the other chiefs, giving up a tower in the Balla Hissar to each of them, and retaining for himself possession of the royal residence. By this strange bargain, the citadel was now divided between four rival tribes, the Dooraunees, the Barukzies, the Ghilzies, and the Kuzzilbashes, each being represented by its chief.



FORT OF ALI MUSJID, in the Khyber Pass [1]

On the 2d of June news was brought to Cabool that General Nott had gained a great victory under the walls of Kandahar, and had killed 2000 of the Afghans. Nott also succeeded in seizing the person of Sufter Jung, a rebel son of Shah Sujah, who had fought against his own father, and had now been fighting against the English The sirdar, Akbar Khan, now told the English prisoners at Cabool that he intended shortly to march to Jellalabad, in order to pay his respects to General Polleck! But from other quarters the Englishmen heard that he meditated carrying them all off to the banks of the Oxus This was the man who, after concluding the treaty with Macnaghten, girded on his weapons on the morning of the departure of our army from Cabool, and told the assembled chiefs he was going to slay all the Feringee dogs; and this was the man who, on the passage of our troops through the Khoord Cabool Pass, followed with some chiefs in the rear, and in the same breath called to the Afghans in Persian (a language which many of our officers and people understood) to desist from firing, and in *Pushtoo* (a dialect of the country which none of our people understood) to continue firing at the infidel dogs On the 29th of June there was a shock of an earthquake at Cabool, and Futty Jung, the Dooraunee chief, and youngest son of Shah Sujah, was proclaimed king by Akbar, who contented himself for the present with the title of vizier. But it would appear that our Indian government had begun once more to lose heart and confidence, and to doubt whether the

[1] From Lieutenant W Barr's "Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawer, and thence to Cabool."

united forces should retire at once to the country below the Khyber Pass, or take a forward position near Jellalabad, or advance upon Cabool. After his junction with Sale, Pollock halted more than four months at Jellalabad. During this long time the troops at Jellalabad were much afflicted with dysentery and other sicknesses, arising chiefly from bad food, improper or inadequate clothing, and the want of tents. A great many died, and all the surviving soldiers were impatient to quit the place, and march forward for the Afghan capital. If this long delay was partly owing to the difficulty of procuring cattle and forwarding supplies and reinforcements, it is pretty clear that it was also partly owing to the indecision of government, and to the want of proper energy and ability in the commissariat, and (*perhaps*) in some other branches of the service. At length, about the middle of July, General Pollock received instructions to advance on Cabool as quick as possible Pollock, however, could not, or at least did not, move until the 20th of August. Akbar Khan declared, with an expression of savage determination in his countenance, that so surely as Pollock advanced, he would take all his English prisoners into Toorkistan, and make presents of them to the different chiefs of that wild country. On the 15th of August, General Nott, at the head of about 7000 men, had left Kandahar for Ghuznee and Cabool, a distance of about 300 miles. Sultan Jan started to meet Nott before he should reach Ghuznee; he fancied he was going to a certain victory, but he sustained a complete defeat; and, Ghuznee being retaken, Nott continued his advance. General Pollock was equally successful; and both armies were satisfactorily proving that our soldiers, both native and European, only required proper commanders to be invincible. It was now expected that General Nott would reach Cabool early in September, and that Pollock would be only a few days after him.

General Pollock.—From a portrait by G H Ford

On the 25th of August, Akbar kept his threat by hurrying off his prisoners towards Toorkistan. On the 3d of September, the unhappy party reached Bameean, every indignity having been heaped upon them by the way. There they were halted under a fort until fresh orders should be received from the terrible Akbar. On the 11th, the khan who had charge of them, and who was "a man that would do anything for money," signed an agreement with five English officers, who promised to give him 20,000 rupees and to insure him 1000 rupees per month. After this the khan hoisted the flag of defiance on the walls of the fort, telling the prisoners that they had no longer anything to fear—that they should not be carried into Toorkistan—that they should remain where they were until General Pollock should send a detachment to convey them back to Cabool in honour and safety. He had told the prisoners that he had received Akbar's orders to hurry them on their journey, and to butcher all the sick, and all those for whom there was no conveyance. Several neighbouring chiefs, knowing how matters were going at Cabool, and hoping to obtain some English money, came over to the fort and tendered their allegiance to Major Pottinger. Some two or three of them with much form and ceremony swore on the Koran to be faithful to Major Pottinger and his companions, who appointed a commissariat officer, and resolved, in case Akbar should send troops against them, to hold out till they should receive assistance, even though they should be reduced to eat the rats and mice, of which they had a grand stock in the old fort. On the 15th a letter was received at the fort, stating that all Cabool had risen against Akbar the new vizier; that Nott's and Pollock's forces were coming up rapidly; that Akbar had fled to the Zoba Mountains, and that other chiefs who dreaded alike the vengeance of the English soldiers and the vengeance of the people of Cabool had fled in various directions, and with only a few followers. It was also reported that a light English force had been sent to their aid, and was making forced marches towards the fort. Upon this Major Pottinger, no longer a prisoner, but acting as a viceroy and making grants of land and assigning revenues to the hill chiefs, to keep them in good humour, determined to quit the old fort, and return with the whole party along the road leading to Cabool.

The party, attended by a number of chiefs, set out from the fort on the 16th, hoping to meet their English friends on the road, and at the same time fearing that they might encounter some of Akbar's desperate and vindictive people.

1 KHAN SHEREEN KHAN, Chief of the Juwanshеer Kuzzilbashes. 2 GHOLAM MAHOMED, a Barukzye —From Hart's Character and Costume of Afghanistan

As they encamped for the first evening they received a letter stating that Pollock's force, after fighting from midday to midnight, had eventually forced the Khoord Cabool Pass, and had charged the enemy as far as the hills on the north side of the city of Cabool; that Nott had attacked and pursued them in another direction; that the late Kuzzilbashes and adherents of the late Shah Sujah had made themselves complete masters of the city, and that Akbar Khan, Sultan Jan Achmed Khan, and other hostile khans, who had all been defeated, were nowhere to be heard of. This was pleasant news; but at the same time our returning prisoners were alarmed by the report that 2000 horse were following them up to recapture them and to carry them into the deserts beyond the Oxus. But their last fears were soon removed; at two o'clock in the morning of the 17th they were roused from their slumber by the arrival of a horseman with a letter from Sir Richmond Shakespear, who was coming with 600 mounted Kuzzilbashes to meet them. The party set off early, and at mid-day reached some deserted forts at the foot of a mountain-pass. They were sitting under the walls of one of three forts, sheltering themselves from the sun, when, at three o'clock, Sir Richmond arrived, and was received with heartfelt pleasure. "That we should have escaped unhurt, with so many delicate women, young children, and tender infants, through such numerous perils, fatigues, and privations, and, above all, from the hands of such merciless enemies as Akbar Khan and his Ghilzie confederates, seemed at first too much for the senses to realize, nor could even the most thoughtless among us fail to recognize and acknowledge in all that had befallen us the distinguishing grace and protecting providence of a forbearing and merciful God. We now for the first time learned that General Pollock had reached Cabool on the 15th, where one of his first acts had been to hasten the departure of the Kuzzilbashes to our aid by a donation of 10,000 rupees" But the party had still a long march and a difficult country between them and Cabool, and were not without their apprehensions that Akbar might make some desperate effort to recover his lost prey. Sir R. Shakespear forwarded an earnest request to General Pollock that more troops might instantly be sent out to their support, as the pass of Suffed Khak, through which they must march, was reported to be occupied by a band of marauders. At the same time it was determined that the party should move forward by forced marches, for which every facility was afforded by the Kuzzilbash chiefs in supplying them with fresh horses On the dawn of the 18th the march was resumed On the 20th they met an English officer, who gave them the welcome intelligence that General Sale's brigade was only a few miles distant on the road to meet them. A little farther on they saw a body of her majesty's 3rd dragoons with a squadron of Bengal cavalry quietly picketed in some fields

"All doubt was now at an end; we were once more under the safeguard of the British troops. General Sale was there in person; and his happiness at regaining his long-lost wife and daughter may be imagined. The gallant veteran's countenance was an index of his feelings; and apathetic indeed must have been the heart that failed to sympathize with his holy joy. The camp was still a few miles further on; and we performed a procession of glad spirits as we moved along towards the pass of Suffed Khak, whose heights we could discern crowned with British bayonets. This we found to be a part of the brave 13th light infantry (Sale's own regiment), who, as the ladies successively ascended the hill, raised three hearty cheers to each of them; sounds never to be forgotten, producing a thrill of ecstasy through the whole frame. The mountain guns, under Captain Backhouse, would cap the scene with a royal salute."[1] It was a glorious rescue—it was a scene worthy of an epic; but alas! that the number of the rescued should be so small. On

[1] Lady Sale's Journal.

the 21st, the happy party marched out with Sale's brigade to Killa Kazee, a village close to Cabool. At two P M. on the same day they started for General Pollock's camp on the plain east of Cabool. Near the tomb of the Emperor Baber they passed

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ROBERT SALE, G C B.
From a portrait by H Mosely.

General Nott's camp. Thence their road lay through the city. The streets were almost empty, and unnatural silence prevailed—a striking contrast to the noise and bustle of former days! They passed the spot where Burnes's house had stood. That house was now a heap of rubbish, and its pretty garden a desolate waste. It was here that the unfortunate man used to look forward with enthusiasm to the rapid melioration of the country through the agency of British enterprise and skill—an unreal, fatal vision, and awfully dissipated! The party entered General Pollock's camp at sunset. Again the artillery uttered its boisterous notes of welcome, and old friends crowded around with their hearty congratulations. For the present their cup of joy was full. But when the first rapture was over, rest and reflection, and the scenes which surrounded them, must have brought to their recollection the thousands that had perished, and the many friends whose bones lay bleaching on the mountain-tops or in the dreadful passes.

Victory was now perched upon the British standard wherever it was raised. One of the most confident predictions of those who had pleaded for the continuance of the Company's commercial charter and monopoly of the China trade had been verified: from the moment that that trade had been thrown open, there had been nothing but dissension and confusion at Canton, and the quarrel had led to war, and to the invasion of the Celestial empire by a British fleet and army. The victories obtained in the rivers and on the plains of China were rapidly rumoured throughout India, and produced a salutary impression among the mountains of Afghanistan, as well as in other neighbouring countries. They warned all our enemies that our enterprise, our strength, and resources were undiminished. On 21st of September Lord Ellenborough, being then at Simla, in the Himalaya Mountains, issued an encouraging proclamation, in which he stated that he had that very day received the reports of three victories: one obtained on the 30th of August, by Major-general Nott over 12,000 Afghans, thirty-eight miles to the southward of Ghuznee; one, on the 8th of September, by Major-general Pollock, over the troops of Mahomed Akbar Khan and the Ghilzie chiefs at Jugdulluk; and one on the 16th of June, by the expedition on the coast of China, within the mouth of the river Yang-tse-Kiang. Before the news of these victories reached them, our old foes in Nepaul and some of the Rajpoot tribes in Central India were in a state of violent excitement, and even the Burmese looked anxiously towards China, and seemed more than half determined to try again the fortune of war by invading Arracan and the Tenasserim provinces. But as soon as it was known that the Chinese were fleeing before our troops, that the Afghans had been beaten in every encounter, and that Cabool had been recaptured, both Burmese and Nepaulese, together with every independent state in Hindoostan, gave up their warlike projects, and hastened to make the most amicable professions to our Indian government.

We had, however, had quite enough of Afghan connections and interferences; there was no longer a man that could be deluded by a vision like that of Burnes; we had released our captives, retrieved the honour of our arms, and by a series of well-ordered and gloriously-fought battles reduced the Afghan pride, and therefore it was felt that we had little else to do than to vacate a country which we ought never to have entered, and leave the khans to their own anarchy. On the 1st of October, Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation from Simla, the spot where Lord Auckland had declared the war, stating that the disasters in Afghanistan having been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune, the British troops would be withdrawn to the Sutlej. And on the 12th of October, after destroying the fortifications, the grand bazaar, two mosques, and other buildings, the British troops evacuated Cabool, and marched off in three divisions for Jellalabad, where they arrived in the course of the 22d and the two following days. On Saturday

the 17th of December, they reached the right bank of the Sutlej opposite Ferozepour, and crossed that river on a bridge of boats decorated with flags. Reviews, dinners, and balls ensued. In proposing the health of General Sale and the brave garrison of Jellalabad, Lord Ellenborough said that it was they who had saved the name and fame of the British empire in India. At a grand review on the 31st of December, 24,000 troops and 102 guns were mustered on this one spot.

Of the war in China we can say but little. The Chinese displayed on some occasions a wonderful degree of fortitude and power of endurance, but of a brilliant or active courage they gave very few proofs; and their military science was altogether contemptible. A very small British army might have marched through and through the empire. Most of our troops that were actually engaged were ashamed of their easy conquest. There seemed hardly anything for them to do but to move forward and kill or scatter.

The quarrel had commenced almost immediately after the alteration of the East India Company's charter which threw open the trade of China as well as that of India. The Chinese

Forts and Batteries of the Bocca Tigris, or First Pass of the Canton River.—From a view by Lieutenant Martin, 44d Madras Native Infantry

were enormous consumers of opium, and their supplies were almost wholly derived from Hindoostan. The *moral* government of the Celestial empire, shocked at the prevalence of this worst kind of drunkenness, had long been fulminating terrible prohibitory decrees; but the Chinamen could not do without their opium; the ministers of the law themselves had a very general love for the drug, and the mandarins and other officers employed to stop the importation went shares with those who carried on the contraband trade The experienced sea-captains, factors, and servants of the East India Company had carried on this trade with great quietness and decorum, and with the order and regularity of an organized body. But the case was different when the free trade began, and when unpractised and impatient skippers and supercargoes repaired to Canton. The court of Pekin was roused into a fury by the proceedings of these men; the opium on shore was seized, together with a large amount of British property; and the tea trade and all other trade with us was declared to be suspended. In 1834 Lord Grey's government sent out Lord Napier to Canton to act as chief superintendent, and to endeavour to make up the quarrel. The viceroy of Canton refused to receive Lord Napier's letter, and peremptorily ordered his lordship to quit the factory, which is situated outside of Canton. His lordship refused either to communicate with the viceroy as a petitioner, or to leave the factory. On the 7th of September, 1834, as his majesty's ships the *Andromache* and *Imogene* were approaching the Bogue or Bocca Tigris passage, they were surrounded by a crowd of war-junks, and assailed by a fire from the Chinese forts. The English reserved their fire until they were in the narrowest part of the passage, and close to the paltry mud-forts, when a broadside or two did their business, silencing them and scattering the panic-stricken Chinese. Unfortunately Lord Napier was seized by a dangerous illness, which, with a difference of opinion that arose among the members of the British chambers of commerce, induced him to return to Macao, where he died on the 11th of October, 1834.

As soon as his lordship's decease was known, the chamber of commerce at Canton named Mr. John Francis Davis, formerly of the East India Company's factory at Canton, to succeed him as chief superintendent. But all the experience of

Mr. Davis was of no avail; and our relations remained in a most unsatisfactory state, the tea trade being at times allowed and at times suspended, and a rancorous feeling being displayed by the Chinese government on all occasions. Conflicts took place in the Canton river between some of our boats and the Chinese junks; and the authorities issued an order to interdict the supply of food of any kind to the British in China. On the 5th of January, 1840, an imperial edict directed all trade with England to cease for ever. On the 9th of June an attempt was made to burn all the English ships by means of fire-junks A few days after this attempt Sir Gordon Bremer, who had arrived with fifteen men-of-war, four steamers, and 4000 soldiers, published a notice of the blockade of Canton Something like a regular war now commenced. Part of our fleet proceeded northward on the east coast of China. On the 5th of July, 1840, the city of Shanghai, in Chusan, surrendered to our squadron. A blockade was now established from Ningpo to the mouth of the Keang River. In the month of November of that same year the court of Pekin condescended to despatch plenipotentiaries to treat with us for a peace; but in the beginning of January, 1841, while we were in the midst of the negotiations, an edict was issued that all Englishmen and all English ships should be destroyed wherever they should be met with near China In consequence of this violation of the existing truce, our soldiers and sailors attacked and carried several forts. As they were on the point of attacking the forts at the Bocca Tigris, Admiral Kwan solicited another armistice, which was granted by Captain Elliott. On the 23d of February, after other instances of bad faith, hostilities were resumed against China. Formal possession was now taken of Hong-Kong The Bogue forts were reduced by Sir Gordon Bremer, Admiral Kwan was killed, 459 guns were captured, and the British squadron proceeded up the river to Canton At the beginning of March, 1841, Sir Hugh Gough arrived with some slight reinforcements, and took the command of our land forces. On the 18th of March the Chinese having fired upon a flag of truce, our forces destroyed a flotilla of boats, captured 461 guns, threatened the city of Canton, and took possession of the foreign factories. After another hollow truce the Chinese attacked the British ships with great guns and fire-works. Our forces then began operations in earnest; and by the 25th of May all the heights behind Canton were occupied by British troops, and ninety more guns were taken. On the 27th of May the authorities of Canton agreed to pay six millions of dollars for the ransom of the city, in consequence of which another cessation of hostilities was granted. The Chinese paid five millions and gave security for the remainder on the 31st of May. Our forces were then withdrawn from Canton, and the British trade was re-opened.

In the month of August of the same year (1841), Sir Henry Pottinger arrived in the Macao Roads, as sole plenipotentiary of her Britannic majesty. As the Chinese would not agree to terms, and as their government still urged the extermination of the English, war was renewed with vigour. On the 27th of August the town of Amoy was captured by the British, who there destroyed 296 guns. In October Shanghai was taken after some resistance, and Ningpo without any resistance at all. The total number of Chinese guns taken or destroyed during these operations was immense. In December Yu-Yaon, Tszekee, and Foong-hua were carried by the British. On the 10th of March, 1842, from 10,000 to 12,000 Chinese troops, in attempting to recover Ningpo and Shanghai, were repulsed with great slaughter; and five days after this, 8000 of them were routed with great loss in an entrenched camp After a few other operations the British squadron entered the great river Keang, capturing Wooshung and Shanghai, and taking more than 230 guns. On the 21st of July the city of Chin-Keang was stormed and taken. Here something like a bold stand was made; and when the victory of the British was decided, the Tartar general and many of the garrison committed suicide By the 9th of August, our whole fleet being arrived at Nankin, a most populous city, and second in consequence only to Pekin, the disembarkation of our troops was begun. Here the proud court of Pekin fairly gave up the struggle. On the 20th of August, Chinese plenipotentiaries waited with a rare and becoming humility on Sir Henry Pottinger on board the *Cornwallis;* and in that ship, and in front of the walls of Nankin, a treaty of peace was signed on the 29th of August, 1842. The most important provisions of the treaty were the following.—

1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires. 2. China to pay 21,000,000 dollars in the course of the present and three succeeding years 3 The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-Foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai to be thrown open to British merchants; consular officers to be appointed to reside at them; and regular and just tariffs of import and export, as well as inland transit duties, to be established and published. 4. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic majesty, her heirs and successors. 5. All subjects of her Britannic majesty, whether natives of Europe or India, who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released. 6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor,

under his imperial sign-manual and seal, to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service under the British government or its officers. 7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality between the officers of both governments.

A part of the money being paid on the 8th of August, her Britannic majesty's forces began to retire from Nankin and the Grand Canal.

At home the commencement of 1843 presented no trivial amount or complication of difficulties to parliament, which was opened by commission on the 2d of February. While the depression was going on under which our manufactures had for some time been suffering to a large extent, the reduced price of agricultural produce, and the alarm occasioned by the late tariff, were pressing heavily upon the agricultural population. All this had produced such a diminution in the revenue, that the decrease of the first quarter ending on the 5th of January (1843), amounted to £1,379,057, threatening a formidable falling off of £5,500,000 before the close of the year, unless this downward progress could be arrested The remedy, too, must be immediate, as the resources to be derived from the income-tax were as yet a remote contingency. These considerations were fully announced in the royal speech with which parliament was opened, and the several cures that were proposed and deliberated in both houses continued to occupy the greater part of the session

The first of these proposals was that of Lord Howick, on the 18th of February; and tracing the whole evil to the restrictions on importation that still remained unrepealed, he desired their complete abrogation, even though the fixed duty of eight shillings on the importation of corn should still be suffered to remain. As it was evident, however, that his proposal was meant to elicit from ministers their final resolution upon the corn laws, this premature inquiry was met by Sir Robert Peel with the declaration, that no proposition regarding the corn laws would be brought forward during this session.

The next remedy was that proposed by the philanthropic Lord Ashley, whose exertions had hitherto been directed to the sufferings of our manufacturing population. Tracing these sufferings to the want of proper instruction, by which the ignorance of our youth in the manufacturing districts was ripened into a manhood of crime, he moved on the 28th of February that "an humble address be presented to her majesty, praying that her majesty will be graciously pleased to take into her instant and serious consideration the best means of diffusing the benefits and blessings of a moral and religious education among the working classes of her people." The statements of his lordship elicited from Sir James Graham an account of the government scheme of education which was to be engrafted on the factory bill. The experiment was intended to be commenced, in the first instance, only upon those who would be brought within the control of what some might call compulsory education—pauper and factory children. For these, district schools throughout the country were to be erected and endowed, under the superintendence of the clergy of the Established church, while provision was to be made for the children of dissenters and Roman Catholics under ministers of their own persuasion But these educational clauses excited universal alarm the Established church thought that too much was conceded to dissenterism; while the dissenters, whose influence was strongest in the manufacturing towns, repudiated everything like a compulsory education, in favour of their own cherished voluntary principle. And all this was mingled with the common dread of these two great parties against Popery, which was thus to be introduced as an educational element, and whose seductions they feared, notwithstanding the precautions against attempts at proselytizing with which the bill was guarded. Petitions accordingly from every quarter were poured into the house, expressed in language so decided against this government system of education, and so numerously signed, that Sir James Graham was compelled to give up the educational clauses Shorn of these the factory bill was introduced at the beginning of the next session, and passed with little opposition.

Another plan for the relief of the industrious classes was that proposed by Mr. Charles Buller, on the 8th of April. In a speech of great eloquence, he advocated colonization upon a more extensive scale than had hitherto been practised, as the best method of diverting our superfluous labouring population into more profitable fields than our own country could supply. This he suggested, not as the only remedy, but as a supplement to other remedies which had been, or still might be adopted. In this way, colonization might be an auxiliary to free trade; and for its purposes, we had the vast regions of Canada and Australia, which needed only capital and labour to cover them with abundant harvests, and which, wanting that capital and labour, were wasting their productive energies in nourishing weeds, or, at best, in giving shelter to beasts. He added, that when he asked the house to colonize, he only asked them to carry the superfluity of part of one country to repair the deficiency of the other—to cultivate the desert, by supplying to it the means that lay idle here; in one word, "to convey the plough to the field, the workman to

his work, the hungry to his food." To this it was answered, that emigration from Britain to Canada was already forestalled by the United States, so that our colonial market in that quarter was fully pre-occupied; and that as for Australia, its colonization was going on as prosperously as it could well bear, through the means which had been adopted by government. It was thought better in the meantime to leave the matter as it stood, and Mr. Buller was persuaded to withdraw the motion. The time was drawing nigh when even a stronger motive than a mere desire to escape the evils of poverty would attract our population by tens of thousands to the antipodes.

While parliament was thus employed in legislating for the sufferings of the lower classes, the condition of Ireland was growing worse than ever. It had been announced by O'Connell that 1843 "is, and shall be the year of repeal;" and to effect this purpose, monster meetings were assembled throughout the country, and speeches of the most inflammable description addressed to the myriads, to make the cry of "repeal" the national watchword. Of these formidable open-air meetings, one held at Trim, on the 16th of March, mustered 30,000 attendants; another at Mullingar, on the 14th of May (Sunday), at which the Roman Catholic priests took a very prominent part, exhibited an array of at least 100,000 Irishmen. But even these were insignificant compared with the meeting held at Tara on the 15th of August, at which the numbers assembled were calculated at from 250,000 to

THE BANK OF IRELAND, College Green, formerly the Irish Parliament House, and TRINITY COLLEGE, Dublin.

1,000,000. This increase of physical force was also matched by the increased violence of the harangues, and here O'Connell, forgetting his former caution and swept away by the whirlwind he had evoked, spoke boldly out. He told this immense auditory that before twelve months elapsed, the parliament would be in College Green, Dublin—that not twelve months could possibly elapse without hurrahs for the parliament there being heard over the land. This permission also for Ireland to govern itself was to be obtained, or rather *extorted* from the queen; and after showing how this was to be accomplished, he exclaimed, "The Irish parliament will then assemble, and I defy all the generals, old and young, and all the old women in pantaloons [thus he spoke of the ministry and the Duke of Wellington];—nay, I defy all the chivalry of the earth, to take away that parliament from us again." Such dangerous musters, appealed to in such language, and the plans that were organized at them against the proceedings of law and government, by electing magistrates of their own, could no longer be tolerated, and accordingly, when a monster meeting was announced to be held at Clontarf on the 8th of October, to which the audience was invited to repair in military order and array, it was prohibited by a proclamation of the lord-lieutenant and council. This prohibition, backed by the horse, foot, and artillery that were moved to the spot on the morning of the day appointed, obliged the agitator to countermand his advertisement, and the few who assembled could only gaze in silence upon the imposing military force that held possession of every approach to the ground. A few days after, O'Connell himself and his chief coadjutors were arrested on charges of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assembling. He was soon liberated from prison on giving recognizances for his appearance on trial; but the promptitude with which his career had been stopped seems to have deprived him of his wonted audacity, and his loud tone was lowered. He abjured the use of the word "Saxon," with which he had been wont to brand his enemies, and agreed to curtail his demands

to a local parliament for local purposes; while his popular cry of "no surrender" was changed into exhortations of peace and endurance. Having raised the people of Ireland to that stormy point at which he was unable to control them, he perhaps felt grateful that government had so opportunely stepped in and relieved him from such a charge.

This year of Irish monster meetings that loomed so terribly in the view of England, was also distinguished by an event in Scotland immeasurably less noisy and obtrusive, but more important in its character and results. We allude to that event well known under the name of the Disruption, in which the popular agitations in Scotland had now terminated, and by which the national church, to the astonishment and dismay of our rulers, was most unexpectedly rent asunder. The causes and particulars of this important religious movement, however, more properly belong to another department of our history

The small principality of Wales was not without its share of the commotions of this stormy period Annoyed by the heavy tolls that had been established upon their highways, and the abuses of the turnpike system in general, the Welsh population, so early as 1839, had taken the law into their own hands, and the demolition of toll-gates, from a reckless frolic, was now organized into a formidable conspiracy. The mode also in which it was conducted, was in full accordance with the wild, ardent, poetic character that distinguishes every branch of the Celtic race, in contrast to the deliberate methodical Saxon. The chief leader, either real or fictitious, of this turnpike warfare—the Captain Rock of the Welsh—was generally personated by a man dressed in woman's clothes, by whom the scriptural blessing of Rebekah was adopted, "Let thy seed possess the gate of those who hate them" The attack was made at midnight; the rioters, under the name of Rebekah's daughters, were disguised like women, and being generally on horseback, they were the better able to make their onslaughts by surprise, as well as escape pursuit Their arrivals were only announced by the sudden blowing of horns and firing of guns, a few minutes sufficed them for hewing down the gates and demolishing the toll-houses, and before rescue could arrive, they had vanished, no one could tell whither. To rebuild these barriers was only to provoke a fresh demolition, so that the trustees desisted in despair, and left the roads free of toll. These outrages, and the success that crowned them, owing to the want of a paid constabulary, expanded the ambition of the rioters, and Rebekah, from being a mere destroyer of toll-bars, was now regarded as a national champion, by whom every Welsh grievance was to be redressed High rents and vexatious taxes were in like manner to be swept away; and the daughters of Rebekah were joined by the discontented of every class, until, to the number of several thousands, they attacked the town of Caermarthen at mid-day, on

REBEKAH'S DAUGHTERS, OR REBECCAITES.
From the Illustrated London News, 1843.

the 10th of June, carried it by storm, and proceeded to destroy the workhouse, toll-houses, and every other building that stood in the way of a thorough reform In the midst of this uproar, a troop of the 4th Light Dragoons from Cardiff rode into Caermarthen, and by a vigorous use of the flat of their swords drove the rioters out of the town, besides taking above a hundred prisoners, and several horses which the riders had abandoned in their flight Such a daring outbreak, and its political character, roused the attention of government, and a large military force, as well as a strong body of the London police, were sent into the disaffected districts. This formidable demonstration, with the promise which government held out of an examination and redress of grievances, gradually restored the tranquillity of Wales, and the principality subsided into one of the most orderly portions of the British empire.

The commencement of 1844 gave a better promise of national prosperity than the previous year. The revenue had increased, trade was reviving, while the applications of pauperism for public relief had considerably diminished. As a necessary consequence of this state of matters, the public confidence in the ministry was strengthened, and gave additional stability to their tenure of office. Still, however, there was the serious drawback of Irish insubordination; and above all, there was to be settled the pending

trial of the chief offender, Daniel O'Connell, who was reckoned too dangerous to be let loose, as well as too powerful to be punished.

This trial had commenced on the 2d of November (1843), but it was soon apparent that every resource in the shape of obstruction and delay would be adopted by his supporters to defeat the ends of justice. The first difficulty was to impannel a jury; and in preparing the jury lists, it was found that two slips of paper, containing sixty-three names, had somehow slipped aside, and could not be found. The trial had to be postponed till the 15th of January, 1844, and when the eventful day arrived, O'Connell repaired to the Four Courts, not like a culprit but a conqueror, conducted by the lord-mayor of Dublin in his state carriage, and escorted by a train of twenty-three other carriages. The difficulty of finding twelve honest and impartial jurymen to try a man so supported was quickly felt, and of those who were selected for the dangerous office, some pleaded ill-health, others that their Christian names had been erroneously set down, and all paid the forfeiture of £50 for non-appearance, except one, who gave in a *bonâ fide* affidavit of disqualification from sickness. The various modes of defeating the institution of trial by jury were neither new nor difficult to find in this unhappy country After a proper jury had been found and impannelled, and after the case for the prosecution, which lasted eleven days, had been ended, another long interval was dragged out; but notwithstanding every expedient of procrastination, Mr O'Connell, on the 12th of February, was pronounced guilty on the whole eleven counts of the indictment The sentence, which was not given till the 30th of May, was a mild one. He was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, to pay a fine of £2000, and to enter into recognizances to keep the peace for seven years. On being allowed to choose his place of imprisonment, Mr. O'Connell selected the Richmond Penitentiary in Dublin, and in that quiet retreat he found a shelter from those numerous deputations that sought, but were not allowed to wait upon him, as well as from those desperate responsibilities which he could never hope to fulfil. So eager nevertheless had he been to keep up appearances, and retire with boast and bravado, that immediately after his trial, he issued a manifesto to the people of Ireland full of his old promises, and ending with, "Keep the peace for six months, or at the most, twelve months longer, and you shall have the parliament in College Green again."

As O'Connell had appealed against his sentence, declaring that he was guiltless of conspiracy, and that justice had not been done to him, his appeal was brought before the House of Lords, who referred it to twelve judges. By them, six of the eleven counts were declared bad or informal, and in the end, the judgment was reversed on the 6th of September. The greater part of the English public were astonished that such an agitator should again be let loose upon them, and condemned the decision of the law-lords as an ill-judged piece of clemency. But apart from moral considerations, this verdict was a deed of true political wisdom. It saved the government from the degradation of waging a united war against an adversary already sixty-nine years old, and who would soon be where "the wicked cease from troubling." It would pluck from his head that crown of martyrdom which he knew how to make more formidable than a kingly diadem. It would bereave him of his strongest argument derived from the injustice and oppression of the government His exit from prison was a triumph, but it was the last of his many triumphs; and though for two years longer he continued to haunt the political arena, it was with wofully diminished influence, and a continually abating popularity. At last, with brain and constitution equally worn out, and weary of the sight of those national miseries which his selfish ambition had so much tended to multiply, he retired to the Continent, and died at Rome, in May, 1847. Even already Ireland has almost ceased to remember this object of her recent idolatry.

The financial statement of 1844 exhibited a gratifying contrast to the previous year, the surplus amounting to £2,700,000. This was a sufficient cure for the public depression, and the reaction was manifested in various demands for a greater reduction of taxes than could be safely conceded. These demands were met by the statement that the income-tax was the only resource upon which we could fall back, while its continuance beyond the next year was as yet uncertain. In the meantime, no further abatement could be made than in a few duties to the amount of £387,000 per annum.

The chief conflict on the question of reduction was about the sugar duties, an annual subject of parliamentary controversy, and for which the present season was especially favourable. On one side was the West India interest, and on the other the free-traders. The first were opposed to an extension of the limits from which our sugar was derived; while the other party declared that as our consumption of the article was continually on the increase, and slave-grown sugar would find its own way, we might as well avail ourselves of the opportunity, as allow it to pass away to other countries. The proposal of Mr. Goulburn, chancellor of the exchequer, was brought forward in a way by which government hoped to steer clear of both parties. He offered

two resolutions. By the first of these, sugar certified to be of the growth of countries where no slave-labour was employed, should be admitted at a duty of 34*s*., the colonial duty remaining as formerly at 24*s*.: by the second the queen should be authorized, at the same date, to proceed upon any existing treaties by which she was bound to admit the sugars of any foreign country, on the same footing as that of the most favoured nation. This last proposal had a reference to the Brazilian treaty, which would expire in November. To this, an amendment was moved by Lord John Russell to the following effect:—"That towards raising the supply granted to her majesty, instead of the duties of customs now payable on sugar, there shall be charged on brown or muscovado sugar, the produce of any foreign country, the sum of 34*s*. the cwt. After a keen debate between the advocates of the free trade and the West India interest, Lord John Russell's amendment was rejected, the government motion being carried by 197 against 128.

A bill grounded upon these resolutions was brought forward after a few days, and read a second time without discussion. The battle of this question of years was reserved for the 14th of June, when the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee on the sugar-duties bill. On the morning of that day there had been a meeting of the West India body in the city, and there it had been agreed to propose a lowering of the duty on colonial and East India sugar to 20*s*. instead of the 24*s* proposed by government, and a raising of the duty on white-clayed, or equivalent to white-clayed sugar, of foreign free-labour produce to 34*s*, the duty on brown or clayed being 30*s*. The motion to that effect before the committee of the house was made by Mr. Miles. The discussion that ensued produced a strange commingling of Whigs, young England champions, and free-trade advocates, who for the moment were at one, with Lord John Russell at their head, and such was the weight of their opposition, that there was a majority of twenty against ministers. It was thought that Sir Robert Peel must yield or resign office, but he did neither; on the contrary, he resolved to confront the storm which was expected to ensue on the 17th, to which day the committee was adjourned. He advocated the bill, not only as favourable to free-trade principles, but the cause of humanity also. by the discouragement of slave-labour. "The proposal of government," he stated, "having been negatived by the house, the government had reconsidered the subject, and now felt it necessary to adhere to their own measure. They considered that the consumer would not be benefited; that the West Indians would not be protected; and that the revenue would be seriously injured." As for the rival motion, it was not one differing in principle but only in amounts, and therefore the house would incur no disgrace in reconsidering its late vote, and freeing the government from its embarrassment, if they still had confidence in its administration. It was also worthy of notice that next year would be an important one in regard to questions of commerce and finance, and that this bill was a fitting preparation. It was read a third time in a committee of 488, and passed by a majority of twenty-two.

Another important measure of this year was the reduction of the 3½ per cents., a public relief which the general prosperity and growing prospects of the country fully warranted. The plan for this purpose, which had for some time been in expectation, was clearly and satisfactorily brought forward by Mr. Goulburn on the 8th of March He stated the importance of the measure, in which government was called to the unprecedented task of legislating upon such a sum as £250,000,000, and by which the power and resources of the country, and the stability of its commercial faith, would be so signally illustrated. He then announced his intention of proposing the conversion of the 3½ into a 3¼ per cent stock, which should continue till October, 1854, after which period the interest should be reduced to 3 per cent.; with a guarantee, that for twenty years from 1854, there should be no further reduction By this measure the public, from October, 1844 to 1854, would save £625,000 per annum, and from and after 1854, £1,250,000 per annum He proposed also to make such arrangements, that from next October the payments of interest would be nearly equalized in each quarter. The intimation was received with repeated cheers from both sides of the house The bill which was brought in to give effect to the resolution was read a third time, and passed on the 19th of March.

Besides this, an important monetary measure which employed the attention of the present session, was the bill introduced by Sir Robert Peel for the regulation of the Bank of England, and for the administration of banking concerns in general. By an act of parliament passed in 1833, conferring certain privileges upon the Bank of England, a promise was made not only that the charter of that institution should expire in 1855, but also, that the legislature should have the power of revising the charter ten years earlier, by giving six months' notice. On this occasion, nothing could exceed the lucid exposition of Sir Robert Peel, and the able manner in which he carried through the bill, except the importance of the movement itself, which constitutes a great era in our commercial history. After stating his

views respecting the principle for the regulation of a paper currency, he thus announced the outline of the practical measures which he was prepared to recommend: "I propose, with respect to the Bank of England, that there should be an actual separation of the two departments of issue and banking—that there should be different officers to each, and a different system of account. I likewise propose that to the issue department should be transferred the whole amount of bullion now in possession of the Bank, and that the issue of bank-notes should hereafter take place on two foundations, and two foundations only—first, on a definite amount of securities, and after that, exclusively upon bullion, so that the action of the public would, in this latter respect, govern the amount of the circulation There will be no power in the Bank to issue notes on deposits and discount of bills, and the issue department will have to place to the credit of the banking department the amount of notes which the issue department by law will be entitled to issue. With respect to the banking business of the Bank," continued Sir Robert, "I propose that it should be governed on precisely the same principles as would regulate any other body dealing with Bank of England notes The fixed amount of securities on which I propose that the Bank of England should issue notes is £14,000,000, and the whole of the remainder of the circulation is to be issued exclusively on the foundation of bullion. I propose that there should be a complete and periodical publication of the accounts of the Bank of England, both of the banking and issue department, as tending to increase the credit of the Bank, and to prevent panic and needless alarm. I would therefore enact by law, that there should be returned to the government a weekly account of the issue of notes by the Bank of England—of the amount of bullion, of the fluctuations of the bullion, of the amount of deposits—in short, an account of every transaction both in the issue department and the banking department of the Bank of England; and that the government should forthwith publish unreservedly and weekly a full account of the circulation of the Bank"

After explaining the regulations which he proposed for private banks, his purpose in these being to limit competition, and confine their issues to a specified amount, Sir Robert proceeded to show how his plan of issue allowed to the Bank of England to the extent of a fixed amount of securities—to £14,000,000, and his proposed rate of interest upon it would accomplish the saving to government which he had already announced. This whole plan was embodied in a series of eleven resolutions, that were put from the chair, while the members were earnestly entreated by Sir Robert to refrain from pronouncing any immediate opinion upon them, but allow time for them to be printed, and deliberately discussed. This took place on the 20th of May. The resolutions were passed, and the bill founded upon them was ratified on the 19th of July, with the general concurrence of all parties. It established a most important commercial change, by separating the business of the Bank of England into two distinct departments, the one for the issue of notes, and the other for ordinary banking transactions, thus assimilating them into one body. Not the least praise bestowed upon the author of the plan was, that at a season of great political temptation he had avoided more showy and immediate remedies, and adopted one which, though certain to work well, required the slow and silent operation of years to realize its promised benefits.

Of the other *parliamentary proceedings of* this session, the most important was an "act for the regulation of railways" Only ten years before this period there had been nothing more than one railway in England, being that between Manchester and Liverpool, but during the short interval, railway speculation had grown into a downright national mania, threatening nothing short of national bankruptcy. Not even the South Sea bubble had held out more alluring promises, absorbed more capital, or produced so many terrible reverses; and the only consolation in the present case arose from the perspective benefits which the public would ultimately obtain from the present wild outlay. Already several of the great lines were opened for public travel or conveyance, and as the railway companies availed themselves of their exclusive possession by laying on exorbitant fares, the subject had excited the attention of parliament at an early part of the session, and a select committee was appointed to consider the best means of adapting this rapidly-growing system of communication to the wants of the country. In consequence of the committee's decision, a bill was introduced by Mr Gladstone, containing enactments calculated to protect the public from the injurious effects of *monopoly* and *combination*, by vesting in the government a control over such companies as should thereafter come to solicit powers from parliament—and a right of intervention for the reduction of charges and tolls, whenever the profits of a railway should exceed the maximum of ten per cent on the capital. As this bill so nearly touched the pockets of the principal companies, the opposition of their representatives in the house was both keen and formidable, but after certain concessions, the bill eventually passed and was established into law.

Another important act was introduced this

year for the regulation of joint-stock companies. It was at length found necessary to arrest the growth of those fraudulent and fictitious schemes which annually sprang up for the ruin of impatient money-holders, and in this bill the regulations for testing the character and establishing the responsibility of such companies were sufficiently stringent. A strict system of registration was established for the names and descriptions of the projectors, and the nature and objects of their undertaking were required to be enrolled at an office established for the purpose. Reports also were to be annually returned to parliament of such companies as should have come within the provisions of the act during the year.

In this year of monster meetings and O'Connell trials, certain concessions were granted to Ireland, by which it was hoped the religious asperity of its national insubordination would be materially softened. The first of these was the Irish charitable trusts bill, relative to the management and supervision of charitable bequests and donations in Ireland. Hitherto, while nearly three-fourths of such bequests were Roman Catholic endowments, the board under which their government and administration had been placed was almost exclusively Protestant By the bill that was now passed after a third reading, the master of the rolls, the chief baron of the exchequer, and the judges of the prerogative court (of whom, two out of these three officers might be Roman Catholics) were to be *ex officio* members of the board, one or the other of them residing according to his rank. The board itself was to consist of ten commissioners appointed by the crown, of whom five should be Protestants, and five Roman Catholics. If a question also arose as to the status or condition of any person who had a right, or claimed to have a right, under any of the deeds of bequest brought before the commissioners, such question should be referred, if the claimant were a Roman Catholic, to the five commissioners of that persuasion, whose certificate of decision should be received as evidence. Even this, however, was not enough to satisfy the Irish members and their adherents, who complained that their clergy had not been consulted about this bill, nor their bishops recognized in it by their official titles. Another concession granted by parliament, was the abolition of certain penal acts still retained in the statute-book, although they had fallen into desuetude. These were the severe enactments of the periods of Elizabeth, James I., and William and Mary, which, however needful in their day, or in accordance with the spirit of the age, were thought disgraceful to the nineteenth century, as well as utterly unfit either for the protection of Protestantism or the subversion of Popery—being chiefly an array of pains and penalties inflicted upon Roman Catholic observances, or upon a refusal to comply with those of the Established church. Still, it was not without difficulty that the bill passed, for it was suspected by many zealous Protestants to be nothing more than a prelude to the entire emancipation of Popery.

CHAPTER X.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1845—1847.

VICTORIA.

Prosperous state of affairs at the beginning of 1845—Sir Robert Peel's proposal to continue the income-tax—His statement of the expediency of the measure—Its connection with the reduction of other taxes—Continued discussions on Sir Robert's proposal—Proposed amendments—Peel's bill passed for the continuation of the income-tax three years longer—Modifications made in the sugar duties—Other financial measures—Bills passed for the regulation of banking in Scotland and Ireland—Bill passed for the amendment of the poor laws in Scotland—The college of Maynooth—Peel's Maynooth improvement bill—His proposal for the endowment of the college—Opposition to the bill, and arguments against it—It is passed—Sir James Graham's plan for the education of Ireland by the establishment of three colleges—Discussion of its merits—Passing of the bill—Opposition to it from the Papists of Ireland—Continuing demand for the total abolition of the corn laws—Growing strength of the demand—Proceedings of the anti-corn-law league—Its certainty of success—The trial hastened by the failure of the crops—It commences at the opening of parliament in 1846—Promise given by the partial opening of the ports—Peel's speech for the abolition of the corn laws—His preliminary proposals—His plan of gradual previous to total abolition—Keenness of the following debates—Attempts to postpone the discussion—Peel's bill for abolition of the corn laws carried in the commons—It is passed through the House of Lords—Famine and tumults in Ireland—Bill for the suppression of assassination and violence in Ireland—It passes through the lords, but is rejected by the commons—Sir Robert Peel resigns office—His eulogy of Cobden in connection with corn-law abolition—Lord John Russell becomes premier—Remedies adopted for the Irish famine—Measures for the moral improvement of the army—Indian affairs—

Ameers of Scinde—Their hostility and treachery to the British in the Afghan war—War commenced between the Ameers and the British—Victories of Sir Charles Napier at Meeanee and Dubba—The Ameers banished—Scinde annexed to our Indian empre—War with the Mahrattas—They are defeated and reduced to subjection—Complaints against the government of Lord Ellenborough in India—He is recalled—Invasion of the Company's territories by the Sikhs—They are defeated at Moodkee—Their defeat at Ferozeshah—Their further defeats at Aliwal and Sobraon—The Sikhs driven across the Sutlej—The Punjab occupied by the British—They take possession of Lahore.

THE reaction of prosperity which had commenced with 1844 still continued to go onward in the following year. The plentiful harvest of the previous autumn was accompanied with a brisk trade, and abundant labour for the working classes; while 200 new railway schemes that applied for legislation under the terms of the late act, was a gratifying proof of the abundance of capital. No political disquietude also was at hand to cloud the public tranquillity, with the exception of the anti-corn-law league, which still continued its active operations, and occasioned uneasy surmises to the agricultural interest. This state of public prosperity was an honourable attestation to the wise measures of Sir Robert Peel, and an encouragement to persevere in his plans of financial reform, and in bringing forward his full scheme before a committee of ways and means, which he did so early as the 14th of February, the house was not a little startled at its boldness. He was aware that retrenchment was the popular cry, and the income-tax the chief ground of complaint; and as this tax was the sheet-anchor of his financial system, his chief aim was to secure its continuation. This would accomplish the double purpose of carrying on the efficient performance of the public service, and affording means for the repeal of other taxes that pressed still more heavily upon industry and commercial enterprise He showed that by the 5th of April there would be a surplus revenue in the exchequer of at least five millions, while in twelve months, should the income-tax be discontinued, there would be instead a deficiency. Would they then run the risk, he asked, of that deficiency, by making no provision to meet it? or would they postpone the consideration of that deficiency till the year 1846? He proceeded to show the intentions of ministers if the tax was continued It would enable them to effect a reduction of the taxes on sugar: it would secure the abolition of export duties on all articles whatever, coal not excepted: it would effect the removal of the duties from 430 out of the 813 raw materials used in manufactures. To facilitate the transfer of property, he intended to repeal the auction duty altogether. He also purposed to relieve the article of glass from all excise duty. All this he would be enabled to do without utterly absorbing the surplus, if the income-tax was continued. That continuance he now proposed for three years longer, and such was his confidence in the elasticity of the country, that he thought after that period the tax might be safely dispensed with. This comprehensive financial plan, which occupied three hours and a half in the detail, was so luminous, and withal so promising, that it was welcomed with cheers from every part of the house. In the debate upon it on the 17th of February, Mr Roebuck pointed out at great length the unequal, vexatious, and inquisitorial nature of the income-tax, and thought it a worse evil than those imposts of which it would accomplish the removal. He therefore proposed a modification of Sir Robert Peel's motion, by omitting the words "professions, trades, and offices," not with a view of excluding them from taxation altogether, but of subjecting them hereafter to a discriminating scheme of taxation which he had already described This amendment was rejected by a majority of 208, only 55 voting in its favour, while 263 were against it.

The discussion was renewed on the 5th of March, and several amendments were proposed and rejected. One was by Mr. Bernal Osborne, for the committal of the bill on that day three months, another by Mr. Curteis, to make the duration of the tax two years instead of three. The strongest argument in favour of such a system of direct taxation was made in the course of this discussion by Lord Sandon "One great objection urged against the income-tax," he declared, "had been the danger of driving away capital from the country, by imposing so large a weight of taxation upon it but when a tax of three per cent. raised £5,000,000 or £6,000,000, there was not much danger of capital being driven away, and a tax of this nature enabled the house to dispense with a large amount of indirect taxation. It was our duty to endeavour to provide occupation and employment for the labouring classes; and how was this to be effected? By promoting the industry of the country in every possible way. But what was the great obstruction to the progress of industry? The taxes imposed upon every description of manufacture through the customs and excise. Direct taxation, therefore, was becoming more and more advisable; and he should be extremely sorry if the house pledged itself to abandon the income-tax at any given period."

After the bill had passed through committee, the discussion was renewed on the 10th of March, by Mr. Charles Buller proposing the following amendment:—"That the circumstances under which the renewal of the income-tax is at present

JOHN A ROEBUCK, M P —From a photograph by Mayall

proposed, are such as to render it exceedingly improbable that parliament will have the power of dispensing with its continuance at the end of three years; and that it is therefore the duty of this house to take care that the tax be imposed in a form in which its operation shall be less unequal and inquisitorial than it now is." He complained that of the 430 articles to be struck out of the tariff through the continuance of the tax, there was not one which entered materially into the common consumption of the poorer classes; and that if Sir Robert Peel had dealt frankly with the articles of tea, coffee, malt, soap, spirits, and wines, he might have so benefited the revenue, by diminishing their price, as to make up the amount of the loss at the end of three years by the increase of consumption. In answer, it was stated by the chancellor of exchequer, that the articles Mr. Buller had specified, produced a revenue of £16,000,000 or £17,000,000, and the amendment was outvoted by 240 against 128. After several other proposed amendments were rejected, the bill was read a third time, and passed through the commons. On the moving of the third reading in the lords, on the 4th of April, the arguments of the other house were recapitulated, and considerable discussion ensued, and there, as in the commons, the chief apprehension was, that the operation of the tax could not be limited to three years, but in all probability would become a fixture. Still, however, no better remedy could be discovered; and after some bitter remarks from the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Ashburton, the bill was read a third time and passed.

On the 24th of February, when the house had resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, Mr. M. Gibson, for the purpose of obtaining a permanent settlement of the sugar duties, moved a resolution as an amendment upon that of Sir Robert Peel, that no arrangement of those duties would be satisfactory and permanent which did not involve an equalization of duty on foreign and colonial sugar. In opposition to this proposal it was shown, that the cost of cultivating sugar in Jamaica was twice as much as in Cuba and Brazil, and that by equalizing the duties, we would ruin the West Indies, and defeat the abolition of the slave-trade. Accordingly, this amendment was rejected by a very large majority. Other discussions and debates upon the sugar duties followed in the committee, mixed with the subject of the corn laws and protective duties in general, upon which several amendments were proposed, but without effect. At last, a compromise was made by Sir Robert Peel. he consented to arrangements by which compensation should be made for the drawback of the duty upon the sugar now remaining in the queen's warehouses, so that no loss should be sustained by its owners, and this being granted, his new scale of duties upon the various sugars, foreign and colonial, was passed through the committee The same demur occurred upon the other parts of the tariff, and chiefly the repeal of the auction duties, but with a similar result These financial measures having thus passed in committee, were equally successful in parliament, although not without keen discussions that extended over the whole course of the session It was indeed a most important financial revolution, in which the interests of agriculture, free trade, manufactures, and the condition of the working classes were deeply at stake. The great annual question of the corn laws and free trade reappeared this year also in a variety of motions, which were successively defeated; but a terrible advocate had already entered into the contest, who, in the following year, was to plead against corn-law restrictions with arguments which no statesmanship could refute.

In the course of this year, Sir Robert Peel brought in two bills for the regulation of banking in Scotland and Ireland, conformable to those principles on which he had remodelled the banking system in England. His chief aim in these proposed changes was to add to the stability of the circulation in the United Kingdom, and to make Ireland and Scotland bear their proportionable share of guarantee against commercial panic. The bills passed through both houses

with little discussion, and were put into operation at the beginning of the next year.

Another important proceeding of 1845, in relation to Scotland, was a bill for the amendment of the poor's laws in that country. The introduction of the mercantile spirit had multiplied the poverty, as well as increased the wealth of the lower orders; but unfortunately, the manly spirit of pride and independence which so greatly distinguished the Scottish character, had considerably abated with the yearly multiplication of paupers, and private benevolence could no longer suffice for the evil. Legal provisions had therefore been devised, but these were only first experiments, that were soon found too insufficient for the growing amount of destitution. The chief contents of the new bill to remedy this defect, which was introduced by the Lord-advocate of Scotland, were thus enumerated by Sir James Graham at the second reading.—"Provisions had been made for local inspection; for a responsible supervision by a board sitting in the capital, for perfect publicity, for an appeal to the sheriff of the county (which was given for the first time) on the part of the poor man to whom relief was refused, for empowering the sheriff to order relief, and if the quantum were too small, for a power of appeal, without expense, to the central board, which had complete power, without limitation, to deal with the quantum of relief, on the other hand, if the quantum was too great, the parish might appeal to the court of session. Provisions had also been made for subscription to lunatic asylums, for the education of pauper children, for medical attendance, and for building poorhouses in large cities." This bill encountered considerable opposition in its various stages, chiefly from the Scottish members, but after undergoing a few slight alterations, it passed through the third reading without a division.

One question, which if not the most important, was certainly the keenest subject of parliamentary debate during the session of 1845, demands particular notice. As usual in such cases, Ireland was the object of controversy. To provide a liberal education for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland at home, instead of compelling them to repair to foreign universities, where it was thought they would acquire political principles hostile to the British government, it had been usual for fifty years to vote an annual grant of £9000 to the college of Maynooth. This provision, however, had long been complained of as inadequate for the salaries of ten professors, and the sustenance of 250 free students which the college possessed, and the whole Roman Catholic prelacy had urgently petitioned for a greatly increased allowance. But even the original boon of £9000 had always been watched with an evil eye by Protestants of every class throughout the three kingdoms, those of Ireland regarding it as a tampering with the Protestant ascendency in that country, and those of England and Scotland as the commencement of a recognition of full equality between Popery and Protestantism. Hence the astonishment with which the proposal of Sir Robert Peel was received to raise this £9000 per annum to £30,000, and the loud outcry of popular remonstrance as well as thunder-shower of petitions that at any earlier period would have extinguished it at the outset.

In proposing his famous "Maynooth improvement bill," Sir Robert stated that there were three courses left open to her majesty's ministers. These were, to continue the present system and grant without alteration—to discontinue the vote altogether, and repudiate all connection with Maynooth—or liberally to adopt, improve, and extend the institution provided for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood. The first of these he regarded as the worst of the three It was, he alleged, a profession on the part of government of providing a religious education for the spiritual instructors of Ireland, and at the same time so limiting the allowance as to be unfit for such a purpose Besides, if it was a violation of principle to provide instruction for the Roman Catholic clergy, that guilt was incurred already. He then came to the second alternative; and to show that we could not abandon all connection with Maynooth, he went into a history of the origin of that connection, which had taken place at a less liberal period, and when Irish Popery was more strictly coerced. "These disabilities," he added, "have been now entirely removed; the Irish Roman Catholics are placed upon the same footing with ourselves in respect to civil privileges: should we now, in opposition to the acts of our predecessors, say to them—'That favour which was granted to you under the administration of Mr Pitt must now be withheld from you on account of a conscientious scruple?' Sir, I should deprecate the effect of such a step. It is not the amount of the pecuniary grant; what I deprecate is the animus it would indicate. We should never be able to convince those from whom the grant was withheld that those scruples which were not felt by George III., by Mr. Pitt, by the exclusively Protestant legislature of their own country, are now felt to such a degree by us that we must abandon the connection which was thus formed."

After having disposed of the first and second alternative, Sir Robert proceeded to the third, which was, to improve the institution of Maynooth, and elevate its tone of education; and he explained the proposal which he was commissioned to make on the part of government. The

salaries of the professors were to be raised, 500 free students were to be supported, and the buildings of the college were to be put into repair. For all this the sum of £40,920 would in the first instance be necessary, and afterwards a grant, of course not an annual one, of £30,000 a year. (There was no small amount of astonishment expressed at this intimation.) The laws regulating land purchase were also to be waived in favour of the institution, so that the trustees, who hitherto could purchase only to the amount of £1000 per annum, and that for the term of their own lives, were now to be incorporated, and enabled "to hold real property to the extent of £3000 per annum, should members of the Roman Catholic faith be desirous to contribute to the college so incorporated." Finally, the repairs of the college buildings were to be consigned to the board of works like other public structures, and to be included in its annual estimates After unfolding the whole of his plan, which seemed to fall like an explosive shell among the Protestant members, Sir Robert craved permission to bring in his bill, and ended with the following words — "We do not think that there is any violation of conscientious scruples involved in our proposition We believe that it is perfectly compatible to hold steadfast the profession of our faith without wavering, and at the same time to improve the education and to elevate the character of those who—do what you will—pass this measure or refuse it—must be the spiritual guides and religious instructors of millions of your fellow-countrymen." Lord John Russell supported the motion, and permission to bring the bill into parliament was carried by a majority of 102, the votes in its favour being 216, and against it 114

The more zealous portion of the Protestant party had been so taken by surprise that no system of opposition had been organized, and they now began to muster their whole strength for the conflict of the second reading. Churchmen and dissenters were at one against a common enemy; while such of the Tory party as cared little for the theological merits of the question, were opposed to the Maynooth bill on political grounds. It was recognized by all as a preliminary step to the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy, and as such, hostile and dangerous alike to church and state. Public meetings were therefore called during the interval, petitions were sent from almost every part of the United Kingdom, and amongst the various elections which took place at the period the sentiments of the candidates upon the Maynooth endowment was the test of their fitness for a seat in parliament.

Under these auspices the second reading was moved on the 11th of April, and the discussion it occasioned occupied six evenings in the lower house, and three in the upper. It would be as difficult therefore to give even a summary of these debates, as to convey a distinct idea of their warmth and asperity. Against the bill it was argued, that to endow the college of Maynooth was to provide a stronghold and training ground for Irish agitation—that it would be a nursery for Jesuits—that a state could not conscientiously support two different religions, as if both were equally true—that by this measure of endowment we established and rooted Popery in Ireland, even though a time should come when the Irish themselves might be inclined to quit it—and that in spite of all the promises they had given as the price of former concessions, the Irish bishops persisted in their invasions on the Protestant constitution, and would still continue their hostility. The arguments on the other side were derived in like manner from considerations of conscience and political expediency, but as these are so well understood from their continual iteration and reiteration on the public ear, it is unnecessary even to revert to them. It is enough to say that they were in many cases liable to a twofold application, and might as justly have been used by the opposite party as by the advocates for the endowment Thus even as the means of stilling Irish agitation, upon which the plea of the ministers was founded, it was shown that on the other hand this boon to Popery would stir up a more formidable agitation still throughout the collected Protestantism of Great Britain. On a division there were for the second reading 323, and against it 176, giving a majority for the bill of 147. On the order of the day being read for going into committee, Mr. Ward moved the following resolution for amendment —"That it is the opinion of this house, that any provision to be made for the purposes of the present bill ought to be taken from the funds already applicable to ecclesiastical purposes in Ireland." He proceeded to show that, while the Scottish church, with its 3,000,000 of Presbyterians, was endowed to the amount of not more than £200,000, the Irish Protestant church, of not more than 850,000 Protestants, received a revenue of £650,000. Out of this endowment the required amount might be subtracted for Maynooth, while such a proceeding, he alleged, would neutralize the dissenting opposition. After a long debate, Mr. Ward's motion was rejected by a large majority, and the endowment was authorized to be paid from the consolidated fund. The third reading of the bill was introduced, after several amendments had been rejected by large majorities; and the debate, which was continued during three nights, was chiefly occupied with arguments of a theological nature. When the votes were taken, there appeared for the bill 317, and against it 184.

The bill having thus passed through the commons, was introduced for a second reading into the lords by the Duke of Wellington, on the 2d of June. The lay advocates in its favour, besides the Great Captain, were the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Brougham, Lord Beaumont, the Marquis of Normanby, Earl Spencer, the Earl of St. Germains, Lord Monteagle, and Lord Stanley; its opponents were the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Roden, the Earl of Winchelsea, and the Earl of Charleville. Among the spiritual lords were the Bishops of Norwich and St. David's, and the Archbishop of Dublin, who spoke in favour of the bill, while against it were the Bishops of London, Exeter, and Cashel. The fact of these right reverend speakers arrayed on opposite sides, as well as the arguments they adduced, showed how singularly the questions, both of conscience and political expediency, could be applied equally for and against the measure. The chief indication of novelty which the discussion in the House of Lords presented, arose from the amendment proposed by Lord Roden for an inquiry by a select committee into the character of the education given at Maynooth He declared he had ascertained from the text-books and history of the institution, that the instruction given was of anti-social and disloyal tendency, and he knew that the people of England, who had petitioned so largely against this bill, would not be satisfied if investigation were refused. He was seconded by the Bishop of London, who declared that the principles taught at Maynooth were calculated to make the priests democrats in politics, and bigots in religion, and he asked, "Could they be justified, then, in endowing a college to carry out such a system, without at least exacting from those to be intrusted with the working of it some distinct and definite pledge that the system itself should be improved, and its worst features removed?" Lord Roden's amendment was rejected by a large majority. At the third reading of the bill, it was passed by 181 votes against 50. Before it passed, an amendment was proposed by the Earl of Winchelsea, that its operation should be limited to a period of three years, but without effect In this way, the endowment of the college of Maynooth seemed to be so permanently established, that nothing short of a great national revolution could dislodge it. From that period to the present, it has never ceased to be a bone of contention and ground of remonstrance, which every year becomes louder and stronger, giving its best advocates good cause to apprehend that they have gone too far, and legislated too rashly.

Even this measure, however, was felt at the time to be not enough. The college endowment was but a step in advance to a more complete system of Irish education, and that education was to be so utterly unconnected with religious distinctions, as to be equally adapted to Protestant and Papist. The plan was developed by Sir James Graham, the secretary of state for the

SIR JAMES GRAHAM, Bart
From a portrait by S. W. Reynolds.

home department, upon the 9th of May. After pointing out the manner in which the plan for the separate religious instruction of the children of the two parties of religionists had failed in the schools established in Ireland upon that principle, and how much better the national schools had succeeded where religious teaching was left to the care of parents and guardians, he proposed that these educational advantages, at present limited to the lower classes of the Irish, should be also imparted to the middle and upper ranks How this could be accomplished he showed from the example of the colleges of London and Edinburgh, where there was an absence of all religious tests, and he proposed that three provincial institutions should be established in Ireland upon the same principle. Coming to details, he proposed that Cork should be the site of the college for the south, Galway or Limerick for the west, and Derry or Belfast for the north of Ireland—that government should grant £100,000 for their erection—and that an endowment of £6000 should be assigned annually to each. In these, all the sciences were to be taught except theology, although there should be no restriction to the voluntary endowment of a professorship of theology in any of these colleges, the attendance upon its lectures to be voluntary also.

Such is but an outline of the new government plan of education for Ireland, by which it was hoped all religious parties would be brought

together upon the neutral ground of a secular education. It was welcomed by the liberal Irish members, and not opposed by their conservative brethren. The chief opposition was from Sir Robert Inglis, who denounced the plan as one of the most gigantic schemes of godless education that had ever been proposed in any country. The bill was introduced; and at the second reading, on the 2d of June, the discussion, which was a very full one, extended over two nights. The main argument against it was that of Sir Robert Inglis —that it was a "gigantic scheme of godless education," because it was dissociated from religious instruction. Sir James Graham stated in reply, that no measure for the theological instruction of the students in these colleges by a state endowment would be acceptable to the people of Ireland—that a Roman Catholic college in the south, a Presbyterian college in the north, and a Church of England college in Dublin, would only give a fresh stimulus to those religious disturbances which distracted Ireland too much already Lord John Russell thought the plan not conciliatory enough towards the Roman Catholics, and proposed that the bill should be made more palatable to their clergy, by admitting them to a share in the legislation of these colleges. During this second reading, Mr. O'Connell, who had hitherto been absent in Ireland, appeared in his place in the house, and denounced the bill, because it did not make religion the basis of education. This, he thought, should be established not only as a part, but an essential part of the proposed system He declared that if they did not attend to the advice of the Irish Roman Catholic prelates, their colleges could not succeed—that the advice of these prelates had been in several cases disregarded, and that they considered the bill a "penal and revolting measure." "Penal!" said Sir James Graham. "Yes; they considered it penal," replied the enfeebled agitator, "because they were deprived of doing the duty they owed to the principles of their religion." He demanded a hall in which each particular religion should be taught, and in this he was seconded by Lord John Russell, who brought forward the proposal as an amendment, which was negatived by 117 to 42. Other proposals of amendment followed on several parts of the bill, but with a similar result. At the discussion on the third reading, a collateral subject was introduced upon the revenues and management of Trinity College, as to whether that college had not been originally founded with Roman Catholic property, and whether its income, funds, and offices might not be extended to Roman Catholics and Protestants alike. It was meant to bring the question of equality between the two religions in Ireland to the test, and to show, that in spite of all the professions of the present ministry, they were still as far from this even-handed dealing as before. Thus a fresh element of controversy was introduced, with which the subject of the new colleges and the exclusion of religious endowments and theological chairs was curiously blended. The majority for the third reading was 177 to 26, and the bill was read and passed accordingly. In the lords it passed with less discussion and equal unanimity.

In this way the "godless colleges" were established in Ireland. The unlucky term, derived from the expression of Sir Robert Inglis, which was bandied to and fro during the debate, both among the commons and lords, was at last caught and secured by the fanatics of the Romish faith, by whom it was perpetuated as a nickname. This was not all, for so stanch was the opposition of the Irish priesthood, that they obtained from Pope Pius IX a rescript prohibiting the attendance of the Roman Catholic youths of Ireland upon these secular, and therefore profane educational institutions. Thus the resistance came not from zealous Protestantism, as in the case of the endowment of Maynooth, but from the bigotry of Popery and the ambition of the Irish priesthood, that could tolerate no system of instruction in which they were not allowed to rule. The course of these colleges has therefore as yet been a struggle, while the chances seem equal of success or failure. As was originally proposed, £100,000 was granted for the erection of the buildings, and £18,000 per annum for salaries to office-bearers, and prizes for the encouragement of learning. As in colleges of more recent establishment, both in Britain and the Continent, neither the professors nor students reside within the walls. The appointment and removal of professors is vested in the crown.

While these were the principal movements of this year, a great national calamity was at work for the accomplishment of changes which political combinations could not effect. We allude to the agricultural blight of this year's harvest, and the important concessions which it extorted from the powerful landed interest of Great Britain.

As yet, we have taken little notice of the long opposition carried on against the corn laws, and the insufficiency of Sir Robert Peel's sliding scale to allay it. A total abolition of restrictions on the importation of corn was demanded, and nothing short of this would satisfy the claimants. To add also to the intensity of the contest, a strong feeling of political rivalry was largely mixed with it, so that it was considered a life-and-death question between the two great parties into which British society was divided—the agricultural and the manufacturing communities. While

the question was kept alive in parliament by the annual motion of Mr. Villiers for a committee of the whole house to consider the operation of the corn-importing duties, with a view to their immediate abolition, the subject was agitated powerfully throughout the kingdom, by the publications of the anti-corn-law league, and the orators whom they employed to explain and advocate their principles in out-of-door meetings and in-door assemblies In 1841, this league found a voice in parliament through Mr. Richard Cobden, the pupil of Colonel Thompson in

RICHARD COBDEN, M P —From a lithographic portrait

the anti-corn-law theory, who was now its active promulgator and eloquent champion; and the statements he made of the distresses of the working classes through the dearness of bread, had compelled the most unreflecting to listen He was ably seconded by Mr Bright, whose powers of political oratory had found a successful theme Gradually, also, even farmers, magistrates, country squires and noblemen had their eyes opened to a new light which they had hitherto resisted, and they either joined the league, or ceased to oppose it. A still more formidable movement of this new power in the state was in the metropolis itself, where it effected such a lodgment as enabled it to influence every portion of the empire The usual halls of London were at last found insufficient for the crowds that thronged to the meetings of the anti-corn-law league; and in 1843, Drury Lane was engaged for Wednesday evenings, where tales as tragic, and far more true, of sorrow and suffering were recorded to the thousands who weekly assembled there, than even Shakspeare or Otway had embodied, or Kean and Kemble acted. But a still more important benefit to the cause than "overflowing houses" in the capital was found in the counties. To this department the league having turned its scrutiny, was soon enabled to discover that the landed interest was strongest there, through the multiplication of the franchise among the tenants-at-will, by which votes could be fraudulently increased to almost any amount. To counteract the predominance which the registration gave to the landed interest in the counties, it was necessary to make the forty-shilling clause available for the manufacturing community, according to the terms of the reform bill. And this could be honestly, as well as easily done. A house entitled to confer the franchise might be purchased for £30 or £40, while such articles of purchase were in plenty throughout the English market. Upon this idea Mr Cobden and the league acted. Offices were opened by the association for registering such land and houses, surveying the property, and preparing the conveyance deeds, so that the purchaser, freed from the business technicalities, had only to make his election of the place he wished to occupy, and pay down the money In this way, not merely voters were secured, but industrious artisans and labourers were taught to invest their savings in a way best fitted to secure their independence.

Such was now the progress of the anti-corn-law league that the repeal of the restrictions was only a question of time Years might yet elapse; but the result was so certain, that it was already contemplated as inevitable by the stanchest of the old protectionists Unmistakeable symptoms of wavering and yielding had also been manifesting themselves in parliament. Sir James Graham had declared his conviction that the prosperity of the landed interest was dependent on that of the other classes, and that a gradual repeal of protection would be necessary for agriculture. all that he deprecated was suddenness. Lord John Russell had also declared, that he could no longer recommend the fixed duty of 8*s.*, which he had proposed in 1841. and that should he advocate the cause again, it would be for a smaller duty of 4*s.*, 5*s.*, or 6*s.*, but not less than 4*s.* While statesmen were thus toying with a question which they felt they must sooner or later give up, the elements themselves, or rather Him whom they obey, had pronounced its doom A cold and late spring was succeeded by cold and long-continued showers, which threatened such a defective harvest, that a larger amount of imported grain would be necessary; and unless the American market should be overstocked, our hopes of assistance from any European market would be vain. But it was not the grain alone that suffered by the chilling rain: brown spots

began to appear upon the leaves of the potato; these were soon found to be indications of rottenness at the root; and at last it was discovered that the potato crop of Ireland and the greater part of Britain, the sole or chief subsistence of millions, was ruined by a mysterious blight such as had never before been witnessed. A national famine was not only inevitable but at hand, and the remedy must be immediate. Towards the close of the year the question of all parties was, "Are the ports to be opened?" Meetings of cabinet councils were frequent; but although Sir Robert Peel yielded to the stern necessity, and was desirous that the ports should be thrown open, so many of his colleagues were opposed to the measure, that in December he resigned. Upon this, Lord John Russell was summoned by her majesty for the purpose of forming a new government; but this offer he was obliged to decline, as his party were in a considerable minority in the commons. Lord Stanley and other dissentients to the corn-law abolition had previously received the same offer, but had declined it. The only hope after all seemed to lie in the retired minister, who at his departure had expressed his willingness to support, in his private capacity, whatever new minister might be appointed, in effecting a settlement of the question of the corn laws; and upon this declaration her majesty acted when the other applications had failed. On the 19th of December therefore, only a few days after he had left office, Sir Robert Peel was induced to resume it, and having reconstructed his cabinet, he was now prepared to encounter the noblest, but at the same time the most difficult task which a public character can perform—to tell the world that all his lifetime he had been the champion and advocate of a great political fallacy; and that now, he recanted under the force of circumstances which had convinced him of the error of his choice.

All was in readiness for that great political conflict, that had occupied so many years of preparation, and on which so many interests were at stake. Parliament was opened on the 19th of January, 1846, by the queen in person, and an allusion to the failure of the potato crop, the deficiency of food which it would occasion, and an earnest recommendation to co-operate in adopting such means as might alleviate the sufferings which the calamity would cause, formed an important part of the royal speech. The inferior business to which the attention of the houses was called was only prefatory to the great event, and consisted of a remission of several duties in the produce and manufacture of other countries, and a considerable reduction in others. Among these changes in the tariff, one connected with food was of especial significance. Animal food and vegetables were to be admitted duty free, and that on butter, cheese, hops, and cured fish was to be reduced one half. Live animals also, and several other minor articles, were exempted from duty. This "note of preparation" was given in Sir Robert's speech on the 27th of January, when every part of the house was crowded with expecting auditors, and when even the street was filled with hundreds who had tickets, but could not obtain admission. It is enough to add, that these proposals were afterwards passed with little demur, all their importance, which at any other season would have been a fruitful source of debate, was absorbed in the great controversy at issue

In his opening speech to the house, which lasted four hours, Sir Robert Peel frankly acknowledged the awkwardness of his position. He would not deny, he said, that his opinions on the subject of protection had undergone great change, and that he did not feel himself humiliated by the confession On the contrary, he claimed for himself the privilege of yielding to the force of reason and argument, and of acting upon his enlarged experience, and upon his more matured conviction It was the experience of the last three years that had forced his new convictions upon him, by showing him that his former arguments were no longer tenable During that period, prices had been high and wages unwontedly low, so that the effect had been an universal distress among the labouring population. He then showed that the removals hitherto made upon protecting duties had been accompanied with a material improvement upon the revenue, but without any detriment to the agricultural interest. Now that a new calamity had befallen the country, by a scarcity of that article which formed a considerable portion of the food of the people, government must perceive that it was impossible for them any longer to maintain the existing corn laws in their present integrity. After describing the reluctance of his cabinet to accord with these views, or to act upon them, which occasioned his resignation, and alluding to his recal to office, on the understanding that he was to follow out his own line of procedure, he added, in allusion to the new trials with which his office was encompassed, and the only terms on which he would submit to hold it· "It is a burden far above my physical, infinitely beyond my intellectual strength. The relief from it with honour would be a favour, and not a punishment. But while honour and a sense of public duty require it, I do not shrink from office. I am ready to incur its responsibilities, to bear its sacrifices, to confront its honourable perils; but I will not retain it with mutilated power and shackled authority. I will not stand

at the helm during the tempestuous night, if that helm is not allowed freely to traverse; I will not undertake to direct the course of the vessel by observations taken in the year 1842. I will reserve to myself the unfettered power of judging what will be for the public interest. I do not desire to be the minister of England, but while I am minister of England I will hold office by no servile tenure; I will hold office unshackled by any other obligation than that of consulting the public interests and providing for the public safety."

On the 27th of January Sir Robert brought before the House of Commons his great scheme of commercial and financial policy. It ranged over a large variety of objects; for, as he stated, the great principle of the relaxation of protective duties was not to be confined to any particular interest; on the contrary, he would ask all classes, manufacturing, commercial, and agricultural, to make the sacrifice, if such it might be considered, to the common good. He then proceeded to loosen the several props of the protective system. Of all the duties on raw material imported from foreign countries, only two remained—the duty on tallow, and that on timber: on the former, he proposed a reduction from 3*s* 2*d*. to 1*s*. 6*d*. per cwt., and on the latter, a gradual reduction, until it reached a point where it should be permanently fixed at a future day. The manufacturers having thus free access to every raw material of manufacture, were to relinquish in return the protection they enjoyed in wool, linen, and cotton, upon the coarser articles of which the duties of importation were to be abandoned while those upon the finer were to be reduced from twenty to ten per cent. In like manner, the duty upon silk was to be reduced from thirty to fifteen per cent. After enumerating other articles of less consequence upon which similar reductions were to be made, Sir Robert advanced to the main subject at issue. These were the articles connected with agriculture upon which import duties were levied. That upon all seeds was to be diminished to 5*s* per cwt. Indian corn, so useful in the fattening of cattle, was to be imported duty free. Buckwheat and buckwheat-flour were to be admitted in the same manner. The duties upon the importation of foreign butter, cheese, and cured fish were to be reduced to half their amount. All articles of agricultural produce which constituted food as distinct from corn, every kind of vegetable and animal food, and all live animals from foreign countries were to be imported duty free.

Having thus approached the formidable question with a cautious step, Sir Robert unfolded his proposed change upon the corn laws themselves. He did not intend to propose their immediate repeal; but on the other hand, that their continuation should be only temporary, for the sake of giving time for a final adjustment of the question in relation to the agricultural interest. His bill, therefore, would contain the proposal that after a certain date, grain of all kinds should come in duty free, and that in the meantime a considerably reduced duty should continue upon it for three years and not longer. In the interval that should thus elapse until the 1st of February, 1849, he proposed that the scale of duty on imported wheat should range from 10*s*. a quarter when its average price was under 48*s*., to 8*s*. a quarter when it was under 54*s*. According to this diminished rate, there would be a duty of only 4*s*. per quarter on wheat at its present price, instead of 16*s*, while every other grain taken out of bond for consumption in the home market would have to pay little more than a nominal duty. This arrangement he intended to accompany with certain provisions for the interests of the agricultural party; such as the alleviation of the burdens on lands by highway rates, the law of settlement, and the expense for the maintenance of county jails, with additional facilities allowed by the state for the improvement of agricultural skill and industry. In conclusion, he suggested that, as his measure involved a great decrease in the revenue, as well as an annual charge of £600,000, the discussion upon it should be deferred till that day week. As a longer time was demanded by several of the members, the delay was protracted till the 9th of February. Upon that day, the subject was resumed with an earnestness commensurate with its importance. Nor was violence of speech or even downright personality spared, for each speaker felt his own pecuniary interests more or less involved in the contest. Perhaps this may account for the strong opposition which the bill unexpectedly encountered from several who hitherto had been the constant supporters of government. The debate commenced with an amendment of Mr. Philip Miles, member for East Somersetshire, that the house go into committee on that day six months. Fifty-five speakers advocated the cause of protection, and forty-eight that of free trade, while the discussion was carried on by repeated adjournments for twelve nights. On a division, the motion of Sir Robert Peel was carried, the amendment of Mr. Miles being rejected by a majority of 337 to 240.

On the 2d of March, when the house went into committee, and after the first resolution had been moved, Mr. Villiers proposed as an amendment, "That all duties on imported corn do now cease. He expressed his conviction that immediate abolition was not only more generally desired,

but a better measure than a postponement for three years; and he thought that Sir Robert must be of the same mind himself, as he had proposed the opening of the ports in November, which was tantamount to abolition. Sir Robert Peel stated in reply, that if an immediate instead of a deferred repeal was carried, he should accept the amendment, but that he preferred the latter measure to the former. His sentiment was followed by Lord John Russell, who thought that the success of the abolition question would be endangered if the amendment were carried. The amendment of Mr. Villiers was rejected by a majority of 265 against 78. On the 20th of March, the corn bill, with certain modifications upon the original proposal for the importation of maize duty free, stood for a second reading, and the debate was continued through four nights. The usual delay of a six months' adjournment was again proposed, and upon this amendment the protectionists rallied for a fresh encounter On this occasion, Sir Robert Peel—who, since the opening of parliament, had been reproached in every form of language for tergiversation and apostasy, and threatened with every kind of political retribution — indignantly repelled the charge, as he had repeatedly done, and defied its consequences "I am not surprised," he said, "to hear honourable members predict to me that my tenure of power is short Let these measures pass into a law. Suspend your indignation until then; and then it will be perfectly open to you to determine what measure you will adopt for the purpose of terminating my political life. I shall still pursue steadily that course which my conscience tells me I should take, let you and those opposite pursue what course you think right." He afterwards added, what succeeding emergencies but too well justified "You may think I have taken too great precautions against Irish famine. you are mistaken. Events will prove that these precautions are not unnecessary But even if it were not so, the motive was to rescue a whole population from the calamity of possible famine and disease; and I shall, under these circumstances, be easy under such an accusation." The second reading was carried by a majority of 88, 302 being for, and 214 against it

On the 4th of May, when discussion was resumed previous to the third reading, all the expedients of delay were adopted for the final struggle. On this occasion, Lord George Bentinck, who moved a postponement till that day six months, declared that, as on former occasions, the distress of Ireland had been greatly exaggerated. After two divisions which were occasioned by the opponents of the bill, the order of the day was carried, and the house went into committee, when Lord George Bentinck proposed that the word "oats" should be omitted in the specified articles upon which the duty was to be reduced. This he urged upon the plea that, as Ireland in the last and former years had an annual exportation of oats to the value of £2,500,000, even if a free importation of oats from abroad lowered the price of that grain to the extent of ten per cent., that country would be a sufferer by the change to the amount of £250,000 per annum. This new-born zeal for Ireland was answered by the chancellor of the exchequer, who showed that, if this amendment passed, oats, instead of paying one shilling per quarter of duty after the 1st of February, 1849, along with certain other grains, would be admitted without paying any duty at all, and thus Ireland itself would be the principal sufferer. The amendment was withdrawn, as was also that of Sir Charles Burrell, for a six months' delay, on the footing that the distress of Ireland was not so extreme as had been asserted The bill did not arrive at the last stage till the 11th of May, and even then, when the third reading was proposed, a debate of three nights occurred, in which the same arguments that had been again and again refuted were brought forward, and urged with all their former violence. At length, on the 16th, when every mode of opposition had been exhausted, the third reading was carried by a majority of ninety-eight, those in its favour being 327, and those against it 229. Such was the result after a parliamentary conflict, the length and the virulence of which have seldom been surpassed, even in our assembly of national representatives

In the lords, the chief debate on the corn bill took place upon the question of the second reading on the 25th of May. The speeches were scarcely less ardent than those which had rung for weeks in the House of Commons, while the repetition of the same arguments showed how sincerely each speaker felt upon the subject, whether as a political partizan or a landholder. The second reading passed by a majority of forty-seven. At the third reading, several amendments were successively outvoted, one of these being proposed by the Duke of Buckingham, the other by the Earl of Wicklow, a third by the Duke of Richmond, and a fourth by Lord Ashburton. This recusant spirit evinced by the members of the upper house had been temperately admonished in the following words by the Duke of Wellington. "If we reject this bill, my lords, we know that we reject the bill which has been passed and agreed to by the two other branches of the constitution, and that the House of Lords will stand alone in rejecting it. This is the consideration with which I beg your lordships to look at the question This is a position, my lords, in which you ought not, in which

you cannot stand; it is a position in which you are powerless, and can do nothing. You have vast influence on public opinion; but separated from the crown and from the House of Commons, you can do nothing until the connection with them is revived." The third reading was passed, but not without a struggle. Several of the dissentient lords declared their deep distrust and disapproval of the measure, and of the mode in which it had been carried; while the Duke of Richmond expressed his regret to see such a measure become law without an amendment appearing on the journals of the house. He would advise the farmers to agitate against it, and for an adequate protection not only to agriculture, but to every species of national industry.

Although the new facilities for the importation of cheap food had an especial reference to Ireland, it was evident that something more than the corn bill would be necessary for the tranquillity of that continually agitated, and now famine-threatened country. The insecurity of life, and the prevalence of assassination and deeds of violence, had so greatly increased at the commencement of this year, that a bill was introduced upon the subject on the 24th of February It was introduced also, in the first instance, not into the House of Commons, but of Lords, by the Earl of St. Germains, who, after a statistical account, which showed the offences against the person, property, and public peace, to have risen in a twelvemonth from 3102 into 5281 cases, proposed his measures for their suppression. These chiefly consisted of quartering an increased constabulary force upon any district in which a murder had been committed, and preventing people from being absent from their dwellings between sunset and sunrise, the time when murders were usually committed To enforce these regulations, and also to compensate the sufferers or their representatives, it was further proposed that the vice-regal powers of the lord-lieutenant should be materially increased. The second and also the third reading of the bill, whose operation was limited to the 1st of October, 1849, after a few slight modifications, was passed through the lords without opposition. But very different was the fate of the bill when it entered the House of Commons, which it did on the 30th of March. It could scarcely obtain even a first reading, although this courtesy was almost invariably granted to bills sent down from the lords. This at length it obtained after a virulent debate and repeated adjournments. The whole force of the Irish constituency was brought against the bill during all its long protracted stages, and it was not till the 26th of June that the motion for its second reading was rejected by 292 votes against 219, giving a majority of seventy-three. It was noticed as a curious coincidence, that this bill, which had for its object the security of life and repression of crime in Ireland, was defeated on the very same evening that the corn-law bill, which had for its chief object the relief of Irish destitution and misery, was successfully carried through its last stage in the House of Lords.

Having effected the great object for which he had resumed office, and effected it against an amount of obloquy and opposition that would have turned most statesmen from the attempt, Sir Robert Peel felt that his mission was accomplished. In addition to the final settlement of that great controversy of years, that of the Oregon territory, which threatened to involve us in an American war, was amicably adjusted, and the state of trade and finances was prosperous and full of promise. On the 29th of June, therefore, the resignation of Sir Robert Peel and his conservative ministry was announced in both houses by the Duke of Wellington Seldom has a British premier been enabled to retire from office under such happy auspices, or in the midst of such general affection and confidence. His last act was one of disinterested justice it was to attribute the honour of the recent victory to him by whose labours the way had been prepared "There is a name," he said, "which ought to be associated with the success of these measures It is not the name of the noble lord the member for London [Lord John Russell], neither is it my name. Sir, the name which ought to be, and which will be associated with the success of these measures, is the name of a man who, acting, I believe, from pure and disinterested motives, has advocated their cause with untiring energy, and by appeals to reason, enforced by an eloquence the more to be admired, because it was unaffected and unadorned —the name which ought to be, and which will be associated with the success of these measures, is the name of Richard Cobden. Without scruple, sir, I attribute the success of these measures to him."

The retirement of Sir Robert Peel was followed by the accession of Lord John Russell to the premiership. The results of the session, however, were of little importance, in consequence of the absorbing interest of the great question of the corn laws, which had been settled at last after so many years of agitation. The chief subject that occupied the attention of parliament was the famine in Ireland in consequence of the failure of the potato crop, which was now beginning to realize the worst fears of the corn-law abolitionists. The remedy proposed by Lord John Russell was the employment of the people by government upon public works, with money advanced from the treasury at only 3½ per cent. of interest, the principal itself to be repaid in

ten years; and from the very urgent character of the necessity, this remedy was adopted, notwithstanding the doubtful chance of repayment The important subject of military reform in the matter of corporal punishment was also brought forward, in consequence of a motion for the total abolition of flogging in the army; but this premature, and therefore dangerous act of humanity, was prevented by the modification proposed by the Duke of Wellington as commander-in-chief. This was the limitation of flogging to the maximum of fifty lashes, and these only to be inflicted when the state of the weather, health of the culprit, and other circumstances showed that the punishment would be attended with no danger to life or limb. In the meantime, the moral character of the soldier, hitherto neglected, was to be so fully supplied with the means of improvement, that in course of time flogging might be dispensed with altogether These means were, the establishment of libraries in the barracks, the institution of regimental schools, and of normal schools for regimental schoolmasters, and the formation of saving-banks in the army. By the adoption of such remedies, every year has witnessed a gradual improvement in the moral character of our soldiery.

During these four years of events at home, the state of our empire in India still continued to be a subject of much anxiety. Happily, however, these eastern commotions were quelled, and this by a series of achievements through which our military character was raised higher, and our Indian rule more firmly established than ever A brief recapitulation of these transactions is all that can at present be attempted

Lord Ellenborough had scarcely brought to an honourable close the hostilities in Afghanistan, ere he found himself of necessity involved in another war. The Ameers of Scinde had behaved in a treacherous manner while our troops were suffering their unspeakable disasters among the Afghan mountains They had sustained some pecuniary loss, and they fancied they had suffered still more (besides a loss of honour) by a treaty into which they had been forced by Lord Auckland at the advice of Burnes. They had been obliged to renounce their transit duties on merchandise going up and down the Indus, and as yet they had seen nothing of that "hundredfold" benefit which had been promised them in the treaty. Moreover, only some of the chiefs had entered into this treaty; and all of them were excited by the apprehension that the English intended to dispossess them of their hunting-grounds which lie along the banks of the Indus, and which, besides being the source of their chief and almost only amusement, were far more profitable to them than any trade up and down the river was likely to be for many a year. These chiefs were a brave and very vain set of men, almost as self-confident and presumptuous as the Burmese had been before the appearance of our army on the Irrawadi; and hence it was surmised that they would flee to arms rather than submit much longer even to the existing treaty. "Delusion as to the circumstances under which we retired from Afghanistan," says Lord Ellenborough, "and ignorance of our real strength, which they never experienced, would have induced a brave and barbarous people of plunderers to avail themselves of the first occasion in which we might be involved in difficulties, to endeavour to *throw off engagements which they entered into with reluctance, and to compel our retirement from the Indus.*"

It is said, too, that the Ameers could not restrain their own people, and much less the armed retainers of their neighbours; and it is pretty obvious that our Indian government preferred attacking and breaking their strength now, to waiting for a future collision when they might choose their own time and possibly take us by surprise They signed a new treaty on the 14th of February, 1843, and broke it one day afterwards by attacking the residence of the British commissioners with a large force; but then it is alleged that though the treaty had been signed and everything conceded that we asked for, Sir Charles Napier continued to advance, being apparently resolved to conquer Hyderabad, their capital, in spite of the treaty. On the other hand, it is said that the Ameers were tempted by the smallness of Napier's force and the magnitude of their own to attack him, and that they never intended to abide by the concessions they had made. We can well believe the last of these two assertions; but, in our view of the case, the concessions, so far from being worth fighting for, were not worth asking for.

On the 17th of February was fought the battle of Meeanee, a conflict which, in its heroic character and important results, has often been compared to the battle of Assaye. The advance of the gallant Napier had brought him to Muttaree, when he learned that the Ameers were awaiting his coming at Meeanee, ten miles distant, where they had taken up a position with 22,000 men. They were not only well provided with artillery but strongly posted, having woods on their flanks, which, it was thought, even by the British commander, could not be turned, and in their front the dry bed of the river Fulailee, which had a high bank and was difficult to be crossed The army also that occupied such a formidable position was not composed of effeminate Hindoos, but gallant daring Beloochees, who, it was known, would fight to the last, and who to their native

valour added no small portion of military skill and experience. On the other hand, the British force did not exceed 2800 men of all arms, and twelve pieces of cannon. Undismayed by these difficulties and such fearful odds, Sir Charles Napier resolved to become the assailant, well

BELOOCHES ON THE LOOK OUT
From Burnes Atkinson, and Von Orlich.

knowing that any delay or symptom of hesitation would increase the confidence of the enemy, and enlarge their army with reinforcements After a quick survey of their position, Sir Charles gave the word to advance; and his troops moved on at a steady pace, as if they had been upon parade, crossed a plain that was swept by the enemy's artillery, and opened their fire at about a hundred yards from the bank. But this distant fight was soon exchanged for close combat, the order to charge was given by Sir Charles with a voice that was heard along the whole line, and his soldiers rushed through the dry bed of the Fulailee, and up the steep bank, with a rapidity that confounded the Beloochees, and made their fire straggling and useless, although they had laid their matchlocks in rest to be ready for the onset A fearful hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which that little army of British was encountered with an alacrity that equalled, and a valour that almost matched their own: the Beloochees dashed across the bank to close with their assailants, and after firing their pistols and matchlocks, betook themselves to shield and sabre, their favourite weapons, and with which they had so often turned the tide of battle against Indian antagonists. But these weapons were unavailing against the firm rampart-like ranks of the British, and their lines of bayonets, that pressed forward with a regularity and strength that seemed impelled by one powerful machine. And yet the Beloochees continued this terrible fight for three hours, and on more than one occasion the British ranks were disordered by the fierce charges of these intrepid swordsmen. They were rallied, however, in every case by the brave old Napier, who on these occasions displayed the ardour of a young soldier, combined with a skill and promptitude which few of our generals have equalled. At last, a charge of horse which he ordered at the critical moment decided the battle: the 9th Bengal cavalry and the Scinde horse fell upon the right of the enemy; and as soon as they had reached the rear of their right flank, the Beloochee resistance became more faint, and was at last exchanged for a slow indignant retreat, which only added to their heavy loss in killed and wounded. It amounted in all to 5000 men; and the whole of their artillery, their ammunition, standards, and camp, with considerable stores, and some treasure, fell into the hands of the British, whose loss was only 256 men in killed and wounded That they should have suffered so little and yet achieved such a victory, attests the skill with which they were handled, and the courage with which they were led on. After the battle of Meeanee, the khaus of Hyderabad came into the British camp, and surrendered their swords and their city to the victor

Although Hyderabad was thus in full possession of the British, and its chiefs were prisoners of war, Scinde was not yet conquered. Another rebellious prince, Meer Shere Mahomed of Meerpoor, was in the vicinity of that city at the head of 20,000 Beloochees, and ready to renew the war. Against him, therefore, Sir Charles was obliged to march, instead of reposing upon his laurels at Hyderabad. He found Shere Mahomed strongly posted behind one of those nullahs that intersect the country in all directions, this nullah being formed by two deep parallel ditches, one twenty feet wide and eight feet deep, the other forty-two feet wide and seventeen deep. Here the Shere (that is, the Lion) had advantageously posted his numerous army, boasting loudly that he would "Cabool the British." But he had not taken the military skill and courage of Napier into account, or the warning conveyed by the victory of Meeanee. On the 24th of March, Sir Charles attacked him at Dubba, four miles from Hyderabad, and after a hard fight of three hours was again victorious. He outmanœuvred Shere Mahomed, the British stormed the nullah, and the enemy were beaten as effectually as they

had been upon the previous month, so that Shere Mahomed, after ineffectual attempts to rally a fresh army and renew the war, was fain to escape with a handful of his followers into the desert. Such is but a scanty specimen of those achievements of the campaign by which Sir Charles Napier accomplished the conquest of Scinde—a campaign of which his only superior in warfare (the Duke of Wellington) thus spoke in the House of Lords in the following year:—"His (Napier's) march upon Emaum Ghur was one of the most curious military feats which he had ever known to be performed, or had ever perused an account of in his life. He moved his troops through the desert against hostile forces; he had his guns transported under circumstances of extreme difficulty, and in a manner the most extraordinary; and he cut off a retreat of the enemy, which rendered it impossible for them ever to regain their positions. After retiring from this successful operation, he collected all his troops, and made those preparations for future defence which were necessary to the completion of his success. He made the most of this extraordinary attack, which was completely successful. He gained the camp of the enemy, got possession of his guns, and obtained the most complete victory, taking up a position in which he was not again likely to be attacked. Not only did he secure Hyderabad, and the portion of the Indus which lay in his rear, but he brought up a reinforcement, and placed himself at the head of a stronger army than that which he commanded before the battle. He manifested all the discretion and ability of an officer familiar with the most difficult operations; and it must be in the highest degree gratifying to their lordships to remember that these zealous and gallant efforts had been attended with perfect success." This was a noble testimony to the heroic conduct of Sir Charles Napier, and it had a double value coming from such a source. The result of these victories has been the annexation of the country to our possessions. In a few short sentences Lord Ellenborough appointed Sir Charles Napier governor of "the province of Scinde," abolished slavery and all duties of transit in every part of Scinde which now was, or hereafter might be, occupied by our army, and declared the navigation of the Indus free to all nations. Nothing could exceed the satisfaction of the people of Scinde at their transference to the British dominion. These Ameers, who were now sent into banishment, were not the native rulers of the country, but a combination of crowned heads who governed by the right of conquest; their subjects were of a different language and creed, and this diversity only served to increase the arrogance of the master, and embitter the bondage of the ruled. It was no wonder, therefore, if they groaned for deliverance from such uncongenial conquerors and oppressors; and when an unusual fall of rain had happened to irrigate the parched soil, and bring the promise of new abundance, the natives of Scinde regarded this as a token of the approbation of heaven upon the doom of the governor-general by which these Beloochee rulers were deposed from their sovereignty, and sent into exile.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER.
From a portrait by Smart.

Before the close of this same year, 1843, we were engaged with the Mahrattas, who had broken their treaties with the Indian government, and rebelled against the young and helpless maharajah, whom we were bound by treaty to support. They had also committed a series of most atrocious murders, and were guilty of other excesses which called for immediate repression. The governor-general advanced in person with an army to the strong fortress of Gwalior. Our troops, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, were about 14,000 strong, with forty pieces of artillery: the Mahrattas brought to the field 18,000 men, including 3000 cavalry, with 100 guns. On the 29th of December, 1843, a terrible battle was fought at Maharajpoor, which ended in another victory to the British, who, however, lost 797 men in killed and wounded. On the same day another decisive victory was gained by

Major-general Grey, who had moved with a division of the army to Punniar, about twelve miles from Gwalior. In consequence of these two victories the Mahratta durbar submitted to the demands of the Indian government—Colonel Stubbs remained governor of the fort of Gwalior, which commands the city; the plundering Mahratta troops were disbanded, and a British contingent was to be maintained in the country at the cost of the Gwalior government, which also agreed to pay forthwith the expenses of the campaign.

In all his operations Lord Ellenborough had been remarkably successful, but he had enemies in India, and more enemies at home In the session of 1843 his policy was bitterly assailed by the Whig ex-ministers, who had involved us in the ruinous Afghan war, and who had meanly contemplated withdrawing our forces from that country, and trusting to negotiation with the barbarians for the recovery of our captives. His lordship was warmly defended by Sir R Peel and the Duke of Wellington. "The difficulties in India," said the duke, "are now far greater than what they formerly were, because there has now been set up what is called a 'free press,' but what I shall call a *licentious* press' With a British population in India of not more than 50,000 persons, including 25,000 British troops, how is that country to be governed if the feelings of the natives are to be worked upon by a press like this?" Lord Brougham also defended the governor-general, as also did Lord Stanley and Mr. Hogg, the latter being one of the most competent authorities on India matters that could anywhere be found. Lord Ellenborough, however, had piqued the pride of the court of directors, and that court, having by their charter power so to do, recalled his lordship in April, 1844 Sir Henry Hardinge being appointed his successor, repaired immediately to India. Sir Henry on his arrival found that our troops in Scinde were suffering greatly from the unhealthiness of the climate, and that a mutinous spirit appeared in several Bengal native regiments which were under orders to march into that country. Like so many of his predecessors who had gone to India with most pacific intentions, Sir Henry soon found himself compelled to gird on the sword Since the death of Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore, the Sikh country had been convulsed by a continuity of revolutions, murders, and massacres, and the Sikh chiefs and soldiers had become as lawless as the Mahrattas in the time of the Marquis Wellesley. Shortly after the arrival of the new governor-general, daily reports were spread that these Sikhs intended to invade the British territories. The orders from the home authorities were so stringent not to interfere with the Punjab, unless actual aggression were first perpetrated by the Sikhs, that the Indian government was crippled; and, acting on his instructions, the governor-general, who was then in the upper provinces, did not deem it advisable to take measures for raising an army capable of opposing the Sikhs, should they actually cross the Sutlej. Sir Henry Hardinge, if left to his own decision, would no doubt have taken, at an early stage, the steps which he afterwards adopted with such admirable energy and promptitude.[1] [We believe, however, that operations must have been somewhat retarded by the reductions recently made in our troops on this long frontier line.] It was different with Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief He was at the head of his army. His acts were under the control of the governor-general, so far as organizing an army was concerned, but, trusting to his own foresight and military experience, he gave early warning to the troops on the frontier, as well as to those at the important military station of Meerut, to hold themselves in readiness[2] Most fortunately Lord Ellenborough, in anticipation of this storm, had established a large force at Umballa, which could be available at a moment's notice.

So soon as it was known that a Sikh force had actually crossed the Sutlej and invaded our territory, our troops were put in motion with admirable celerity The marches made were wonderful On the 18th of December the first encounter took place at Moodkee Our people were fatigued by a very long march through a sandy country.[3] The Sikhs were quite fresh; they had a numerous artillery, and had become excellent artillerymen under the training of Avitabile, Venturi, and other European officers; we had merely a few six-pounders, not having had time sufficient to bring up any heavy guns. Nothing was to be done but to charge the enemy at the bayonet point. They were well posted among the jungle and stunted trees. The small compact body of British infantry (her majesty's 9th, 31st, 50th, and 80th regiments) charged amidst a murderous fire of cannon and of musketry, the Sikh infantry firing admirably. The columns of this fierce and formidable enemy were, however, broken and dispersed, but not before they had made a desperate stand and committed great slaughter among the European officers and men. Sir Robert Sale fell mortally wounded. Sir John Maccaskill was shot dead, and almost every officer on the staff of the governor-general was

[1] Dr Macgregor, *History of the Sikhs.* [2] Ibid.
[3] "The troops were in a state of great exhaustion, principally from the want of water, which was not procurable on the road."—*Commander-in-chief's Despatch*

either killed or wounded. The 3d light dragoons, being the only European cavalry present, pursued the fleeing Sikhs. The force thus defeated was only an experimental one The *grande corps-d'armée*, with 500 guns of all calibre, were as yet on the other side of the Sutlej. Though thoroughly beaten at Moodkee, they were satisfied that, with an overwhelming number of guns strongly entrenched, they might withstand the attack of the British

On the 19th of December some heavy guns, escorted by her majesty's 29th, the 1st European light infantry, and some native regiments, reached Moodkee. The Sikhs, in column after column, were crossing the Sutlej, boasting that they would march on to Delhi, Benares, Calcutta! On the 21st of December their pride was abated by the terrible battle of Ferozeshah They had brought up a stupendous artillery, and were strongly entrenched The battle is told by the gallant commander-in-chief in a few words —"The Sikh guns could not be silenced by the British, and the infantry therefore advanced, amidst a murderous shower of shot and grape, and captured them "[1] On the setting in of night the European infantry remained in the portion of the camp which they had captured, while the Sikhs occupied the rest; their cavalry and infantry moving about the whole night, harassing and firing on the British who were bivouacked Now and then they brought up a gun and fired grape among our wearied sleepy people. They had nothing for it but to remain quiet, and await the return of daylight. But their position was a fearful one! Before the entrenchments were entered, her majesty's 62d were "absolutely mowed down by the fire under which they were advancing."[2] Before the battle could be renewed on the 22d, Tej Sing brought up to the Sikhs fresh battalions and a large field of artillery, supported by 30,000 Ghorchurras, or irregular cavalry. Our own weak cavalry was unavailing, our artillery of little or no use everything had to be done, and *was* done, by our indomitable British and Irish infantry! The Sikhs were driven out of the camp, and were beaten and broken wherever they attempted a stand. We lost in killed and wounded more than 2000 men; thirty-seven officers were killed, and double that number wounded. Between the battle of Moodkee and this double battle of Ferozeshah, our total loss in killed and wounded exceeded 3000. The commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, commanded the right wing, while the left was under the command of Sir Henry Hardinge, who set aside his dignity doubly and trebly, and volunteered his services as second in command. Sir Harry Smith commanded the first infantry division, Major-general Gilbert the second, Brigadier Wallace the third, and Sir John Littler the fourth. All these officers were engaged in the thickest of the fight, and behaved with equal skill and gallantry. Wallace was killed by a cannon-shot. The commander-in-chief resolved to wait for the guns and mortars then moving upwards, with the 9th and 16th lancers, and her majesty's 10th and 53d foot The Scinde troops, under Sir Charles Napier, had also been ordered up.

Group of Sikhs[3]

The Sikhs resolved to make another effort to maintain their position on the left bank of the Sutlej, and for this purpose they began to construct a new bridge of boats below Hurrakee. As soon as this bridge was finished, more Sikhs began to cross over. We have no space for any of the minor details. Sir Harry Smith gained a brilliant victory over a detached Sikh force, at

[1] Despatch

[2] Speech of the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, on the 26th February, 1846

[3] 1, From a suit of armour in the Tower of London 2, An Akalee, from the Honourable Miss Eden's *Portraits of the Princes and People of India* 3, A chief on horseback, from Soltykoff's *Habitants de l'Inde* 4 and 5, Soldiers, from the Hon C S. Hardinge's *Recollections of India*

Aliwal, on the 28th of January, capturing or destroying all their guns. Having finished their bridge of boats, the Sikhs busily employed themselves in making entrenchments, a tête-de-pont, &c., at Sobraon. Though at Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Aliwal, they had lost upwards of 150 guns, they had united a formidable number on this point. The soldiers collected within these entrenchments at Sobraon were those who had been best trained by the French and Italian officers these men felt assured that their position could not be taken by the best of troops; and they quietly waited the attack. Sir Hugh Gough did not keep them long waiting He put his army in motion on the morning of Tuesday, the 10th of February, 1846, and in a very few hours the works of Sobraon were in his possession, and the Sikhs in headlong flight across the Sutlej. In their efforts to reach the right bank through the deepened water the enemy suffered a terrible carnage from our horse artillery. Hundreds fell under the cannonade; hundreds upon hundreds were drowned in attempting the perilous passage[1] This was a glorious fight, and complete in its results. Nearly every gun of the Sikhs was captured, together with numerous standards. Such a victory, however, could not be achieved without an immense sacrifice, and there are few actions on record where so many officers were killed and wounded. The brave Sir Robert Dick fell in the attack on the camp, Brigadier M'Leod was hit while leading the 4th brigade of the centre division against the strongest part of the entrenchment at Sobraon, and was borne off the field mortally wounded, Brigadier Charles Cyril Taylor, who commanded the 29th foot, was killed; Major-general Gilbert, and the veteran Colonel Ryan, of the 50th, were wounded; and many other distinguished officers fell among the slain, or were carried maimed to the hospitals.

The Punjab was occupied by the British without any repetition of the hard struggle which had occurred on the left bank of the Sutlej. On the 14th of February, 1846, the governor-general issued a proclamation.—"The Sikh army," said he, "has been expelled from the left bank of the Sutlej, having been defeated in every action, with the loss of more than 220 pieces of field artillery. The British army has crossed the Sutlej and entered the Punjab. The governor-general announces, by this proclamation, that this measure has been adopted in accordance with the intentions expressed in the proclamation of the 13th December last, as having been forced upon the governor-general for the purpose of effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British government, and for punishing the violaters of treaties, and the disturbers of the public peace."

On the 17th of February our siege-guns crossed the bridge along with the 4th brigade, under the command of Brigadier Orchard. The army then steadily marched upon Lahore, the capital, which was entered on the 20th without any opposition. The remnant of the Sikh army quietly yielded, and delivered up more guns. The ranee saw that the only power on which she could rely for the stability of her young son's throne, and her own and his personal safety, was the British army. A treaty was concluded. the governor-general was to leave a force at Lahore, to prop up the young rajah's government, the rajah or maharajah Goolab Sing, was to be allowed to become master of the rich province of Cashmere; and indemnities were to be paid to the British.[2]

There could not have been a more honourable conclusion to our military history than Sir Charles Napier's war against the Ameers of Scinde, and these glorious combats on the Sutlej; they effaced the disgrace which had befallen us in Afghanistan; they more than renewed our former prestige; and they told the princes and potentates of India and the countries thereto adjacent, that the power of Britain was as great, and the spirit of her soldiers as high, as ever they had been.

[1] Despatch of the Commander in chief.

[2] Dr Macgregor's *History of the Sikhs*, &c

CHAPTER XI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1847—1849.

VICTORIA.

Continuing famine in Ireland—Attention called to it in the royal speech—Two bills to remedy the evil—Their nature—They are passed in parliament—Money lent to the Irish Railways—Suspension of the corn and navigation laws proposed—The proposal adopted—Duties on rum and sugar modified—Proposal adopted for a loan of £8,000,000 for the relief of Ireland—Additional grant for public education proposed in the House of Lords—Controversy excited by it in the commons—A small sum granted with restrictions—Manchester erected into a bishopric—Political difficulties of the measure—New parliament—Disorders and assassinations in Ireland—Bill for their suppression—Mild nature of its remedies—Opposition of the Irish members to the bill—It is passed—Feargus O'Connor's unsuccessful attempt to re-introduce the question of Irish repeal—Jews' disqualification bill announced for future adjustment—Session of 1848—Consideration of West Indian interests proposed—A committee appointed for the purpose—Immediate measures adopted for our West India colonies—Unpalatable proposal upon the colonial sugar duties—It is passed—Diminution of the revenue from dread of foreign invasion—Select and secret committees of inquiry appointed—Temporary increase upon the income-tax granted—Proposal of alteration in the navigation laws—Arguments in favour of their alteration—The subject postponed for further consideration—Jewish disabilities bill re-introduced—Arguments used for and against the admission of Jews into parliament—The bill rejected by the lords—Continuation of the Irish insurrectionary spirit—Irish rebellion under Smith O'Brien—Its paltry character and speedy suppression—Measures adopted for tranquillizing Ireland—Bill to facilitate the sale of Irish encumbered estates—It passes through parliament—Bill passed to facilitate our negotiations with Rome—Abortive attempt of the chartists to effect a revolution—Their meeting on Kennington Common—Their huge petition to the House of Commons—Falsity of many of its signatures—This year signalized by European national revolutions—Revolution in France—Tumults and conflicts in Paris—Louis Philippe abdicates—He escapes to England—Temperate character of the revolution—A republican government established in France—It becomes unpopular—Louis Napoleon Bonaparte elected its president—Revolution in Italy—The pope driven out of Rome—Revolutions in the Germanic states.

IRISH famine and Irish distress continued to be the great subject of popular anxiety, as well as parliamentary discussion. The mysterious blight of the potato, which had impoverished England and Scotland to the amount of several millions by destroying one of the principal articles of food, was immeasurably more terrible in Ireland, where the potato constituted the chief subsistence of its population Harrowing accounts of whole parishes depopulated by famine, and of houses without number in which the wasted inmates were dying by inches, not only excited the horror of the British public, but stirred its sympathy to the lowest depths. The destruction of food to the amount, in value, of £16,000,000, in a country so improvident and so poor, implied an amount of suffering and mortality into which no statistic details could fully enter. Pestilence, the usual attendant of national famine, had also entered that devoted island, so that in crowded rural districts, and especially in the cities, the inhabitants were dying in heaps. An earlier session of parliament than usual was therefore opened on the 19th of January, and the royal speech, which was delivered by her majesty in person, thus acknowledged at the outset, and in accents of sorrow, the paramount subject of attention:—

"It is with the deepest concern, that upon your again assembling, I have to call your attention to the dearth of provisions which prevails in Ireland, and in parts of Scotland.

"In Ireland, especially, the loss of the usual food of the people has been the cause of severe sufferings, of disease, and of greatly increased mortality among the poorer classes. Outrages have become more frequent, chiefly directed against property; and the transit of provisions has been rendered unsafe in some parts of the country."

After adverting to the means which had already been adopted for the alleviation of these sufferings, the speech, which was almost exclusively occupied with Irish affairs, thus continued:—

"The deficiency of the harvest in France and Germany, and other parts of Europe, has added to the difficulty of obtaining adequate supplies of provisions.

"It will be your duty to consider what further measures are required to alleviate the existing distress. I recommend to you to take into your serious consideration, whether, by increasing, for a limited period, the facilities for importing corn from foreign countries, and, by the admission of sugar more freely into breweries and distilleries, the supply of food may be beneficially augmented."

For these distresses, "to which nothing ex-

ceeding was to be found in the page of Josephus, or on the canvas of Poussin, or in the dismal chant of Dante,"[1] the ministerial measures for relief were brought forward on the 25th of January They were embodied in two bills, proposed in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, and in that of Lords by the Marquis of Lansdowne. In the one bill, the remedies were for immediate, and in the other, for future and permanent relief In the former class, besides the board of public works, which was already giving employment to 500,000 labourers, representing 2,000,000 souls, he proposed the addition of relief committees, established in certain districts, empowered to receive subscriptions, levy rates, and receive donations from government—and that out of such funds, food should be purchased, soup-kitchens established, rations dealt out to the destitute, and labourers employed upon tillage to aid in their own support Of the debt thus contracted by the necessary advances from the treasury, which was to be repaid by annual instalments in the course of twenty-two years, one half of the amount was to be remitted and thrown upon the public, although this would necessarily burden the imperial finances, and prevent the reduction of taxation The measures of a more permanent character had reference to advances of money for the improvement of estates, the reclamation of waste lands, and the purchase of waste lands by government for that purpose, the extension of the poor law, facilities for the sale of encumbered estates, and the improvement of Irish fisheries In thus stating the particulars of which his two bills were to be composed, Lord John Russell ended by exhorting the Irish to adopt the maxim, "Help yourselves, and Heaven will help you."

Over so large a field and variety of particulars, the discussion that ensued was of such a correspondent character, that it is impossible, within our limits, to give even an abstract of its history. The urgency with which a remedy was needed was evident from the tangible fact, that food to the value of £16,000,000 had been annihilated by this terrible visitation of Providence, while the well-known improvidence of the Irish character made it evident that no temporary or half-measure of relief would avail The bills of Lord John Russell, after several amendments, were passed through both houses. The chief difficulty seemed to consist in the selection of the most beneficial course of expenditure, but as the age of railways had now so far progressed, and as every possible benefit was anticipated from this new device of welding the whole British empire into one compact mass, the idea of employing the Irish in the construction of railways was the foremost proposal on the subject. The initiative, however, was sufficiently startling. It was nothing less than the proposal of a loan of £16,000,000 to the Irish railway companies, at the same interest at which the money was borrowed by government. This was brought forward by Lord George Bentinck, who anticipated no difficulty or doubt of repayment; for he had been assured by infallible authority—no less than that of Mr Hudson himself, that the worst railway under his (the railway king's) direction, was capable of affording to government a cent. per cent. security. Independently also of the immediate employment which would thus be given to 110,000 men, it would so improve the land of Ireland as to increase the rental by £900,000—equivalent to a capital of not less than £23,000,000. Well might Sir Robert Peel exclaim derisively: "Twenty-three millions for the Irish landlords, to be derived from the improved value of their property in consequence of railroad enterprise!—then, why do not the Irish landlords promote these undertakings?" Still clinging, however, to this favourite national panacea, the experiment was to be tried, although upon a greatly reduced scale. This was in consequence of a motion by the chancellor of the exchequer, who proposed that a loan of £620,000 should be distributed in certain shares among the Irish railways, repayable with five per cent. interest. This was but a small fraction of the £8,000,000 borrowed during the course of the session to be applied in the relief of Ireland, and the bill was passed by 175 votes against 62. Besides these various remedies, which were adopted with more or less success, a motion was brought forward upon the subject of emigration, on the 1st of June, by the Earl of Lincoln. It would have been strange indeed, if this constantly recurring expedient had been forgotten at such a crisis. The object of the motion, which was agreed to, was "to obtain a commission to inquire, first, whether colonization could be applied, so as to relieve those who remained in Ireland, secondly, whether it could be applied, so as to relieve those who left Ireland; and, lastly, whether it could be so conducted as not to interfere with the interests of our colonies."

As the calamity of the failure of the potato crop had been felt to a great extent in England, and a still greater in Scotland, every facility for the importation of food required to be immediately adopted, without which every other expedient would have failed. The suspension of the corn and navigation laws, which had been recommended by the royal speech, was introduced almost immediately after the opening of the session by Lord John Russell, who moved for a committee of the whole house on the corn impor-

[1] Speech of Lord Brougham

tation act, to be followed by another on the navigation laws. The necessity of remitting the duties on the importation of foreign grain, he stated, had not been felt by Britain alone. the famine itself was common throughout Europe, and therefore, in several of the principal states, that remission had been already effected, and in some of them, prohibitory statutes had also been passed against the exportation of their grain On that account, there were only two quarters from which supplies could be obtained; these were Odessa and the United States. He proposed, therefore, that all duties on the importation of foreign corn should be suspended till the 1st of November next, after which, it should be left to the consideration of parliament whether this suspension should be continued or not. With regard to the navigation laws, by which the importation of foreign corn was impeded, their suspension was necessary to diminish the price of freight, and set free a number of vessels of foreign countries, which might then be employed in transporting grain to this country and to Ireland This suspension, also, instead of being permanent, was only to be temporary, and in mixed cargoes was to apply only to the corn that was landed. The necessity as well as propriety of these two bills was so generally felt. that only two days after their first reading, they were passed by both houses, and on the 26th of January received the royal sanction.

On the evening of the 25th, the same day on which these bills had been passed through the House of Commons, a modification of the rum and sugar duties was proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer. By this measure of the new government, it was declared that not only relief would be granted to the country, but also to the sugar-growing colonies who needed a requital for the removing of protection. This was to be effected by admitting the use of sugar in brewing and distillation, by which a saving in the expense of grain would be insured. As for colonial rum, it was proposed that the differential duty upon it should be reduced from 1*s.* to 6*d.* These proposals were also passed without alteration.

In the financial statement for the year before the committee of ways and means, the necessary loans that had to be contracted for the relief of the Irish famine were fully stated by the chancellor of the exchequer on the 22d of February. He was happy to state, that the finances were well able to sustain the demand, as the balances this year in the exchequer were upwards of £9,000,000, while the next year would probably show a very considerable increase. Taking all this into account, and calculating that the expenditure necessary for Ireland would be scarcely less than £1,000,000 per month, until the next harvest, he proposed that the sum of £8,000,000 should be borrowed out of the consolidated fund for the relief of Ireland. To this, the objections in the debate that followed were various. some thought it too large, others, that so much should not be granted, without a guarantee that remedial measures would be carried into effect; and others, that a property and income tax should be imposed upon Ireland to raise the required amount. After keen opposition the measure was passed, and carried into effect, and that kind of relief for Irish destitution was dealt out which can only be of temporary efficacy, until a provident independent spirit and industrial habits are ingrafted upon the Irish character.

Passing over several bills which were introduced in parliament this session, but not finally ratified, we proceed to the subject of public education, which was brought before the House of Lords by Lord Lansdowne, and which formed the subject of several keen debates, in consequence of the public antagonism it always excited between the Established church and the dissenters Already, from 1833 to 1846, the amount of parliamentary grants for public education was £490,000, by which 500,000 pupils were provided with the means of instruction. In bringing forward his proposal for an additional grant, Lord Lansdowne stated the following *desiderata*, as the objects to be accomplished by his demand —1. The system of inspection, which hitherto had been limited, although it had been attended with signal benefit, might be extended. 2 The standard and condition of schoolmasters would be raised. 3 Apprentices selected from the most hopeful of the pupils would be trained into efficient teachers 4 Retiring pensions could be granted to those schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who for fifteen years had unexceptionably managed schools of a certain size, and gratuities provided for those who still preferred to remain in office 5 The schools could thus be provided with industrial apparatus, in the country for agricultural, and in the town for mechanical application, by means of which instruction might be conveyed to the scholar on subjects not usually included in any system of education. This, his lordship said, was all that the government was at present prepared to propose Lord Brougham regretted that the plan was not more comprehensive still, but sarcastically remarked that such was impossible, as society was divided into two great classes—churchmen and dissenters—who loved education much, but controversy more.

Of controversy there was enough when the subject was brought into the House of Commons, where dissenterism could obtain a free arena.

On the 29th of April, Lord John Russell detailed to the house the correspondence that had passed between government and the Wesleyan body upon these departments of public education, and expressed his hope that the Roman Catholic schools, at present to be excluded, would be comprised in the grants as well as others. He then gave a history of the progress of education in the country from 1784, when Mr Raikes first established Sunday schools, down to 1846, when the annual grant had been increased to £100,000; and described the jealousy and opposition with which the attempts of government to extend and improve the educational system had been continually encountered After justifying these ministerial measures, he proceeded to show the lamentable deficiency of the public education of this country, and the necessity for its still further improvement. We never, he declared, gave instruction to our labouring population until they were sent to our jails as prisoners, instead of indoctrinating them in religion, morality, and industry before their minds were vitiated. He finally disclosed the government plan, imperfect indeed as yet, but urgently needed for immediate use, and craved the means for its establishment.

The debate that followed was sufficiently varied, the ground of objection being shifted from point to point over an extensive field In a majority of cases it was allowed that the state should possess the guardianship of public education, because it underlay the responsibility of providing it—but by what body is the state to be represented in this important guardianship? "By the church, of course," was the general reply, and here the door of contention was opened, for the entrance of the contending claims of the Established church on one hand, and the dissenting interest on the other. By the government scheme, also, the Roman Catholics were for the present to be excluded; and this awoke the hostility of that middle party who might be called liberalists in religion—men who viewed the merits of the question solely upon the footing of abstract justice or political expediency, and who urged the propriety of admitting the Catholic population to a full share of these educational state endowments. Even the sum demanded, which to several of the dissentients appeared too much, was in the eyes of others by far too little; and of this last class was Mr. Hume himself, who was so conscious of the inestimable advantages of a good national education, that he was ready to give not the paltry sum of £100,000 for it, but five times as much. While the debate was pending in the House of Commons, the subject was under consideration in the House of Lords. There, too, its religious difficulties were fully appreciated; and the chief questions at issue were, "Shall the Roman Catholics be admitted to these schools?" and if so, "How far shall concessions be made to them in the religious instructions which form a part of the school routine?" The sum of £100,000 was voted for the purposes of education, with the understanding that, "when the subject came before parliament year after year, and the government asked for a grant of money for the purposes of education, the principles on which the money was to be expended would be fully explained; so that parliament would be in a position every year to give or to withhold its sanction."

During this session, in which so much theological discussion was involved, a measure, towards the close, in which the Established church was deeply interested, was accomplished by the creation of the new diocese of Manchester. The bill to that effect was introduced into the lords by Lord Lansdowne. After stating the immense increase of population in that quarter, which made the spiritual superintendence of a separate bishop necessary, and the wealth of the diocese, which insured him ample support without expense to the public, his lordship proposed, that Manchester should forthwith be erected into a bishopric. But here lay the chief importance of the proposal "It was considered inexpedient to add to the number of prelates in that house, and no addition to the number of their lordships' house would be made in consequence of the creation of the new bishopric. The first Bishop of Manchester would succeed to a seat in their lordships' house when, by death or otherwise, a vacancy occurred in one of the other bishoprics. Thus, a bishop, when appointed, would not have a seat in their lordships' house until a vacancy took place." This was a startling innovation: a bishop was no longer to have a right to sit there *ex officio*, except the old-established prelates; and as it was stated that in all probability an increase to the number of twenty-four new bishoprics would soon be found necessary, each bishop would have little chance of a seat in parliament until he had reached a considerable age. A better expedient, it was alleged, would be, a return to the still unrepealed law of appointing suffragan bishops, who should possess episcopal supervision without a place upon the bench. The original motion, after being carried in the lords, was transferred to the commons, where it encountered a still greater amount of obstruction, and chiefly upon the same footing; but there also it passed a second reading by a majority of 124 to 15. In the committee, the bill was vehemently decried by those who saw no need of more bishops; by those who were opposed to the measure, on the score of the additional taxation it would occasion; and by those

who were unwilling to see the office curtailed of its accustomed privileges. The bill, however, passed to the third reading by a majority of 93 to 14, and Manchester was erected into a bishopric with the prescribed limitations.

During this session the lost bills, of which Lord Brougham declared, "some were never born, others departed without a moment's warning," were so numerous, that we cannot afford space even for their titles. Some of the more important of these, however, were not finally and irrecoverably lost: their announcement served to awaken the public attention, and prepare the way for their re-introduction under more favourable circumstances Parliament was dissolved on the 23d of July by her majesty in person. The chief theme of the royal speech on this occasion was the Irish famine, and the promptitude and liberality with which it had been encountered.

The first session of the new parliament commenced on the 18th of November, at which Mr Charles Shaw Lefevre was elected speaker. The address of her majesty, which was read by the Marquis of Lansdowne, again adverted to the predominant calamity of the period The famine was still raging in Ireland, and the crimes and insubordination which distress had produced or encouraged, were such as to demand the attention of both houses. In the lords, it was declared by Lord Stanley, that "one by one the best members of society fell victims to a system of assassination; and it was now an admitted fact, that it was safer in that island to violate than to obey the law" The Romish priesthood, too, he alleged, "instead of denouncing this horrid system, aided and abetted it. The time was come for prompt and effectual measures, and he called on the government in the name of civilization to introduce them instantly." With equal urgency Lord Brougham declared, that "as for Ireland, she now stood in a hateful and shameful pre-eminence of crime, and he trusted that effectual measures would be taken to disarm the people, and to protect life and property."

Upon Sir George Grey, the secretary for the home department, the duty devolved of introducing a bill upon the subject, which he did on the 29th of November. After laying before the House of Commons the statistics of public crimes in Ireland, from which it appeared that, during six months of 1847, the cases of homicide, attempts at assassination, robberies of arms, and firing of dwellings had increased so fearfully, that they more than doubled the amount of the six months preceding, Sir George proposed his remedy. It simply consisted in investing the lord-lieutenant with extraordinary powers in those districts where the peace was most disturbed. In these he was to increase the constabulary force as he should judge fit, and prevent persons from carrying firearms, except those who were privileged by office for exemption from this disarming act, under penalty of imprisonment for not more than three years; and those persons who had firearms in their houses throughout these proclaimed districts, were to be required to deliver them up at the nearest police-station by a certain day In any district where a murder had been committed, the justices and constables were also to be empowered to call upon all males between the ages of sixteen and sixty to assist in pursuit of the murderers, and should any one refuse, he was liable to be imprisoned with or without hard labour for any term not exceeding two years.

Such were the chief characteristics of this bill, framed to arrest the most intolerable and mischievous of all tyrannies—the tyranny of an armed, unchecked, and infuriated people, confident in brute force, and determined to use it to the utmost. And yet the bill was decried as despotic and tyrannical! while various statements were brought forward for the purpose of proving, that not the people but the landlords, the Anglo-Irish aristocracy, were the real and punishable causes of these atrocities. After the bill was introduced, and had come to the second reading, a motion was made by Mr. John O'Connell, son of the agitator, that the house should pass to the order of the day. The discussion that followed was such as Irish affairs had awoke every year; and the arguments used were such as lay thick on the surface of the subject, and would have been worn out long ago but for the perennial necessity that renewed their freshness, and kept them always ready for act and use. The strain of Irish oratory which it also awoke was no new melody in the ears of the house, although of such recent introduction. The bill, although so gentle compared with the occasion that produced it, was characterized by Mr J O'Connell as a measure of "petty, minute, ingenious, torturing details" "It was," he said, "the most deceptive measure ever brought before the house. In other coercion bills, there had been frank, bold, avowed oppression; in this enactment it was covert: this was an insidious, deceptive, sneaking bill. It deserved no other terms It did underhand that which its authors had not courage to do plainly and openly. It went beyond the powers of the worst clause of the worst previous act. It was calculated to meet the people at every turn: to annoy them in their persons, their pockets, and their liberties. Such was but a moderate specimen of Irish eloquence upon a question of Irish legislation. In spite of every attempt to defeat or delay the bill, it passed through the second and third read-

ings by large majorities, in the last case the votes being 173 to 14. The bill also passed unaltered through the committee in the House of Lords.

This was not the whole amount of vexation arising from the affairs of Ireland during the course of this session. The death of Daniel O'Connell, which had occurred at Genoa during this year (May 25th), seems to have produced a scramble among his disciples for the vacant leadership; and upon the present occasion, Mr Feargus O'Connor endeavoured to seize the coveted distinction, by raising within parliament itself the favourite Irish mob-cry of repeal. To this effect, he moved for the appointment of a select committee "to inquire and report on the means by which the dissolution of the parliament of Ireland was effected; on the effects of that measure upon Ireland, and upon the labourers in husbandry and operatives in manufactures in England; and on the probable consequences of continuing the legislative union between both countries" To strengthen his claim, he entered into a lengthened history of Ireland from the period of its occupation by the English crown, till the period of the union with England in 1800; after which he attempted to show that every article of that union had been violated by the English legislature. So discursive a mode of handling his subject afforded him a wide field for complaint and abuse, which he was not slow to occupy, but it was quickly evident that he was no "Daniel come to judgment," however much he might attempt to imitate, or even to ape the great agitator His motion was premature, and found only 23 of his compatriots to support it against a majority of 232.

The only subject of discussion in parliament after this, was the Jews' disqualification bill, in consequence of the return at the late general election of Baron Rothschild for the city of London. As the baron belonged to the Jewish persuasion, and as every new member on taking his seat was obliged to make a statutory declaration "on the faith of a true Christian," it was thought that this simple requirement precluded all Jews, as long as they persisted in their hereditary faith, from a place in parliament. The question that had so often been unsuccessfully raised, was now to be tried under the most hopeful auspices; and the claims of the great Hebrew financier were backed by a London election, and advocated by his colleague, who was no other than the first minister of the crown. Lord John Russell brought the subject before the house, in this case, in the shape of a resolution affirming the "eligibility of Jews to all functions and offices to which Roman Catholics were admissible by law." A majority of sixty-seven for the resolution prepared the way for his new bill, which was to be introduced at the next session. Christmas being now at hand, the meetings of parliament were adjourned to the 3d of February.

The first subject of discussion with which the business of the next session in 1848 commenced, was the West India question, a question which, since the period of negro emancipation, had never ceased to be a source of doubt and perplexity. It was opened in the present case by Lord George Bentinck, the distinguished advocate of the West India interests, by the following motion: "That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the present condition and prospects of the interests connected with, and dependent on, sugar and coffee planting in her majesty's East and West Indian possessions and the Mauritius; and to consider whether any and what measures can be adopted by parliament for their relief" His motion was prefaced by three important petitions with which he had been intrusted: "One from the standing committee of the West India planters; another from the merchants of Greenock, against restraints on emigration, and on the employment of labour; and a third from merchants and others in Jamaica, praying for the removal of burdens, for a full supply of African labour, an alteration of the navigation laws, and an assimilation on the duties on colonial rum to those paid by the British distiller" The extreme necessity of an immediate inquiry he stated from the fact, that fifty great West India houses in Britain had failed under liabilities of more than six millions of money; and that this was the reward of our cheap sugar system, with which our free labour in the West India colonies could not compete His lordship's motion for a committee was agreed to without a division

Although the next proceeding of parliament was to advance a loan of £170,000 for promoting the immigration of free labourers into British Guiana and Trinidad, it became evident, from the desponding accounts received from the West Indies, that something more decisive must be done to save these colonies from absolute bankruptcy and ruin. The subject was therefore resumed in parliament on the 16th of June, by Lord John Russell, who brought before the House of Commons a measure of relief. This was, that the house, in addition to the money already voted, should guarantee a loan of £500,000 to these colonies on the security of their revenues, for meeting the expense of immigration. In addition to this temporary relief, he proposed a reduction on the duty of colonial sugar by 1*s.* each year, until the present rate, reduced on the 5th of July to 13*s.*, should have diminished to 10*s.*; and that a new distinctive duty should be laid upon foreign brown sugar, such as would leave

a fair field of competition to our West India produce. Such, stripped of its technicalities and numerous details, was the government plan of relief brought forward by the premier. The debate that followed was no exception to the generality of those that were usually waged upon West India questions; and though sugar was the theme, it was discussed with as much bitterness as if it had been gall and wormwood. From wrath, the debate proceeded to such rude personalities, as would have better suited the ancient Roman forum than a British senate. At one stage of it, Lord G. Bentinck having accused the colonial office and its secretary of suppressing important information, in order to keep the house and the public in the dark as to the real predicament of the colonies, was thus answered in kind by Lord John Russell. "In general, with regard to those matters, it is quite evident that these mean frauds—these extremely disgraceful tricks—which the noble lord imputes to my noble friend—are not the faults and the characteristics of men high in office in this country. They are the characteristics of men who are engaged in pursuits which the noble lord long followed [*loud cries of* oh, oh! *and great uproar*]. Some time ago, the noble lord very greatly distinguished himself by detecting a fraud of this nature—[*loud cheers and counter-cheers*]—with respect to the name and age of a horse, a transaction in which he showed very great quickness of apprehension" [*Great confusion*] Thus strangely was Newmarket mixed with the Indies, and race-horses with muscovado and clayed sugars!

A debate that could originate such unseemly eccentricities was protracted by frequent adjournments, and several amendments were successively moved, but only to be rejected. At one time the opposition to the bill arose from anti-slavery arguments, and at another from those of the protectionists. At last, all its resolutions were agreed to, and the bill thus passed into the House of Lords unaltered, where it underwent a second reading, and called forth no further debate until it became law.

It was not without reason that so much demur had been made upon the lessening of colonial taxes, and the grant of colonial loans. The balance-sheet of the last year, which was presented on the 3d of February, 1848, showed an excess of expenditure over income to the amount of £2,956,683, while a still more serious falling off was anticipated from the alarm of foreign invasion, and the necessity of increasing our armaments, and fortifying the more exposed parts of our coasts. This dread of a hostile interruption of peace arose from the unsettled state of France, and the warlike preparations that for some time had been going on in that country. These causes, and their effects upon the revenue, were distinctly stated by Lord John Russell on the 18th; and for a remedy, he proposed to continue the income-tax for three years at the increased rate of five per cent. This proposal excited general dismay in the house, and while some declaimed against the madness of an increased taxation amidst the growing mercantile depression, others could discover no serious cause of alarm in the growth of the French army and navy, and their frequent threats of invading Britain It was even alleged, that all our warlike preparations would only tempt the enemy to make a trial of our strength. The dread of our statesmen, however, upon the subject, in which the Duke of Wellington himself took a part, showed that it was anything but visionary; and subsequent events have shown, that nothing but those startling political changes that soon afterwards occurred in France could have diverted our old enemy from her long cherished purpose of revenge. The real causes of alarm, however, could not be openly stated, and therefore Sir Charles Wood moved that a select and secret committee should be appointed, to examine how far the estimates of the army, navy, and ordnance might be adopted; and to inquire generally into the affairs of those departments. Another subject of inquiry, was into the miscellaneous estimates, and to report whether any reductions could be effected, or any improvements made in the financial arrangements of these several departments. The necessity of such investigations was evident from the fact, that the expenditure for the navy, army, and ordnance, which in 1835 had been £11,730,000, had already risen to £17,340,000, and the motion was carried. It was soon apparent, however, that the attempt of the ministers to raise the income-tax from three to five per cent was for the present impossible. The popular storm against it was so violent, and the petitions so numerous, that a national agitation was apprehended, before which both tax and ministry would have been swept away. On the 28th of February, therefore, the chancellor of the exchequer hastened to the house with an amended budget. The plan of permanently increasing the income-tax was abandoned Still, a temporary increase was necessary, and for the following two years he declared it might be raised to five per cent, while at the end of five years the tax itself should altogether cease On being asked whether he would pledge himself to take it off, as it was to be only temporary, at the end of two years, he replied with some warmth· "Can any man foresee what will be the state of the world two years, or even six months hence?" The same might have been predicated of his five years' limit. Who could have

anticipated after that duration, the permanency which it would acquire, or the causes that should compel its continuance?

Next in importance to the income-tax were the navigation laws, the alteration of which had been recommended by the royal speech, and promised by the present ministry on their entering into office. These laws, which were now found incompatible with the true interests of commerce, enacted, with regard to our foreign trade, that certain enumerated European articles could only be imported in British ships, or in ships from which the goods are exported, or of which they are the produce. With regard to our colonial trade, it was confined, with a few slight exceptions, entirely to British shipping. And to constitute a British ship, the vessel must be British-built, British-owned, and manned by a crew of seamen of whom three-fourths at least must be British. It was time that these restrictions, the fruits of an early age and narrow policy, in which the true interests of commerce were little understood, should be removed It was not, however, till the 15th of May, that the measure to that effect was formally proposed by Mr. Labouchere. His speech on this occasion was of a length and complexity fully warranted by the importance of the subject, in which the security of the colonial trade, of the long voyage trade, and the carrying trade were equally involved. The proposed alterations were chiefly in connection with those mercantile advantages which our colonies had hitherto enjoyed, and those reciprocities in our traffic with foreign nations which the principle of free trade demanded. In the course of the debate, he endeavoured to remove the fears of the protectionists by showing that English shipping and seamen were quite equal to meet foreign shipping and seamen in equal markets, that, in fact, wherever they had done so, the increase of tonnage in our favour had been strikingly great. On the other hand, he showed by figures, that the most protected departments of the shipping were comparatively the least flourishing Was it right, he asked, to maintain the principles of the navigation laws? The first principle was that of colonial monopoly; the second was the maintenance of those restrictions which were intended to secure the long-voyage trade to this country; and the third was the maintenance of those restrictions which were intended to secure the European carrying trade. The question was, whether they were prepared to consider the propriety of departing from these principles, or leaving them untouched; whether they should meet the wants of commerce and the exigencies of the case before them; whether they were prepared thoroughly and completely to revise the whole system of our navigation laws, with the view of adapting them to the spirit of the times, and meeting the just demands of other countries, the wishes of our own colonies, and the interests of our expanding trade. Following in the same track, Sir Robert Peel observed: "Every article of foreign manufacture, it was said, threw out of employment thousands of native workmen. But what a doctrine was that for a great manufacturing nation, which exported £58,000,000 in declared value of its own manufactures! Admit that doctrine, and foreign countries must regard us not as the benefactors, but as the enemies of human happiness." The subject itself was introduced so late in the session, was productive of such contrariety of sentiment, and protracted through so many adjournments, that on the 10th of August Mr. Labouchere announced its postponement to the following year. Enough, however, had been done to secure for it a favourable reception when it should be brought in the form of a regular motion before the attention of parliament.

In accordance with the promise given in the preceding session, the bill for the removal of the test by which members of the Jewish persuasion had hitherto been prevented from a seat in parliament was re-introduced at an early stage of the present session. The second reading was moved on the 7th of February, and notwithstanding the liberality with which Roman Catholics had been admitted into a share of the government, there was still much demur about granting the same privileges to Jews. From their peculiar nationality, it was alleged, they never could become Englishmen; and from their creed, they could never be the true and faithful representatives of a community whose legislation was upon Christian rule. On the other hand it was represented, that in England a Jew might be a magistrate, and why not also a legislator?—that all who shared in the burdens of the state were also entitled to its honours and privileges—and that our national constitution, in its religious restrictions, was yet of such an expansive character that it could accommodate itself to the growth and progress of society. The enemies of the bill were also taunted with the charge of narrowness and illiberality, and exhorted to look to the example of France and Belgium, where all distinctions between Christian and Jew are abolished; and to that of Prussia, where the same principle had all but passed into law. To admit the Jews to parliament, was also stated to be nothing more than an act of reparation for centuries of injustice, persecution, and wrong. If the public feeling also was to be consulted in the measure, it would be found, that notwithstanding the long interval that had elapsed, the

petitions against the bill had not above 50,000 signatures, while those in its favour had more than 300,000. The second, and likewise the third reading were carried by considerable majorities. Very different, however, was the fate of the bill in the House of Lords, where the second reading was moved on the 25th of May by the Marquis of Lansdowne There, the arguments urged against its admission were chiefly of a religious character, and seemed to have more weight than in the commons; and the fate of the bill, for this year at least, was sealed, in its rejection by a majority of 163 against 128.

The affairs of Ireland during the earlier part of the session occupied less of the attention of parliament than usual, and it was hoped by many that, with the death of O'Connell, the dangers of Irish agitation had been averted. But little did such hopes take into account either the national character of the people, or the vitality of a national hatred. Deprived of their leader, the Irish malcontents only showed themselves more desperate and daring, and while political clubs were multiplied over the whole country, their purposes were avowed more openly and loudly than ever From these seminaries of political regeneration, the people were exhorted to prepare pikes and blunderbusses—to learn to destroy the soldiers not merely with such weapons, but with vitriol and burning turpentine—and to effect a thorough reform by the extermination of the 8000 Protestant landlords of Ireland While such advices fell everywhere like firebrands upon the inflammable population, the new leaders of the movement were in close communication not only with America, but also with France, whose insurrectionary spirit inspired them with the highest confidence

The campaign was opened by Mr. William Smith O'Brien, the most distinguished as well as most daring of this self-constituted Irish chieftainry. Since the death of O'Connell, under whose ascendency his genius had stood rebuked, he had aimed at the vacant throne of agitation, and signalized himself by the recklessness and bustle of his proceedings, while his ancestry, fortune, and popular manners gave him considerable influence among his countrymen So little difficulty did he anticipate in his proceedings, that at a public meeting in March, he had told his hearers they had only to "fraternize" both with the army and the police, to obtain their hearty co-operation. It was like the well-known receipt for catching swallows, and he found Irishmen in plenty to try the experiment. A war directory was constituted; a rising in arms was proclaimed for the 19th of July; and O'Brien, who was to head the movement, and who was already announced as one of the future kings of Ireland, accompanied by his assistants, Meagher and Dillon, arrived at Enniscorthy, and took the command of the hungering and expecting multitudes who waited his arrival, and had been perfecting themselves in drill and other martial preliminaries After much marching, counter-marching, and haranguing, the insurgents arrived at Mullinahone On the following day (July 26th) O'Brien, armed with a pike, and pistols in his belt, and accompanied by a detachment of his followers, advanced to the police-barracks, and summoned the inmates to surrender, telling them that resistance would be in vain; but the soldiers, although only six in number, refused, upon which the future king of Munster, instead of storming the barracks, drew off, and resumed his marchings hither and thither, until he arrived on the 29th at Ballingarry. By this time, a large reward had been offered for his arrest, and Mr Trant, sub-inspector of the police, at the head of forty or fifty men, was sent to disperse the insurgents. Finding on his arrival that they mustered two or three thousand strong, armed with muskets, pikes, scythes, and pitchforks, he withdrew his small party to a slate-roofed house a few fields distant from the highway, and there resolved to make his post good, until the expected troops and constabulary arrived to his aid The battle, if battle it might be called, was begun and ended in a few minutes. The assailants, after an ill-directed volley, advanced through the cabbage-garden in front of the house, to storm it, but a few shots from those within sent them scampering in all directions, while the hero of the fight, after retreating on all fours through the cabbages, mounted a horse belonging to a constable, and galloped off like the rest, complaining of the cowardice of his followers He was soon after apprehended and tried, along with his coadjutors Meagher, M'Manus, and O'Donoghue, when all four were convicted and sentenced to die the death of traitors—a sentence, however, which was never meant to be executed, and which was changed into transportation for life.

In this way a rebellion, which in more able hands might have changed the fate of a kingdom, was scarcely more formidable, when brought to the touch, than a common holiday riot Even those who would have been its sufferers could scarcely refrain from expressions of disappointment at such a ludicrous and contemptible termination. It was not, however, to be expected that such movements would always have such leaders; and both before and after the outbreak, government adopted such precautions as might neutralize the power of the Irish political clubs, from which the greatest mischief was to be apprehended. The chief of these precautions was the

very obvious one of vesting the lord-lieutenant with extraordinary powers A bill accordingly was passed through both houses for the suspension of the habeas corpus act in Ireland. But a far more important measure, which had the future and permanent benefit of the country for its object, was the bill for facilitating the sale of encumbered estates, which had been moved at the commencement of the session, and was now resumed and passed It was shown that the immense amount of landed property thus circumstanced in Ireland was not only detrimental to its owners, but injurious to the community at large It was so laden with debts and mortgages, that landlords who nominally had estates worth £10,000 or £12,000 per annum, did not derive from them more than as many hundreds, while others derived from their estates no rental whatever. It was impossible, therefore, that they could improve the land, or find occupation for their tenantry. In such a case, the impoverished landlords would not only welcome the opportunity of converting their useless estates into money, but the peasantry would be benefited by the introduction of British capital and British industry As able conveyancers were scarce in Ireland, one object of the bill was to cheapen and shorten the proceedings of transfer in the Court of Chancery It encountered much opposition through its several stages, as it threatened to supersede the old national noblesse by a new aristocracy; but even this difficulty was obliged to yield to the necessity of the case, and thus new facilities were afforded for the better colonization and cultivation of this hitherto neglected country.

Closely connected with the disturbances of Ireland, and the difficulty of managing its Roman Catholic population, was a bill introduced and passed this session for enabling her majesty to carry on diplomatic relations with the court of Rome. It was one of the natural consequences of those concessions to Romanism which had now become the order of the day, and the chief argument used in its favour, was the political expediency of such a change. The principal objections against it were, that it recognized, for the first time, in Protestant England, the pope's title of "sovereign pontiff;" that it violated the obligations of the bill of rights, and gave admission at any time to a Papal nuncio into England. The bill was passed, although it was already known that the pope contemplated the project of dividing England into dioceses, and appointing an Archbishop of Westminster.

Although this year has been emphatically called the era of revolutions, in which almost every throne of Europe was shaken and nation convulsed, the state of Britain during the whole period exhibited a most enviable contrast. It was impossible, indeed, that the ambitious, the discontented, and the ignorant, would fail to kindle at the example of France, and endeavour to imitate it; but the imitation was as futile and contemptible as that which had occurred in Ireland, under Smith O'Brien, for the restoration of the days of Malachi and Brian Boroimhe. On the present occasion, the attempt was made by the chartists and physical-force men, who thought that the happy moment had occurred for overturning the British constitution, and establishing in its stead the five points of the charter; and accordingly, a "demonstration" was announced to be held on the 10th of April, when the reformers were invited to assemble on Kennington Common, to overwhelm the government with a display of their force and numbers. But vast though the assemblage was, it passed away as silently as a vapour; and without calling out any troops, the metropolitan police was found sufficient for the preservation of order On the same day that this Kennington muster took place, two petitions were presented to the House of Commons by Feargus O'Connor, one of them signed, as he declared, by 5,706,000 and the other by 30,000, praying for the enactment of the five points, viz. annual parliaments, universal suffrage, equal electoral districts, no property qualification, and payment of members These petitions were brought into the house in five huge bales, and rolled along the floor to the table, where they were ruefully eyed by many members, not merely as mountains of offence, but magazines of national danger and destruction But a careful examination diminished the terrors of these monster petitions It was found that the signatures, when counted, instead of being nearly 6,000,000, were less than 2,000,000 of names. Of these also, a great multitude were forgeries, such as Victoria Rex, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel; while others were merely derisive subscriptions, such as No Cheese, Pug-nose, Flat-nose, and appellatives of a much less harmless description In this schoolboy fashion the scrolls at the corners of streets had been signed by thousands who cared neither for the five points nor their advocates. The effect was, that chartism shrunk abashed into its former obscurity, and a bill was introduced and passed for the more effectual suppression of seditious and treasonable proceedings. These proceedings were now classed under the head of felony, and punishable with transportation. In expressing his approval of this bill, Sir Robert Peel observed, that "he thought it right that men who had not the dignity of traitors, should be reduced to the position of felons. He would put a stop to those frogs that were croaking sedition in the marshes,

and would not allow them to puff themselves into the dimensions of the nobler animals that bellowed treason."

The long-protracted session of parliament for 1847-48, which had continued nearly ten months, was brought to a close on the 5th of September, when both houses were prorogued by her majesty in person till the 2d of November. It was a welcome intermission to the wearied members, as notwithstanding the apparently scanty results of legislation, the sittings, with a very few exceptions, had been continuous over the whole of that long period, and the labour severe and incessant.

We have already adverted to this year as the era of European revolution This spirit was once more originated, and the signal of outbreak given by France, the mighty mother of modern anarchy and political change. In that country, the transition from the Thiers to the Guizot ministry had brought no amelioration in the radical evils of its government. The electoral constituency was still so small that its votes could easily be purchased by the government, and hence, the minister could at any time command a majority in the chamber of deputies, let the voice of the nation be what it might It was universally complained of, therefore, as the engine of despotism. rather than the exponent of the national will and guardian of the national liberties. Louis Philippe too, adroitly availing himself of such an instrument, had freed himself from the jealous restrictions by which, as a mere citizen-king, his every movement had been circumscribed and fettered, and was moving onward to absolute rule with a continually accelerating step True, he was an old man, and in the course of nature must soon die, but as if to perpetuate his power, and establish an absolute monarchy upon a basis that could not be shaken, he was devoting his old age to the aggrandizement of his family by royal alliances, so that in process of time it seemed as if it might vie in strength and permanency with that of Hapsburg itself. But his crowning iniquity in this respect, as well as great political blunder, was the Spanish marriage, in which the young queen of Spain was compelled by his intrigues to espouse an imbecile unpromising husband, that the succession might revert to his own family, and the Spanish kingdom be reunited to that of France. This event alienated from him not only the confidence of his own subjects, but of the European powers at large. In it the former dreaded the return of the absolutism of Louis XIV.; the latter his boundless ambition and lust of conquest, under which the world was still smarting after more than a century had elapsed.

From the state of public feeling in France, it was evident that the reign of the "king of the barricades" was drawing to a close—that the paving stones of Paris would soon be in requisition once more. This was especially shown by the number and character of the reform banquets which were now multiplying over the country, and by the abortive attempts of the government to suppress them. They were regarded by the ruling powers as lineal successors of the old Jacobin clubs, and dreaded accordingly. It was by one of those meetings that matters were brought to a crisis. The twelfth arrondissement of Paris had announced a reform banquet on the 19th of January, but in consequence of a vote that had been just carried in the chambers against such assemblies, the meeting was put off from time to time, until it was definitely fixed to take place on the 22d of February. This, however, was not all, for the programme not only specified the mode in which the guests were to assemble and march through the streets, but it also invited the national guards to attend in uniform, and line the procession. This proceeding, in which private individuals usurped the powers of government, was too startling to be overlooked the ministers had resolved to let the banquet take place, and afterwards try the legality of such meetings before the high court of cassation; but now, when the proceeding had assumed such a treasonable and dangerous character, a more summary process was necessary, and the banquet was accordingly proscribed by a public proclamation. The dinner was therefore abandoned, but a more terrible measure was digested in its stead, for on the very day appointed—the 22d of February—and at five o'clock in the afternoon, fifty-three members of the opposition, who at that hour would otherwise have been employed in eating and speech-making at the banquet, sent to the chamber of deputies an act of impeachment of ministers, by the hands of M. Odillon Barrot, who laid it upon their table With the infatuation of doomed men the chamber adjourned without reading it, although the streets of Paris were already thronging with those tumultuary masses, which, like thunder-clouds, had hitherto been wont to announce a revolutionary storm. On the following day, M. Guizot in the chamber announced the resignation of himself and his colleagues, and the commission which the king had intrusted to Count Molé to construct a new cabinet; but the mob was now predominant over the whole capital; barricades were speedily erected, and conflicts took place between the military and the people, which were continued till night, the populace being heartened in the insurrection by the reluctance of the national guards to act against them.

During the hours of darkness that succeeded, all was wakefulness and perplexity at the palace; Molé had been unable to form a new ministry, and M. Thiers was sent for, who agreed to assume the office of president of the council, with M. Odillon Barrot for minister of the interior. But although this change was loudly trumpeted on the following morning, it failed to quiet the people, who had assembled to complete their work: they had been maddened with the taste of blood, and instead of a change of the cabinet, nothing less than an eversion of the throne itself would satisfy them. When the popular names of the new ministry were therefore announced, they answered with cries of "*Vive la Republique!*" and tore down the proclamation The fighting was resumed, but still the populace had easy work of it, as in most cases the soldiery either looked on as spectators, or joined the popular movement. The storm rolled onward toward the Tuileries, where the last resource of fallen royalty was adopted—Louis Philippe consented to abdicate in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris, the Duchess of Orleans his mother being in the meantime appointed regent, and this resolution was promptly followed up by the entrance of the duchess herself into the chamber of deputies, leading her two young sons, and attended by her brothers-in-law, the Ducs de Nemours and Montpensier But even there, when her accession to the regency was announced, it was met with the cry, "It is too late!" and this declaration was followed with such a tumult, that for a short time it was feared the duchess and her children were in danger, more especially when an armed mob burst into the chamber, and menaced the president with their muskets. Amidst wild uproar and brandishing of weapons, a provisional government of five persons was decreed, and a republic proclaimed During this in-door interlude, the work of fighting and demolition was going on without, in which the Hotel de Ville and the Palais Royal had a double share; while the Tuileries itself was carried by storm, where the royal carriages were piled into a heap, and converted into a bonfire. But in the meantime the king and royal family had escaped. Escorted by a body of horsemen, they had walked slowly from the Tuileries at one o'clock; and it was given out that the king was on his way to the chamber of deputies, to announce his abdication. But on passing the Pont Tournant, two small black carriages with one horse each were drawn up, which had been secretly prepared for their departure, and by these humble conveyances the king, queen, and family were conveyed to Versailles. They continued their flight disguised, and travelling chiefly by night arrived at Honfleur, where Louis Philippe under the convenient European name of Smith, obtained a passport, and escaped to England, in which country he was certain of safety at least, if not of a cordial welcome.

In this way was the Orleans dynasty deposed and exiled in the course of a few hours. It is just, however, and honourable to the French character, to advert to the improvements which they had made in revolutionizing. The open manful struggle of the three days in 1830, and the concord that followed when the work was achieved, was a signal contrast to the atrocities of the first revolution. In like manner this of 1848 was an improvement even on that of 1830, on account of the small amount of havoc and bloodshed with which it was accompanied. The killed and wounded, during the numerous skirmishes that occurred in various parts of the capital during the course of two days, did not amount to a thousand, and when the Tuileries was crowded with the mob, though there was plenty of singing and drinking, and some demolition of furniture, there was little plundering. On the floor of one of the apartments was a frame of card-paper soldiers on wooden stands, with which the sons of the Duchess of Orleans had probably been playing before the sudden emergency drove them into flight and exile. A boy from the crowd laid hold of the toy, but was ordered by a grim armed artisan, hot from battle, to lay it down. "It is but a toy," replied the urchin "That is true," said his monitor, "but if you take a toy, others would think they might take a treasure." Whether right or wrong, it was a great political principle that was at issue, and the meanest or worst of the actors seemed to scorn the thought of alloying it with theft and brigandage. While private property was thus respected, the emblems of religion were treated with veneration by the mob, even when their passions were at the wildest. When they had stormed the Tuileries, they found a magnificent image of our Saviour. "My friends," exclaimed a young pupil of the Polytechnic School, "this is the master of us all." The captors immediately uncovered their heads, and carried the image in solemn procession to the church of St. Roch.

A government was now extemporized in Paris with a rapidity which the case seemed fully to warrant. As might be expected, also, it was republican throughout. All titles of nobility and other aristocratic distinctions were abolished. The names of journals, streets, and public buildings that savoured of royalty were changed. The old republican watchwords, also, that had so long been unheard, were now recalled from their hiding places, and every street resounded with the cry

of liberty, equality, and fraternity. As the great defect in the right of electing representatives had formed the chief argument of dissatisfaction with the old state of things, its limitations were so completely swept away, that the suffrage was declared to be direct and universal, without any limitation as to property. All Frenchmen of the age of twenty-one were to be electors, and all who had reached the age of twenty-five were eligible for election. In addition to this, the vote was to be secret and by ballot; while the 900 representatives, to which the number was now raised, were each to be paid at the rate of twenty francs per day during the session. Among the difficulties of the new government, one of the most pressing was the support of the unemployed workmen in Paris—the thews and sinews of the revolution, who might unmake to-morrow what they had made to-day. As the remedy needed to be instant, a national guard *mobile* was immediately formed, ostensibly that they might be employed upon the frontier, where there was little need of their services, and for the thousands who could not be enrolled, national workshops called *ateliers* were opened by the government, to give occupation to the unemployed, at the wage of two francs a day, which afterwards, from the immense number of applicants, had to be reduced to one franc.

By these and similar expedients, provision was made for the safety and permanence of the new constitution. And yet, not many weeks or days had elapsed, when their utter insufficiency was felt. The whole nation had been taken at unawares by the sudden revolution in Paris, and had silently acquiesced in it, but in a short time it was shown that the republicans of Paris were not the representatives of France, nor even of its capital. During the long interval of peace, a numerous and influential middle class had grown up, to whom the insecurity of a republican government was the greatest of evils; and therefore, while in Paris itself they were sufficient to hold the wild democracy of the faubourgs in check, they were so predominant beyond its walls, as to turn the whole national feeling against the existing state of things. This anti-republican spirit continued to grow in strength, from the stagnation of commerce and trade, the multiplication of bankruptcy and pauperism, and the insufficiency of the national funds to feed the idle and discontented, and it was finally confirmed by the wild proposals of the communists and red republicans, whose plans would have once more produced an universal equalization of property, and a war against every nation. After several desperate attempts at insurrection on the part of the latter, which were always defeated, their insurrectionary principles were brought to a final issue on the 23d of June. The government having found their establishments of *ateliers* or workshops worse than useless, had closed them, by which their employees, who had increased from 13,000 to 120,000, were thrown upon the resources of common industry, instead of having light work and full subsistence prepared to their hand. They rebelled the red republicans united their cause with that of the workmen, and a new war of barricades commenced, such as Paris had not yet witnessed. One of the most desperate of this series of street conflicts was at that splendid national building the Pantheon, in which a defeated party of the insurgents rallied, and where they gallantly maintained their position for nearly two hours, until they were driven out by the persevering attacks of the troops, and a heavy, incessant cannonade. It was not merely that the insurgents fought with their wonted courage and desperation, but they also united military science to their courage, and constructed such barriers of stone at every defensible point, as tasked the utmost occupation of artillery, and deepened ten-

THE ATTACK ON THE PANTHEON, PARIS.—From the Illustrated News, 1848

fold the horrors of these civic conflicts. But those terrible efforts, which had formerly sufficed to unseat dynasties and revolutionize the nation, were met, encountered, and crushed in every direction during this four days' warfare of siege and storm; and General Cavaignac, who had been elected to the dictatorship at the commencement of the danger, and under whose energetic measures it had been suppressed, instead of being allowed to resign his power at the close, was almost unanimously invested by the national assembly with the office of president of the council Even already the friends of order in France were willing to secure its blessings under the baton of an able military leader. Whether the baton should become a sceptre and the general an emperor was nothing more than a question of time and opportunity.

That question, however, was not to be settled in favour of the able and successful Cavaignac. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was now in Paris. After his escape from the fortress of Ham he had returned to his old privacy in England, and there it is probable his solitary musings were connected with the blunders of his ill-concerted attempt, and the means by which a second trial might be more successful In the meantime he kept his own secret, and his chief appearance in public was such as might well disarm suspicion, for it was as a special constable during the chartist riots in London, when his only weapon was a policeman's truncheon. The dethronement of Louis Philippe and establishment of a republic were his signals for action. he hastened to Paris, but was advised by the provisional government to return to England. He complied, but subsequently, during his absence, he was elected a member of the national assembly by not less than four constituencies Ought he to be permitted to sit? was now the question. His very name seemed to menace the restoration of the empire, and their ears were once more startled with the ominous popular cry of "*Vive Napoleon!*" It was decided by a great majority that he should be admitted, and he was admitted accordingly on the 27th of September. On taking his seat, he earnestly disclaimed those ambitious designs which had been charged against him, and under the suspicion of which he had hitherto been condemned to exile. "My conduct, always inspired by duty," he said, "always animated by respect for the law—my conduct will prove the falsehood of those who have attempted to blacken me, for the purpose of still keeping me proscribed, and will demonstrate that no one is more firmly resolved than myself to establish and defend the republic."

LOUIS NAPOLEON, President of the French Republic
From a photograph by Mayall 1849

Since the commencement of the provisional government, a committee had been employed in drawing up a form of constitution for France. The chief features of their plan were, a president to be elected by universal suffrage, and a vice-president, who was to be elected by the national assembly. There was also to be one assembly, and no other chamber. After long delay, the election of a president was commenced, and the great national ballot-box was opened for the purpose, near the close of the year On this occasion it might have been thought that the upright, disinterested Cavaignac, the best soldier of France, and hero of the revolution, would have been elected, not only on account of his high character and wide popularity, but his recent valuable services He was not indeed forgot, and nearly a million and a half of votes were enrolled for his election But for Louis Napoleon, who had seen no military service whatever, who was scarcely even a Frenchman, and whose former life had neither been illustrious nor popular, 5,434,226 votes were tendered, and by this overwhelming majority, he was raised to that elevation, above which there was only a single step Who after such an event could say, that his dethroned uncle had ceased to reign, as well as ceased to live?

A similar spirit was manifested over the greater part of Europe. In Italy, especially, the desire of throwing off the Austrian yoke was so strong, that the revolutionary element was kindled into full conflagration by lighting a cigar. In Milan, the people, for the purpose of injuring the revenue derived from them by their oppressors, had discontinued the practice of smoking; and when the Austrian soldiers smoked

cigars in the streets, the self-denying populace, irritated no doubt by abstinence as well as patriotism, fell upon the soldiers, who drew their swords upon the assailants, and in several scuffles, severe wounds and even deaths were the consequences. The same was the case in Pavia, where sanguinary encounters occurred in the streets between the students and the tobacco-loving soldiery. A revolt followed, which, commencing at Milan, speedily extended over the Austrian dominions in Italy In Rome, the example was quickly followed, the way, strangely enough, having been prepared by the pontiff himself, who, assuming the character of a reforming sovereign as well as spiritual guide, introduced into the Papal constitution as many innovations as sufficed to whet the popular appetite for liberty without satisfying it; and the people, who now felt what was needed, rose in arms, to convert their half liberty into a whole The consequence was, that in November the pope was obliged to escape from Rome in the disguise of a livery servant, mounted upon a coach-box A revolt of Sicily against the Neapolitan government was at the same time raging at Palermo, where conflicts both on land and sea were maintained, and generally in favour of the revolutionists Although these energetic attempts were in course of time suppressed, it was chiefly through foreign intervention and aid, and the whole course of conflict sufficed to show that the old Italian spirit had fully awoke, and would only wait for another opportunity Every succeeding year has only deepened that conviction, and made politicians regard Italy as a slumbering volcano, that may at any moment burst forth to overwhelm and regenerate

While Italy was thus moved throughout her kingdoms and provinces, the Teutonic spirit was equally pervaded by the epidemic influence of this most eventful year The first of these great political movements was the quarrel of the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein against the Danish government, to which they had hitherto belonged, and which occasioned the armed interference of the German confederation. It does not fall to our lot to specify the conflicts that took place between Denmark and Prussia on this occasion, and by which, notwithstanding a seemingly amicable termination, the seeds of future quarrel were plentifully sown, that may ripen into a melancholy harvest In Hesse-Cassel the people rose against the elector, and compelled his assent to certain terms by which the more oppressive parts of their form of government were swept away. In Bavaria, the spirit of insurrection was still more distinctly manifested, being occasioned by the shameful dotage of their old sovereign, who had adopted a wandering stage-dancer for his mistress, raised her to the rank of nobility, and made her the principal channel of royal communication and favour. The time had happily gone by in Europe when a royal mistress could rule the movements of a court and the destinies of a nation; and on this occasion the armed remonstrance of the Bavarians was so effectual, that the actress was banished, and the king compelled to abdicate But while the whole Germanic empire was more or less agitated throughout its many states with the principles of revolution and political reform, and while in several cases these were only decided by an appeal to arms, a war of liberty, which had broken out in Hungary against the Austrian rule, was the chief movement of note in the eyes of Europe, on account of the importance of the two antagonists, and the great events by which their warfare was signalized The most important of these results was the spirit of disaffection against their own sovereigns, which recent events had so strongly fostered in the hearts of the Austrians, and after a desperate series of street battles in Vienna between the insurgent populace and the military, the emperor resigned his crown in favour of his nephew, Francis John, who succeeded to the imperial dignity without opposition In this manner, during the whole of this year, Europe was convulsed to its furthest extremities with those great insurrectionary principles which the first French revolution had implanted, and which the recent events in France had encouraged into action It was a startling spectacle the sight of so many throneless sovereigns, whom not the chances of war and the violence of enemies, but the doom of their own subjects, had deposed and driven into banishment It was felt that a new principle of war was now to predominate, and that the conflict was henceforth to lie between the rulers and the ruled, instead of a trial for superiority and conquest by one nation against another

CHAPTER XII—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY—A.D. 1849—1850

VICTORIA.

Opening of parliament—Bill to remove restrictions on the navigation laws—It is carried—Unsuccessful attempt of the protectionists to rally—Changes proposed in our rule of the colonies—Disorders in Canada—Repugnance of our penal settlements to continue as convict colonies—Hostility of the Cape of Good Hope to convict importation—The colonists prevent a convict shipment from landing—Measures for the relief of Irish destitution—The rate-in-aid bill passed—Bill passed to facilitate the transfer of encumbered estates in Ireland—Particulars of the bill—Amendment of the Irish poor law—Loans advanced by government to Irish landholders—Parliamentary inquiries into the part taken by British officials in the late European revolutions—Jewish disabilities bill again rejected—Bill to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister—Its second reading carried—Affairs of India—Symptoms of revolt—Insurrection of the Sikhs—Mooltan besieged by the British—Gallant resistance and final capture of Mooltan—Unsuccessful conflict of Lord Gough with the Sikhs at Ramnuggur—A second attack is successful—Severe loss of the British against the Sikhs at the battle of Chillianwallah—Alarm excited in Britain by the tidings—Sir Charles Napier sent as commander-in-chief to India—Complete defeat of the Sikhs by Lord Gough at Goojerat—Submission of the Sikhs—Annexation of the Punjab to the British Indian empire—Contrary effects of free trade on agriculture and commerce at the commencement of 1850—Demands of the agriculturists for exemption from local taxation—They are rejected—Motion for parliamentary reform negatived—The claims of the colonies to self-government considered—Inducements to grant these demands—The right conceded to the Australian colonies—Our foreign policy in relation to Greece made the subject of parliamentary inquiry—It is condemned in the House of Lords and justified in the Commons—Mr. Roebuck's arguments in its favour—Proposal to discontinue the blockade for the suppression of the slave-trade—The motion negatived—Death of Sir Robert Peel.

THE shock of foreign revolutions, the immense drain of capital occasioned by railway speculations, and the troubled state of Ireland, tended to retard that promised prosperity arising from free trade which was hoped to date its commencement from the beginning of 1849. Further legislation was found to be necessary before these blessings could be realized, and this disheartening fact was announced in the royal speech at the opening of parliament on the 2d of February. The chief impediment to be removed was the navigation laws, which her majesty's speech recommended to the attention of the legislature. This had been a subject of parliamentary discussion during the preceding year, but had been postponed to the present, and in accordance with the pledge then given, a motion was brought forward on the 14th of February by Mr. Labouchere, president of the board of trade, to the following effect: "That it is expedient to remove the restrictions which prevent the free carriage of goods by sea to and from the United Kingdom and the British dominions abroad; and to amend the laws regulating the coasting trade of the United Kingdom, subject, nevertheless, to such control by her majesty in council as may be necessary; and also to amend the laws for the registration of ships and seamen." Mr. Labouchere stated, that from former discussions the question was now well understood; that the proposal of removing these obstructions on trade were generally acceptable throughout the country, and that while our colonies would hail the removal as a boon, the United States of America would meet the relaxation of our laws by a similar concession. On the other hand, the protectionist party, through their advocate, Mr. Henry Drummond, declared the measure to be "the last of a series inculcated by the Manchester school, the end and intention of which were to discharge all British labourers, and to employ foreign labourers in lieu of them—foreign sawyers instead of English sawyers, foreign shipwrights instead of English shipwrights, and so on through the whole catalogue of employments."

At the second reading of the bill on the 9th of March, after a long and keen discussion which lasted till the 23d, Mr. Labouchere announced a material alteration which government intended to adopt in the measure. At first, it had been intended to admit foreign countries, under certain modifications, to a share of the coasting trade, as it was believed that no loss would thereby accrue to the revenue. Subsequently, however, it had been found, that there would be the utmost risk of a falling-off if they allowed vessels, either British or foreign, to combine the coasting with the foreign voyage; and on this account, he did not feel justified in pressing that part of the bill which, in a modified degree, threw open the coasting trade of the country. The clauses to that effect were accordingly struck

out, and on the 23d of April the bill, thus modified, passed onward to a third reading. On this occasion its chief supporter was Sir James Graham. He advocated the bill on the ground that it was supported by the representatives of

HENRY LABOUCHERE, M P
From a print by Lewis, after a drawing by J Slater, 1838.

the chief seats of commerce—among others, of Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle, and the West Riding Without needing to rest either upon reciprocity or retaliation, it would tend to increase the commerce of the world, an increase from which this country would derive the greatest advantage, as the lion's share would fall to England It would neither, he asserted, compromise our superiority on the seas, nor injure the mercantile marine, which was the mainstay of the royal navy The simple and intelligible basis, moreover, upon which the measure would place our navigation system was now absolutely needed, on account of the complication of our reciprocity treaties—a complication which rendered it difficult for us, in many cases, to know where or how we stood. Sir James then startled the house by declaring, that if we persisted in retaining the navigation laws, without falling back upon the protective system in favour of Canadian corn, the loss of Canada would be inevitable. Such were his principal subjects of argument, which seemed to make a deep impression on the house. He was followed in a similar spirit by Lord John Russell, who, from the increase of our tonnage and number of seamen since the navigation laws had been relaxed, had no apprehension from the consequences of their removal, and who was urgent for a speedy decision to that effect, on account of the cry for a return to the protection duties, and the discontent which such a hopeless demand occasioned. The bill passed its third reading.

In the House of Lords, the second reading of the bill was moved by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who satisfactorily showed that, though foreign shipping had marvellously increased since the great relaxation made in our navigation laws, at the close of the war, there was still no danger to be dreaded from a competition. To the astonishment of the whole house, he was opposed by Lord Brougham, the ex-chancellor on this occasion having made one of those sudden changes in political opinion with which he occasionally perplexed both friend and enemy; and his chief argument arose from the unsettled state of Europe, fermenting at present with revolution, which required us to keep our naval resources entire "Was such a year," he asked, "the one for making great and portentous alterations in a navy by which victories had been nobly won and immortal triumphs gained? Was this the time for reducing our thousand ships to a hundred, or for striking off £10,000,000 sterling from our army, navy, and ordnance estimates?" Upon this important question the discussion was carried on in the lords, as it had been in the commons, and the second reading was passed by a majority of ten, among 366 voters But for this majority, which could not be anticipated till the last moment, it was understood that the ministry would have resigned. The opposition was continued with equal keenness through the third reading, although without hope of success During the debate, a severe caveat was administered to the bishops, through whom the second reading had been carried, by the Earl of Winchelsea He warned them, that if the day ever arrived when measures of a secular character injurious to the best interests of the country should be carried by their votes, England would again wish to see the house of convocation restored, and the bishops represented in that house by a few chosen from themselves, to state their opinions on religious matters only After a further course of animated debate, the opposition peers withdrew in a body, and the bill passed the third reading Soon after, it received the royal assent, and the first day of the following year was fixed for the commencement of its operation.

In this manner, and after a long and keen contention of years, the most important measure of the session was settled. The decision was only a necessary consequence of the free-trade principle, which was now established beyond the chance of removal Still, however, the protectionists were numerous and formidable, and, undismayed by their recent defeat, they returned to the charge upon a different quarter, viz. that of the agricultural interest. The nature of their attack will be best understood from the following resolution, proposed by Mr. D'Israeli, who,

since the death of Lord George Bentinck, had become the recognized leader of the party:—

"That the whole of the local taxation of the country for national purposes falls mainly, if not exclusively, on real property; and bears with undue severity on the occupiers of land, in a manner injurious to the agricultural interests of the country, and otherwise highly impolitic and unjust. That the hardship of this apportionment is greatly aggravated by the fact that more than one-third of the whole revenue derived from the excise is levied upon agricultural produce, exposed, by the recent changes in the law, to direct competition with the untaxed produce of foreign countries, the home producer being thus subjected to a burden of taxation which, by greatly enhancing the price, limits the demand for British produce, and to restrictions which injuriously interfere with the conduct of his trade and industry. That this house will resolve itself into a committee to take into its serious consideration such measures as may remove the grievances of which the owners and occupiers of real property thus justly complain, and which may establish a more equitable apportionment of the public burdens" Mr D'Israeli then showed by statistical details that taxes to the amount of £12,000,000 were imposed upon the rental of landed property amounting to £67,000,000, and, as a remedy for this inequality, he announced his design to propose, that the system of local administration and the levy of rates remaining as at present, that the local districts should be responsible for one moiety, and the other be paid from the consolidated fund. The correctness of these statistics was denied, and it was argued that, even granting their correctness, the remedy itself would be abortive The proposal of this talented orator and popular novel-writer was thrown out by a majority of 280 to 189

The state of our colonies had of late attracted an unwonted degree of public attention, not only owing to their rapidly increasing greatness, but the expenditure they occasioned to the mother country; and a conviction had for some time been growing prevalent that they were now sufficiently ready for self-government, and might therefore safely be left to their own resources. At the same time the errors of the colonial office were complained of in parliament by Mr. Baillie, member for Inverness-shire, who embodied the charges of tyranny, oppression, and wasteful expenditure against it, as instanced by the cases of Ceylon and British Guiana. The discussion led to a proposal, on the part of Sir Robert Peel, that some such change should be introduced into our system of colonial government at large as would give general satisfaction. During the course of the session this proposal received additional weight and urgency from the intelligence which arrived in May of the disordered state of Canada. In this, the most important of our colonies, an indemnity bill had been sanctioned, granting compensation to those parties whose property had been destroyed during the rebellion in 1837–8 This decree was obnoxious to the Tory party in the colony, who feared that the compensation would be extracted from the orderly part of the community, in favour of those who had occasioned or abetted the rebellion; and their rage was chiefly directed against Lord Elgin, the governor-general, who, contrary to their hopes, had given his assent to the bill. On his return, therefore, from the parliament house, his lordship was pelted by the mob, the house itself was attacked and burned down, and several of the obnoxious ministers were assailed in the streets of Montreal, and their dwellings destroyed It was shown that this spirit of discontent pervaded the whole extent of the colony, while these riotous proceedings, instead of being confined to the lower orders, were countenanced and even shared in by people of rank, fortune, and intelligence

When the home government was thus involved in the great trial of the colonial question, an additional difficulty was thrown into it from the plan adopted for the disposal of our convict population While the other countries of Europe had disposed of their criminals in a summary fashion, by sending to the mines or the galleys such as were not disposed of at once by capital punishment, the growing spirit of English liberty had revolted at the sight of chains and bondage, even when inflicted on the guilty. Deportation therefore was adopted, by which the evil was removed out of sight; and our American colonies had at first been used as places of banishment for our convicts, until such a species of cheap labour was repudiated. The course of banishment was then directed to our Australasian colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, until these penal settlements refused to be any longer the mere sinks and drains of British iniquity, while the mother country, oppressed with her growing hosts of criminals, was at a loss for their disposal. In this dilemma, other outlets had to be sought for those whom we could not keep at home; and, in September, 1848, it was announced that our convicts were to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope, partly for the purpose of reforming them, and partly for supplying the colonists with good cheap labour. But the Cape colonists were indignant at the insult of being converted into jailors, as well as alarmed at the moral pestilence that would be introduced into their homes; and, at a public meeting held at Cape Town on the 4th of July, as soon as the decision of the home government had arrived, seven resolutions were

passed, in which the inhabitants complained of the degradation, and expressed their determination in every way to resist it. To such a height, indeed, had their indignation risen, that they were ready to take up arms, and risk the horrors of an unequal warfare, rather than afford the evil a footing on their shores.

This resolution was soon tested. On the 19th of September the first instalment came, in the form of a ship-load of felons conveyed from Bermuda, which anchored in Simon's Bay in the evening. As soon as the arrival was known at Cape Town, the preconcerted signal of alarm was given—the gong of the town-hall sent forth its thunders, the church bells were rung at half-minute time, and an address was despatched to the governor, "praying, as the people have determined that the convicts must not, cannot, and shall not be landed or kept in any parts of this colony," that the *Neptune* should be ordered, after victualling, to leave their shores, and rid the colonists of their anxiety Sir Harry Smith, the governor, in a sore strait between the parent government on the one hand, and the fierce determination of the colonists on the other, attempted a middle course, and returned a soft answer. He expressed his intention not to receive the convicts pending the arrival of answers to his despatches on the subject addressed to the secretary of state, which might be expected in a month or six weeks; and that in the meantime the *Neptune* would ride at anchor in Simon's Bay, as in the case of any other ship. But this answer was anything than satisfactory to the remonstrants; they dreaded the smuggling of even a single convict on shore as the "letting out of water;" and they commenced action by stopping the supplies for the army, navy, and government, so that Sir Harry was soon compelled to have bread baked in his own house. Their perseverance was in the end successful. Rather than lose so valuable a colony to the British crown, which must have been the result, the home government yielded, and, without having been able to effect even a momentary landing, the *Neptune* sailed away with her obnoxious cargo in quest of more hospitable settlements.

Capp Town and Table Mount, from near Amsterdam Battery

During this session, the condition of Ireland, and plans for its coercion and relief, occupied the usual amount of parliamentary attention. This necessity, indeed, was so urgent that the discussion of Irish affairs commenced with the opening of the session, and the suspension of the habeas corpus act in the more disturbed districts, which had been imposed the previous year, was continued for six months longer. Another step was a motion of Sir Charles Wood, that "the commissioners of the treasury be authorized to direct the issue out of the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom of any sum not exceeding £50,000, for affording relief to certain poor-law unions in Ireland" It was felt, indeed, that this loan, like other grants to Ireland, must, from the desperate chances of repayment, be considered as a gift, and that it was merely part and parcel of a ruinous system that afforded no prospect of a close Such was the view taken of it by Sir James Graham, when he gave his reluctant assent to the proposal He did not scruple to declare, that "this must be the last vote, and he should agree to it distinctly on that ground, with the feeling that the time had clearly come when ministers must carefully review the whole subject of local taxation in Ireland, and come forward with a general proposition, embracing not only that, but many other subjects." A third proposal, moved and carried after the usual amount of Irish opposition, was to the following effect.—"That in each of the two next years there shall be paid by every union in Ireland a sum equal to the rate of sixpence in the pound on each electoral division in such union, towards a general fund for the relief of the poor in Ireland. That the said sum shall be paid to a separate account at the Bank of Ireland, in the name of the paymaster of civil services in Ireland, and shall be applied in such manner as parliament shall direct." To

this, also, the following amendment was added: —"That the income-tax received from property in Ireland, and a tax to be derived from other descriptions of Irish property, should be appropriated for the augmentation of the fund to be applied for the relief of distress."

While this rate-in-aid bill was passing through the House of Commons to that of the Lords, and involved in the uncertainties of an anxious and protracted discussion, the growing distress of Ireland brooked neither half measures nor delay. The £50,000 so lately granted for relief had disappeared, like a drop of water on a sand heap, and more and larger subsidies were in demand, let the fate of the bill be what it might. On the 19th of April, therefore, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to authorize her majesty's treasury to advance a sum of £100,000 for affording relief to certain distressed unions in Ireland, the same to be charged on any rate to be levied in each union, under any measure to be passed during the present session

In this way, the passing of the rate-in-aid bill was already anticipated, and failing this, no remedy remained but to convert the demanded loan into a grant To this explanation Lord John Russell added, that should the rate-in-aid bill be thrown out, the government would propose no further grant from the consolidated fund. It was an awkward dilemma prepared for those who objected to a present loan for the relief of Irish distress A proposal was made by Mr Herbert to substitute an income and property tax on such land in Ireland as was exempted from its operation, in lieu of the rate-in-aid, but the latter alternative seemed the more tolerable evil of the two, and Mr. Herbert's amendment was rejected, while the original motion was carried by a majority of 201 against 106

But the most important of all the government measures at this period in behalf of Ireland, was the bill for facilitating the transfer of encumbered estates. A bill to that effect indeed had been passed last year, but as yet it was little more than a dead letter, owing to the serious obstacles with which its working was impeded. These originated not only in the troubled state of the country, which made any transfer of old hereditary property unpopular and dangerous, but also in the constitution and forms of procedure of the Court of Chancery Facilities must be granted for such a kind of transference, even though they should be of an arbitrary character, just as the habeas corpus law itself must be suspended when the safety of the whole community is at issue. The bill to further the facilities of transference was intrusted to Sir John Romilly, the solicitor-general, and introduced by him to parliament on the 26th of April. His plan was to the following effect: Instead of the buyers and sellers being fettered by the delays of chancery, and the expense of heavy fees, a commission was to be established, through which the whole business of transfer should be cheaply and expeditiously conducted. This commission, similar to one formerly established for the West Indies, and which had worked so well, was to consist of three paid commissioners and a secretary invested with all the powers possessed by the Court of Chancery. It was to frame its own rules for its guidance, which were to be submitted to the privy council in Ireland; and afterwards, on being laid on the table of the British parliament, they were to have the same force and effect as if they had been enacted by the house The commissioners would also have the power to alter their rules from time to time as circumstances might require, with this restriction, however, that they should not frame any rules imposing fees upon, or levying them from suitors In the first instance, also, this commission, instead of being permanent, was to continue five years, until the experiment of its working had been fully tested. As for their official duties, they were only to act on application being made to them by owners or encumbrancers of estates; and this being done, they were to sell the property in such a manner, and in such quantities, as might seem to them for the best. The conveyance to the purchaser was to be made by a short and simple schedule, that would be an indefeasible title to the purchaser, while the commissioners should have the same right of putting him in possession as was vested in the execution of a sheriff's writ, by which actions of ejectment to obtain possession would be unnecessary. The purchase money was to be paid into the Bank of Ireland in the name of the commission, and then to be divided without delay amongst the various persons entitled to it, the commission determining as to the persons to whom it was to be paid

Such were the most important particulars of the new and improved bill for the sale and transfer of encumbered Irish property it was received with cheers from all sides of the house, and was passed through the commons with scarcely any opposition. It was introduced into the upper house by Lord John Campbell on the 11th of June, who confessed that the bill was indeed of an arbitrary character, and could only be justified by the most urgent necessity. The chief objections were brought against it by Lord Brougham, who suggested one or two modifications. By the first of these, the encumbered proprietor, instead of having the unlimited power of selling, could only dispose of his landed property when one-half or two-thirds of the rental were eaten up by the mortgages, while no

sale was to be made at less than a certain number of years' purchase The bill was referred to a select committee, and after several alterations, to which the House of Commons assented, it finally passed into law.

Another measure of relief for Ireland was an amendment of the Irish poor law. The system hitherto in use had proved unavailing, from the burdens already entailed on property, and the increasing growth of national pauperism, so that, but for the repeated aid of government, the poor-law system itself would have been utterly extinguished. On the 26th of April, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the evil It chiefly consisted of the introduction of a maximum in each separate electoral division, and the rates in all the electoral divisions in the unions When in any case the rates of one of these divisions amounted to five shillings in the pound, it should be entitled to call upon the other electoral divisions of the union to contribute a share in whatever further relief might be required—this share not to exceed two shillings in the pound, in each division In this way, the maximum rate of relief would be raised to seven shillings in the pound As the necessity of some such measure was apparent, and as no better remedy for the present could be suggested, the bill was passed in the commons, with an amendment proposed by Sir George Grey, that rates in payment of former advances and loans, should be separated from the maximums fixed by the rate-in-aid bill. The whole brunt of opposition was brought against the measure in the House of Lords, where it was stigmatized as a miserable attempt at legislation, and a "trap to catch English capital" The bill was examined and contested clause by clause; that of the maximum rate, which formed the key-stone of the whole fabric, was removed, and in this dismantled condition the bill was sent back to the commons for reconsideration There, however, its arrival was confronted with a question of privilege. Ought the house to waive its exclusive jurisdiction over matters affecting public money, by assenting to the amendments of the lords, although these amendments touched upon rates? Here, also, the extreme urgency of the case prevailed, the suggestions of the upper house were taken into consideration, and the greater part of the amendments were adopted.

Other measures in relation to Irish relief were considered during the course of the session. The first of these was the proposal of the chancellor of exchequer to advance a loan to the Irish landholders of £300,000, in addition to the former loans, for the drainage and improvement of their estates. To this, also, he proposed an additional £200,000 for the more costly, but more improving system of arterial drainage, which had already been adopted with signal benefit to Ireland This proposal was agreed to by vote. Another had reference to emigration. The superabundance of the Irish population required to be drawn off, and facilities were needed for the purpose by those who were desirous to emigrate In this case, it was proposed that the boards of guardians should be empowered to borrow money for the purpose of advancing loans to Irish emigrants, to be repaid by instalments in the course of five or seven years The landed proprietors, also, were to be allowed, for the same purposes, to borrow money upon their settled property for a similar period In this way, it was stated, the sum needed, amounting to a million or a million and a half, would be entirely defrayed from Irish resources. This motion, which was proposed on the 15th of May by Mr. Mansell, one of the members for the county of Limerick, was also carried

That volcanic shaking of the nations by which so many thrones had been overturned during the previous year, could not escape the anxious solicitude of the British parliament, isolated though the country had been from the visitation; and so early as the 6th of March the subject was commenced, by an inquiry as to whether a contractor who had been in the habit of supplying arms to the British government, had been allowed to furnish them from the government stores for the use of the insurgents in Sicily? The answer was, that this had been inadvertently done, and was afterwards the subject of deep regret The question of British participation in the recent troubles in the north of Italy soon after followed, and Lord Palmerston was accused of withholding a despatch from the Austrian government, connected with the views of the latter towards Sardinia, by which an unfounded alarm had been created in the public mind of Britain against Austria The motion for producing this suppressed document, however, was withdrawn The French intervention in the affairs of Rome, by which the insurrection had been subdued and the pontiff replaced—and the revolt of Hungary, by which the overthrow of the Austrian dominion over that country had been all but accomplished—came in for their share of discussion, bearing as they did upon British interests, and attracting a full share of British sympathy It was evident, indeed, that with 1848, an age of revolution had commenced which the rest of the present century would scarcely suffice to settle, let the immediate termination of the struggle be what it might And still, in every case, the question was, Had Britain, amidst all these trying events, conducted her policy according to the good faith of treaties, and the claims of political justice? A satisfactory answer was given by Lord Palmerston. Our

government had not interfered, but it had not remained silent. it had expressed those sentiments which a great nation can never utter in vain. "It is not fitting," said his lordship, in his place in parliament—"it is not fitting that a country occupying such a proud position as England—that a country having such various and extensive interests—should lock herself up in a simple regard to her own internal affairs, and should be a passive and mute spectator of everything that is going on around It is quite true that it may be said, 'Your opinions are but opinions; and you express them against our opinions, who have at our command large armies to back them· what are opinions against armies?' My answer is, opinions are stronger than armies. I say, then, that it is our duty not to remain passive spectators of events that in their immediate consequences affect other countries, but which, in their remote and certain consequences, are sure to come back with disastrous effect upon ourselves, that so far as the courtesies of international intercourse may permit us to do so, it is our duty, especially when our opinion is asked—as it has been on many occasions on which we have been blamed for giving it—to state our opinions founded on the experience of this country—an experience that might be, and ought to have been, an example to less fortunate countries. We are not entitled to interpose in any manner that will commit this country to embark in those hostilities All we can justly do, is to take advantage of any opportunities that may present themselves, in which the counsels of friendship and peace may be offered to the contending parties. Her majesty's government have not, in the present state of the matter, thought that any opportunity has as yet presented itself that could enable them, with any prospect of advantage, to make an official communication of those opinions which they entertain on this subject—I say official, as contradistinguished from opinions expressed in a more private and confidential manner· but undoubtedly, if any occasion were to occur that should lead them to think the expression of such opinions would tend to a favourable result, it would be the duty of the government not to let such an opportunity pass by"

Among the lost bills of this session, which had reference chiefly to retrenchment and parliamentary reform, one of the most important was the admissibility of the Jews to parliament. On this occasion, the proposal was moved by Lord John Russell, who reviewed the three oaths taken by members on their admission to parliament, viz. those of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration. The first of these was superfluous, as no lineal descendant of James II. remained, and therefore he proposed that it should be abrogated. As for the oath of abjuration, his lordship alleged that it was only a modification of the first, and devised to exclude the temporal power of the pope, ending with these words, "on the faith of a Christian," which a Jew could not take, however he might abjure Popery and all its pretensions. His lordship therefore proposed that these words should be omitted in the case of Jewish subjects, to make them eligible to a seat in parliament. The bill in this form passed through the several readings in the commons, the third being carried by a majority of 272 to 206. It was not equally fortunate with the lords. There, the second reading was moved on the 26th of July, but had the episcopal bench for its chief antagonists, and the bill was rejected by a majority of twenty-five.

Another measure, which had for its object the removal of the legal restrictions against marriage with a deceased wife's sister, was brought before parliament this session for the second time. Although the Christian world at large had generally been agreed upon the religious illegality of such marriages, the practice in England had latterly become so frequent, and the succession of such an amount of property had become involved in the issue, that in 1835 all antecedent marriages between a widower and his wife's sister were legalized, but all contracted subsequently to that date were annulled But since the passing of this act, it had been found by a commission of inquiry, that from 30,000 to 50,000 of such marriages had taken place, involving the legitimacy of at least 40,000 children The bill proposing the final and complete removal of all such restrictions was introduced on the 22d of February, by Mr James Stuart Wortley, and the discussions that followed on the subject embraced the whole range of theological, moral, and social obligations. The principal arguments both for and against such unions had to be derived from the Levitical law; and as each disputant had his own interpretation, or gloss, or comment upon the subject, such an amount of theological casuistry was brought forward as has seldom been displayed in a modern British parliament The question was so frequently adjourned, that the bill did not reach its second reading till the 20th of June, when it was carried by a majority of 177 against 143 Here, however, its progress was for the time arrested, the lateness of the season, as well as the state of public feeling against it, giving no prospect of the bill being brought to a third reading during this year. On the 1st of August, the parliament was prorogued by commission.

After the victories which so lately crowned our arms in India, the tranquillity of our eastern empire, with few exceptions, continued uninter-

rupted during the course of 1847. This pacific character was no doubt materially promoted by the death of Akbar Khan, our chief antagonist in the Cabool war. In the Punjab, a serious disturbance was threatened from the intrigues of the Ranee to overthrow the council of regency; but by adopting the summary process of transporting her under a military escort to Shaikpoora, about twenty-five miles distant from Lahore, and keeping her there under strict surveillance, the danger was averted. In Scinde, also, our lately acquired conquest, a temporary disturbance which might have risen into dangerous importance, was speedily suppressed by the gallantry of a British officer and his handful of troops. A clan or tribe called the Boogtees, one of the most dangerous of all those marauding hordes that infest the frontiers of Scinde, to the number of 600 or 700 foot, and a small party of horse, had descended into the plains, and advanced towards the Timanee river They were encountered near the Khoonee jungle by Lieutenant Merewether, who had set out to oppose them at the head of 133 men of all ranks, from the Scinde irregular cavalry The battle that ensued was, notwithstanding the fewness of the combatants, of the most desperate character, the Boogtees rallying after each repulse, and renewing the conflict with the most obstinate perseverance, until nearly the whole were cut to pieces, including all their chieftains of note In October, the hero of Meeanee and Hyderabad resigned his office as governor of the province of Scinde. Viscount Hardinge also resigned his office of governor-general, and was succeeded by the Earl of Dalhousie.

These eastern events were but the mutterings of the distant storm, which was again to gather around the Punjab It was from the powerful and daring Sikhs, still untamed by their terrible defeat, that the danger was to proceed. In their occupation of the new province, the British had resolved to substitute Sirdar Khan Sing as new governor of Mooltan; and Mr. Vans Agnew, a Bengal civil officer, and Lieutenant Anderson, were sent to instal him in office. But by one of those sudden and treacherous revolutions so common in India, Agnew and Anderson were attacked and desperately wounded by the natives; and on being carried for shelter to a small fort outside the town, its gates were thrown open to the assailants by the Sikh garrison who held it, and the two officers were overpowered and murdered

As soon as tidings of this assassination reached Lahore, bodies of our Indian allies were ordered to march upon Mooltan; and Lieutenant Edwardes, employed with a small force upon the Indus, broke up his encampment, and proceeded towards the scene of action. He effected a junction with Colonel Cortland; and their united forces, chiefly composed of Sikh regiments in the British service, attacked and routed an army of their revolted countrymen But although they continued to press onward for Mooltan, dispersing the enemy in their way, and were joined by native troops that brought their force up to 18,000, they were still not strong enough to undertake the siege of such a city, and were obliged to send to Lahore for reinforcements, in consequence of which their army before the walls of Mooltan soon mustered 28,000 men, of whom 6000 were British soldiers. With these, also, General Whish arrived, who assumed the chief command.

The British general now thought himself strong enough to attempt the capture of Mooltan, and for this purpose made an attack on the outworks on the 12th of September. All the defensible points on one side of the city were taken after a desperate resistance, but on the following day, when a still more decisive onset was to be attempted, Shere Sing, one of the auxiliary chieftains of the British invading force, suddenly deserted their cause, with 5000 Sikhs who were under his command A similar spirit of defection was manifested by a large portion of the Sikh population, who were ready to forget their feuds for a joint attack on the British invaders; and soon a formidable army of 30,000, under the command of Shere Sing, and his father Chuttur Sing, were in the field. and ready to contend with their late masters for the possession of the Punjab. This formidable revolt required the presence of another British army near the centre of the Punjab, and thither accordingly a strong force was sent about the middle of November, under the command of Lord Gough In the meantime, the siege of Mooltan was continued by General Whish, while the town was gallantly defended by Moolraj, lately its dewan or governor, who had been dispossessed of his charge by the British as a doubtful ally, in favour of Sirdar Khan Sing.

The besieging army being now raised by reinforcements from Bombay to 32,000 men, of whom 15,000 were British, made their final assault upon the town on the 28th of December. On the next morning, when the assailants had carried their bombardment close to the walls, an immense magazine within the town blew up with a tremendous explosion, shaking Mooltan to its foundations, and tumbling the houses about the ears of the inhabitants. This fearful earthquake occasioned only a momentary pause in the assault, and though their chief magazine of military stores was destroyed, the Sikhs continued their resistance for fifty hours longer. On the morning of the 2d of January, the British effected an entrance into the town, and laid siege to the

citadel into which the enemy had retired, and where they did not surrender till the 22d, when their stronghold was reduced to the last extremity by sap and mine, and about to be blown into the air. Of the garrison who marched out after this brave resistance, the following description is given.—"First appeared about 200 ill-clothed miserable wretches, who seemed broken and dispirited; then followed about 3500 hard, trained, stern, and stalwart-looking men; they had defended the fort to the last, and abandoned it only when no longer tenable. They looked as if they would have fought to the death in the breaches, if such had been the will of their chief." It was evident from these specimens, that the British ascendency in India was now to encounter more formidable enemies than the unwarlike effeminate Hindoos. Of Moolraj, who came out the last, it is added, "He neither wore the face of defiance or dejection, but moved along under the general gaze, as one conscious of having bravely done his duty, and aware of being the

STORMING OF THE KHOONEE BOORJ BREACH, MOOLTAN.—From Dunlop's Sketches during the Siege of Mooltan

object of universal regard." He was tried as an accessory to the assassinations committed on Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson; and being found guilty after a long trial of fifteen days, he received sentence of death, which, however, was commuted for imprisonment during life. After the fall of Mooltan, the victorious army marched northward to join the forces of Lord Gough.

While these operations were in progress, the grand army in the field which was opposed to Chere Sing and Chuttur Sing had not been so fortunate. These chiefs had skilfully posted their forces on the right bank of the river Chenab, near the town of Ramnuggur, having also fortified and occupied the town, a grove of trees on the left bank of the Chenab, and a small island in mid-channel comprising about two acres. Here they were attacked on the 22d of November at two o'clock in the morning, by Lord Gough, but the Sikhs were so skilfully posted, and defended themselves so bravely, while the British, ignorant of the nature of the ground, committed so many blunders that they were unsuccessful at every point, and suffered a heavy loss in men and officers. On the 30th, operations were resumed by an attack upon the Sikhs in front, while a strong British force was detached to cross the river above Ramnuggur, and take the enemy in flank and rear. This last movement was effected on the 2d of December; and on receiving the intelligence our army commenced a heavy cannonade along the front of the enemy's encampment, compelled them to fall back two miles, and succeeded in sending another British detachment across the Chenab. Although the Sikhs resisted each lodgment, it was so unsuccessfully, that they abandoned their position, leaving the passage of the river open to the British, who crossed in full expectation that the campaign had already terminated.

This flattering hope was speedily brought to a painful close. On the 10th of January, intelligence was received that the Sikhs had taken Attock, which had made a long and gallant defence, and that their army now amounted to 40,000 men and sixty-two guns, ready, if need should be, to become the assailants in turn. Eager to reach them, and end the war by one decisive action, Lord Gough rapidly advanced to the village of Chillianwallah, in the neighbourhood of which he found them skilfully drawn up, entrenched by sandhills, ravines, and jungles, of which they well knew the military use. Although the British troops were wearied with their long march, and the day was far

spent, and although the intervening ground between them and the enemy had not been carefully reconnoitred and ascertained, the signal of attack was given, and followed by a result unwonted in the history of our Indian warfare. The well-served artillery of the Sikhs tore our columns as they advanced; our troops that were sent to dislodge the enemy from the jungle, were outflanked and driven back; while a considerable portion of our cavalry, instead of charging, turned bridle, and rode through their own artillery, overturning and trampling down everything in their way. Over the whole front of the engagement a series of unfortunate movements had been made, and disgraceful checks or defeats experienced. The British indeed remained masters of the field, but it was with the loss of 2269 men in killed and wounded, five stand of colours and four guns taken, with the recapture also of those cannon we had taken in the engagement.

On the arrival in England of the despatches from India, it was felt that not only a national calamity, but even a national disgrace had been sustained, by this unfortunate battle of Chillianwallah It was a positive defeat, and that too from an Indian army scarcely more numerous than our own. In this point of view, it would tend more to destroy our prestige in the East, than even the disastrous campaign of Afghanistan. While the public at home was incensed and mortified, the government was compelled to act with stern promptitude, and accordingly Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Scinde, whom the universal acclamation called for on this trying occasion, was immediately appointed to repair to India as commander-in chief of the forces, and member extraordinary of the council of India. So high was the confidence reposed in his military talents, and the terror of his name among the Indian nations, that it was hoped his arrival there would at once recal victory to our standard, whatever mischances might happen during the interval Fortunately, however, an event followed close upon that of Chillianwallah, by which the reputation lost in the latter instance was amply retrieved.

This was a second encounter with the Sikhs, in which they were completely defeated. To the number of 60,000, and with fifty-nine pieces of artillery, they had pitched their camp between the Chenab and the Jhelum, at a place called Goojerat, confident in their numbers and late success, and eager for another trial And for this they had not long to wait, as Lord Gough on the 20th of February had come up with them, though his army did not muster more than 25,000. His late disaster had taught him caution; and the enemy was now to be overcome by the superiority of European strategy, instead of a mere hand-to-hand encounter, in which the Sikhs would have the benefit of superior numbers. The engagement commenced early on the morning of the 21st by a cannonade so close, heavy, and destructive, that Lord Gough described it as exceeding all of the kind he had ever witnessed. The Sikhs indeed bore up

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD GOUGH.
From an engraving by J. B. Jackson

against it bravely, and answered it promptly with their artillery; but the iron shower that made huge gaps in their ranks obliged them reluctantly to fall back. The British advanced, and carried the key of the enemy's position; their artillery moved forward with great rapidity; and the unintermitting cannonade that continued to play upon the Sikhs, drove them from every position, and compelled them to a retreat, which was speedily changed into a headlong flight. Such was the victory of Goojerat, won by British cannon directed by science and skill, and which was cheaply won by the victors, who had only ninety-two killed and 682 wounded. So total indeed was the defeat of the Sikhs, that all thought of further resistance was abandoned, and accordingly, Shere Sing, Chuttur Sing, and the other insurgent chiefs, repaired to the British camp, and there surrendered themselves and their broken army to the conquerors, along with the guns and other trophies they had captured at Chillianwallah. Soon after, the fortress of Attock was recovered by the British, who crossed the Indus, and drove a body of Afghans, who had come to the aid of the Sikhs, through the Khyber Pass towards Cabool. By a proclamation of the Governor-general of India it was announced, that the kingdom of the Punjab was at an end; that all its territories were

now a portion of the British empire in India; and while every class were summoned to obedience, they were warned, that any fresh outbreak would be punished with prompt and most rigorous severity.

In proportion to the despondency that had been felt at home by the disheartening tidings of our disasters at Chillianwallah, was the exultation that welcomed the splendid victory of Goojerat. All fears for our Indian empire were silenced, and Lord Gough, so lately the object of public blame, was now the popular hero of the day. But an official testimony of the importance of the event was given by parliament on the 24th of April, when it was introduced before both houses. Its celebration was recommended by a day of general thanksgiving, and a vote of thanks was passed to Lord Gough and the officers and army engaged in the recent operations of the Punjab.

The free-trade principle, which was now in full operation, was attended with such results as satisfied its most sanguine advocates. A diminution of pauperism, a greater abundance among the lower classes of the means of subsistence, and an increase in the value of our exports to the amount of £10,000,000 sterling, were unmistakeable symptoms of the wisdom of this great political experiment But, on the other hand, the depression of the agricultural interest, and the difficulties in which agriculturists were involved in consequence of the reduced prices of their produce, formed a serious counterpoise to the mercantile prosperity of the country. These circumstances were thus noticed in the royal speech read by the lord-chancellor, when parliament was opened by commission on the 31st of January, 1850 —"Her majesty has great satisfaction in congratulating you on the improved condition of commerce and manufactures. It is with regret that her majesty has observed the complaints which in many parts of the kingdom have proceeded from the owners and occupiers of land. Her majesty greatly laments that any portion of her subjects should be suffering distress, but it is a source of sincere gratification to her majesty to witness the increased enjoyment of the necessaries and comforts of life which cheapness and plenty have bestowed upon the great body of her people."

The opportunity of remonstrance against the fruits of free trade, as exemplified in our agricultural depression, was not lost sight of by the protectionists, and accordingly, when the royal address was moved in the House of Lords, it was met with a formidable opposition. It had lightly touched the prevalent evil, and proposed no remedy; and in an amendment it was proposed to add, that these agricultural evils were mainly owing "to recent legislative enactments, aggravated by the pressure of local taxation." The address without the amendment was passed in the lords by a majority of forty-nine. In the commons the subject was taken up with considerable keenness, where the principle of free trade was decried as the great source of our agricultural grievances, and a reconsideration of the whole matter was seriously proposed. It was answered, however, that these grievances were only temporary, not permanent; that our agriculture as yet was only in a transition state, in which the evils of the experiment had first to be encountered; and that with improved modes of cultivation, we should soon be able to keep our ground against the cheapness of foreign markets. The royal address was carried in the commons by 311 against 192.

On the re-assembling of parliament, the claims of the agricultural classes were brought before the house by Mr D'Israeli, on the 19th of February. He stated that the prospects of the agriculturists were daily becoming darker, that the value of the fee-simple of the soil was deteriorating, and the factitious employment of the people in rural districts diminishing The only sure remedy for this, he alleged, was the re-establishment of those protective laws which had lately been abrogated But as the government now stood committed to free trade, so that such a change was hopeless, he would propose instead, the remission of that local taxation which weighed heaviest upon the agricultural classes He would propose therefore the following resolutions:— 1. That the poor-law establishment charges in the United Kingdom (about £1,500,000) should be transferred to the general revenue. 2. That certain miscellaneous rates which, generally speaking, it was convenient to raise by the machinery of the poor law, but which had nothing to do with the maintenance of the poor, such as registration of births and deaths, preparation of jury-lists, &c., should also be defrayed by the consolidated fund. 3. That the charge for the casual poor throughout the United Kingdom should likewise be transferred to the general revenue.

Against these proposals, and the statements by which they were enforced, the arguments of the free-trade party were numerous and cogent. It was alleged, that it involved the question of whether £18,000,000 or £20,000,000 should be transferred from the land to the consolidated fund. It was but part of a great measure that would be certain to follow, affecting our whole fiscal system, and involving a revival of the policy of the last five or six years. And, after all, what relief would the present measure accomplish, even if it were conceded? It was also stated, that considerable agricultural distress had per-

vaded other countries of Europe, where prices had been depressed notwithstanding protection, and with the advantage of free importation into England. Besides, it appeared that during the last year we had imported 5,600,000 qrs. of foreign wheat, which had chiefly been consumed by those who lived by labour, and that from such an augmented demand, our own produce had the best chance of success. Even let the £2,000,000 also of taxation be transferred according to the proposal of Mr. D'Israeli, could it be justly assumed that there would always be an annual surplus to meet the demand? And even if there should be such a surplus, would it not be better to devote it to the remission or mitigation of taxes that oppressed the industry of the country, than to bestow it upon real property? How strong the protectionist party still was, and with what reluctance these arguments were received, was shown on the division of the house, when the motion was negatived by a majority of only 21, 252 votes being in its favour, and 273 against it.

The necessary but often vexatious subject of parliamentary reform was the next subject of deliberation, in consequence of a motion of Mr Joseph Hume to the following effect — "That leave be granted to bring in a bill to amend the national representation, by extending the elective franchise, so that every man of full age, and not subject to any mental or legal disability, who shall have been the resident occupier of a house, or part of a house as a lodger, for twelve months, and shall have been duly rated to the poor of that parish for that time, shall be registered as an elector, and be entitled to vote for a representative in parliament, also, by enacting that votes shall be taken by ballot, that the duration of parliaments shall not exceed three years, and that the proportion of representatives be made more consistent with the amount of population and property" In favour of his motion, Mr Hume argued that it would raise the number of single voters from 800,000 to quadruple that amount, and that the concessions in the elective franchise lately granted to Ireland and the colonies gave a fair opportunity for his proposed change. At a subsequent stage of the discussion, Mr Hume completely outstripped his motion, for he confessed that he would have no objection to extend the right of voting even to females, and to substitute for an hereditary House of Lords an elective second chamber. This was certainly driving the car of national reform too fast, and the best result in such a case could only be an absolute stoppage. The feeling of the house at such a startling attempt of progress was manifested in the division, when the motion was negatived by 242 against 96.

The welfare of our colonies was the subject that occupied the most important place in the proceedings of this session. Their claims to self-government had already been considered, and to some extent complied with; and as several of these colonies had ripened with unexampled rapidity, and grown almost into full strength, it was felt that the time had arrived when they might safely be intrusted to their own management. The subject had also been recommended in the royal speech, and at the commencement of the session, ministers had announced their intention of embodying their views in an act of parliament applicable to our Australian settlements These views were now stated before the House of Commons by Lord John Russell on the 8th of February.

After a brief sketch of the history of our colonies, and a statement of their population, wealth, and resources, his lordship observed that, in consequence of our recent legislation, and especially that on the navigation laws, the question had arisen, whether it was worth while to retain our colonial empire. It was evidently, however, our bounden duty to maintain the colonies which had been placed under our charge, and govern them for their benefit They were the sources of our wealth in peace, and our strength in war, but if they were abandoned, several of them would revert to those countries by which they had originally been founded. Thus, the Mauritius would return to France, and the Cape of Good Hope to Holland. Another scheme proposed had been, to free the colonial legislation in respect to local laws, and subject it to the imperial sanction for all others, but no such distinction could be drawn, as had been illustrated by the case of Canada. After adverting to the governments established in Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, from which appeals that were to be decided by the colonial secretary were seldom transmitted, and to the form of government which had been resolved for the Cape of Good Hope, in which representative institutions were to be introduced, Lord John proceeded to that part of his bill which regarded Australia, being the same as he had proposed during the former year. "It goes not," he said, "on the principle of having a council and assembly [these were for the Cape of Good Hope], in imitation of the government of this country, which has been usually the form most palatable and popular in our colonies, but it is proposed that there should be but one council—a council of which two-thirds shall be formed of representatives elected by the people, and one-third named by the governor. The reason for adopting this proposal is, that after a great deal of deliberation, that plan was adopted some years ago, and, I think, was finally enacted by parliament

in 1842; and since that time has been found so acceptable to the people of New South Wales that, upon the whole, as far as we could ascertain their sentiments, they appear to prefer that form of popular government to that which is more in analogy with the government of this country." After dissenting cries of "No" and "Hear," the premier thus continued —"But when we propose that this shall be the form of government for New South Wales, I should add, that we propose likewise to give the colonists the power of altering their own constitution in that respect; and that, if it should be their opinion that they had better resort to a government by legislative council and assembly, there would be no veto, no restriction on the part of the crown against the adoption of that course. Last year we proposed that the customs duties which now prevail in New South Wales should be enacted by parliament for the whole of the Australian colonies, and should be binding till they were altered by the proper authorities. We have thought that, although it is a most desirable object that the customs duties should not vary in the different Australian colonies, it is not advisable to enact that by authority of parliament, but that it is better to leave them to settle for themselves whether they will not adopt a similar tariff for all the various parts of Australia" He explained that, as these colonies would have their own councils, it would be sufficient for an assembly of these councils, on the application of two colonies, to establish a tariff for the whole, and that, by the same authority the price of waste lands should be settled, on condition of making their price uniform throughout the whole of Australia. The trying question of transportation to these colonies was hastily disposed of, with the declaration that convicts should only be sent, and in small numbers, to such colonists as were willing to receive them, but that none should be imposed against the will of the people Such was the general colonial aversion to this kind of labour, that another punishment than transportation must be adopted for our criminals As for emigration, it might still be left to spontaneous choice; late experience having shown that private benevolence and enterprise were sufficient for the increase of old colonies and the establishment of new. Anticipating the period when some of our colonies would so increase as to feel themselves strong enough to maintain their own independence in unity and alliance with England, Lord John Russell concluded with the following generous sentiment·— "I do not think that that time is yet approaching. But let us make them, as far as possible, fit to govern themselves; let us give them, as far as we can, the capacity of ruling their own affairs; let them increase in wealth and population; and whatever may happen, we of this great empire shall have the consolation of saying that we have contributed to the happiness of the world."

This important bill for the government of the Australian colonies having passed, after a brief debate, the second reading was fixed for the 18th of February. The chief subject of disputation and demur on this occasion was that of government by a single chamber instead of a double one; though where the aristocratic element of an upper house could have been found in Australia would have puzzled every dissentient of this stamp. Another objection was, that instead of planting liberal institutions in these colonies at once, we left them to the agony of working out a matured scheme of government for themselves. It was also repeatedly asserted and denied, that this kind of constitution was the one most in accordance with the present wishes of the Australians, who, having the permission, only wanted to have time and experience for developing it according to future wants and contingencies. The bill was read a second time, and, in its progress through committee, various alterations and amendments were proposed, chiefly in relation to the government of the Australian colonies by a single chamber, but these, in every case, were rejected by large majorities. The earnestness with which every point was considered, weighed, and contested, was an honourable attestation to the growing importance of Australia, as well as to the general desire felt at home of qualifying its colonies for independence and self-government.

The bill passed the third reading in the House of Commons on the 13th of May, and on the 31st its second reading was moved in the House of Lords by Earl Grey And here, as in the commons, the single chamber system met with the chief share of opposition. It was stigmatized as "novel, unnecessary, mischievous"—as a sort of political go-cart, which the colonies were to have as a machine of practice for their limbs and members, by which, when they had learned to walk, they would knock away the whole present system of legislature. Another difficulty which had also been started in the other house, was not of a political but a religious character. What was to be the condition of the Church of England in these colonies? The Presbyterians, the Roman Catholics, and the dissenting bodies carried with them to these shores the principle of self-government, and the full power of synodical action. But such was not the case with the clergy of the Church of England, who, even at the antipodes, were recognized as subject to the see of Canterbury; and thus it endured all the restrictions, without enjoying the advantages of the mother church. The bill, with a few amendments, was returned to the House of Commons

for consideration on the 1st of August, which amendments were agreed to, and the Australian colonies were thus in a great measure consigned to their own guardianship.

At an early period of this session, our foreign policy in relation to Greece formed the subject of an important discussion in parliament. For a course of years our merchants had possessed certain claims upon the Greek government, the justice of which had been recognized, and satisfaction promised; but notwithstanding these promises, it was at last evident that the government of Otho had no intention to fulfil them, for they had been evaded from the beginning, and at last flatly refused. In consequence of this refusal, Admiral Sir William Parker, who was in the Greek waters, had been directed to proceed to Athens to enforce these demands, which he had done by blockading the Piræus The public feeling in England was roused by the intelligence Independently of the classical associations by which Greece must always be endeared to every European people, it was deemed ungenerous and unfair to take advantage of the weakness of a country still struggling into a new existence, and with which we were at peace. So loud was the popular indignation, that on the 4th of February, soon after the tidings had arrived, the subject was brought before the House of Lords by Lord Stanley He detailed the circumstances as they were generally reported, and demanded an explanation. This was given by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who softened some of the reports and contradicted others, until the blockade itself was almost reduced to a friendly visit and polite hint on the part of the British admiral. The explanation, however, was not reckoned satisfactory; and it was alleged in answer, that although we had guaranteed with the other powers the integrity of Greece, we had by our late claim demanded the cession of the Greek islands of Elaphonisi and Sapienza, and had done this against the remonstrances of the French and Russian governments, who had offered their mediation and been refused. A misunderstanding with these formidable powers might lead to a fresh war, even though the islands in question were so worthless that, as Lord Brougham asserted, one of them supported three goats, and the other only a single hare.

On the subject being introduced into the commons, and full information demanded, the explanation given by the secretary of foreign affairs reduced the grievances complained of to the case of two British subjects, who had been forcibly deprived of their property at the instance of the Greek government, and from whom compensation had been withheld. As for Elaphonisi and Sapienza, these islands, it was asserted, were included in the Ionian state in the year 1800 by the Porte. Each explanation seemed only to complicate the difficulties of the question, and deepen the popular resentment; and at last the public was startled to learn that on the 15th of May, the anniversary of our sovereign's birthday, the French ambassador had left London for Paris, while the Russian ambassador had withheld his presence from the official dinner. Was there then to be war at last? and upon such a paltry occasion? So strong was the general feeling against the ministry, that it seemed as if the hours of Lord John Russell's administration were numbered. At last, the whole subject of the ministerial policy in regard to Greece having been laid before the two houses, was commented upon with terrible eloquence and invective by Lord Stanley, and the whole condemned as a series of selfish blunders and short-sighted policy. We had been bullying a poor little kingdom of only fourteen years' standing. We had been playing a game in that country merely to strengthen ourselves against French ascendency, and the claims which we had been enforcing against it for pretended injuries, had been unjust and extravagant, as well as in behalf of persons who were entitled to no such interference The order to take forcible possession of the island of Sapienza, in which Britain had no right to act independently of France and Russia, had not been rescinded, and had only not been executed, because Admiral Parker and Mr Wyse, our envoy, had more discretion than our foreign secretary who had issued it. In the meantime, the noble and dignified conduct of the Greek government, who were unable to resist, had won for them the sympathy of Europe. In conclusion, he thought that he had made out the points stated in his motion; and if the ministry had been guilty of injustice, if they had made extravagant demands, if they had oppressed the weak and disgusted the strong, it became that house to show that the government of England was not England, and he called on the house to vindicate the authority of a great nation prostituted by an attempt to enforce unjust demands upon a weak and defenceless state. Notwithstanding the palliations which were adduced in justification of ministers, the division of the lords on the question was an emphatic condemnation of the proceedings of government by a majority of 37 votes, or 169 against 132.

It was fortunate for Lord John Russell's administration that these views were not shared in by the commons, before whom the decision of the lords was introduced on the 20th of June, only two days after. As a proper commencement, Lord John was asked whether he would adopt any special course of conduct in consequence of the resolution passed by the House of Lords.

In a full explanatory speech, his lordship justified the proceedings that had occasioned such stir; and with regard to the question whether he would resign, he declared that there was no necessity for such a step, and in justification, he quoted instances, in which British premiers under similar circumstances had seen it right to retain, instead of abandoning, the reins of government He also justified not only himself, but his colleague, Lord Palmerston, who had come in for a double share of the public vituperation "I can only say," he added at the conclusion of his speech, "that we shall continue in that course which we have hitherto followed with respect to our foreign policy So long as we continue the government of this country, I can answer for my noble friend, that he will act, not as minister of Austria, or of Russia, or of France, or of any other country, but as minister of England The honour of England, and the interests of England—such are the matters which are within our keeping, and it is to those interests and to that honour that our conduct will in future be, as it has hitherto been, directed" These declarations were loudly cheered from every part of the house On this occasion, the defence of Lord John and his colleagues came from a quarter the more available as it was least expected, even from Mr. Roebuck, who had hitherto shown no very amicable spirit toward the present ministry In the present case, after justifying the right of a ministry to appeal from a condemnation of the House of Lords to a verdict of the House of Commons, he gave notice of the resolution which he meant to move on the following day, to this effect — "That the principles which have hitherto regulated the foreign policy of her majesty's government are such as were required to preserve untarnished the honour and dignity of this country, and, in times of unexampled difficulty, the best calculated to maintain peace between England and the various nations of the world"

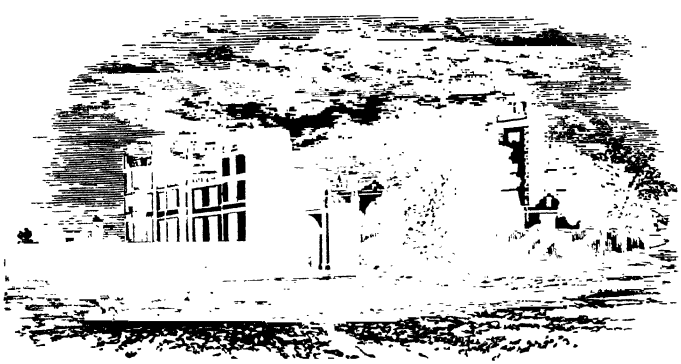
The debate which followed upon this motion was continued during four nights, and characterized by a crowd of speeches remarkable not only for their ardour, but their earnest and impassioned eloquence The continuance of peace, the honour of England, the privileges of the House of Commons, and the stability of government were all felt to be at stake, so that the original Greek question was at length merely regarded as the starting-point of controversy The statements of Mr. Roebuck went to show that Turkey had been bullied by Russia and Austria for the extradition of the Hungarian refugees; that France had repeatedly sent out her fleets to foreign ports for the hostile redress of grievances, notwithstanding the offered mediation of England; and that England in the case of Greece had, even at the worst, done nothing more than these complaining countries had committed against other states. Coming closer upon the *origo mali*, he then showed that Athens had become the focus of intrigues against the interests of England; and that the individual injuries complained of were deeds of tyrannical oppression and injustice which had been inflicted upon British subjects, and in which we were therefore bound to interfere They were not singular cases also, but merely part and parcel of a course of similar offences which had been pursued for several years. And our interference at last—it was a merciful mode of proceeding by a strong state against a weak; for it was by a blockade, instead of an express declaration of war. The injured had appealed to England, and we were told that compliance with such appeals was against international law, but we knew well what pernicious consequences might be deduced in despotic countries from such an interpretation It was also said, that the cases of Mr Finlay and M Pacifico were isolated cases; but there were also other cases, and if we once relaxed, in the case of half-civilized nations, the rules by which the subjects of this country are guarded abroad, there would be no safety for English commerce

These arguments of Mr Roebuck will sufficiently explain the course of the debate on this occasion, without entering into details The result was a complete reversal of the sentence of the House of Lords, there being for the motion 310 votes, while only 264 were against it, thus giving a majority of 46 in favour of government. Considering the wonderful changes that have since taken place, it is as well that this result was attained. The guaranteeing powers that were at issue on this question, were soon afterwards to be in deadly combat against the whole course of Russian intrigue in the East, with France and England united to oppose it. Even already there were gloomy symptoms of this terrible consummation, arising out of the late affairs of Hungary—the occupation of the Danubian principalities by a Russian army, under the pretext of suppressing insurrection—and the arrogant demands of the czar upon the Porte for the surrender or banishment of the Hungarian exiles. These matters were brought before parliament at an early period of the session by Lord Dudley Stuart, who moved for certain papers upon the subject, to form the ground of a parliamentary inquiry His motion was afterwards withdrawn; but the statements which it occasioned deepened the public aversion to northern ambition and tyranny, and helped to prepare the way for those great events which were hastening to their crisis.

On the 19th of March an important discussion occurred on the slave-trade, which, notwith-

standing the pecuniary sacrifices of Britain for its suppression, followed as they were by those armaments that were maintained to watch every outlet and inlet of the evil, continued still to flourish among the slave-holding foreign colonies in alarming abundance. It was stated that in 1847, the exports of slaves from Africa had amounted to 84,000, and were annually on the increase, notwithstanding our blockade system, maintained at an expense of £700,000 per annum Under all these circumstances, it was moved by Mr Hutt, the member for Gateshead, that the crown should be addressed to direct that negotiations should be forthwith entered into, for the purpose of releasing this country from all treaty engagements with foreign states for maintaining armed vessels on the coast of Africa to suppress the traffic in slaves To this it was answered, that the blockade, inefficient though in many cases it was, and must still continue to be, had been productive of great benefit to the cause of humanity It had made the transportation of slaves more difficult than ever, as was manifested by the greatly increased price that had to be paid for them in the slave-markets of Cuba and Brazil It had also been the means of implanting the seeds of civilization and humanity in Africa, and even for the continuing of such a desirable improvement, a continuance of the blockade was necessary But besides, these ships were necessary for the maintenance of our factories and legitimate traffic on the African coast, and for compelling Spain and Brazil to fulfil their engagements by which they had agreed to abandon this infamous trade in human flesh The character and honour of our country was also at stake; and by withdrawing our ships, we would proclaim to the world, that henceforth the slave-trade might prevail over every sea without let or hinderance These representations had their full effect, so that on a division of the house, Mr Hutt's motion was negatived by a majority of 232 against 154

It was while the political business of this year was at its height, that the voice of the most eloquent of our British political orators was no longer heard, the senate was no longer to be controlled or directed in its counsels by his commanding intellect and persuasive words Sir Robert Peel had delivered his memorable speech, which was destined to be his last, on the affairs of Greece and in justification of the ministry, in the House of Commons, and was taking an airing on horseback, when the animal he rode suddenly shied near the wicket-gate leading into the Green Park, and threw him violently to the ground The injuries he sustained on this occasion were beyond medical aid, and he expired in his house at Whitehall Gardens, on the 2d of July, four days after the accident The remains of the great statesman were conveyed to his mansion of Drayton Manor, and interred on the 9th at the parish church of Drayton Basset, while the whole nation bewailed his premature departure. In him not only the country lost a most able and upright statesman, but private worth and talent a liberal patron, the destitute a benefactor, and the oppressed a champion. Equally with his talents, Britain will continue to hallow the remembrance of the virtues of Sir Robert Peel.



Drayton Manor, the Residence of Sir Robert Peel.

CHAPTER XIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D 1850—1851.

VICTORIA.

Irish affairs—Loan of money granted to Ireland—Proposal to extend the elective franchise in Ireland—It is carried—Irish riot of Dolly's Brae—Its origin and causes—Its sanguinary and disgraceful character—The lieutenant of the county and several magistrates dismissed from office—The subject investigated in the House of Lords—Decision of the lords—Satisfactory nature of the financial statement for the year—Question about the disposal of the surplus—Demands for retrenchment in the government expenditure—Public salaries reduced—Prospect of the removal of the window-tax—Factory act of 1847—Its terms eluded by the mill-owners—Its rules for the amelioration of labour improved—Baron Rothschild's application for his seat in the House of Commons—He refuses to take the oath of abjuration—The controversy of Jewish disabilities opened afresh—The discussion postponed—Inefficiency of past concessions to Popery—Papal decree for the establishment of an episcopal hierarchy in England—Cardinal Wiseman, by the pope's authority, appointed Archbishop of Westminster—Pastoral address of the new Popish metropolitan—Indignation of all Protestant parties at these aggressions—Lord John Russell's letter to the Bishop of Durham on the subject—Dr. Wiseman's ineffectual apology—Notice of these Papal aggressions in the royal speech—Bill prepared to prevent the assumption of Popish episcopal titles from English dioceses or districts—Arguments adduced in parliament for and against the bill—It is introduced into parliament—Interruption to the discussion by the demands of the protectionists—Motion for the relief of the agricultural classes—Statement of their grievances—The motion negatived by a small majority—Motion carried for the extension of the franchise—Growing dissatisfaction with Lord John Russell's government—He resigns and is recalled—Consideration of the ecclesiastical titles bill, with modifications, resumed—It is still obnoxious to a large party in parliament—Chief arguments for and against it in the debate—Obstacles interposed to the progress of the bill—A large body of Roman Catholic representatives leave the house—The bill passed—Unsatisfactory nature of the victory—Particulars of the bill when established as act of parliament.

THE turmoil and perplexity of Irish affairs constituted, as they were wont, a large portion of the business of this session. The first of these referred to the ministerial proposition for advances to relieve the distressed Irish unions. It was stated by Lord John Russell that, in consequence of the change from subsistence on mere potato land by the labouring classes to that derived from wages, the pressure of this transition state had fallen upon the landed proprietors, who therefore needed temporary relief from the legislature. He hoped that this change would be greatly for the better; but in the meantime, it would be necessary to aid the impoverished unions by a loan of £300,000. This would only raise the loans advanced over ten years, that still remained to be paid, to the amount of £4,783,000—a debt the repayment of which was to be extended to a period of forty years, subject to the same conditions of interest or no interest as at present. Against this proposal it was alleged, that what was called a loan should be termed a *grant*, as the money would never be repaid This objection, however, had now lost all its original force, and a bill founded upon the resolution was afterwards brought in and passed with little opposition.

The next Irish measure was one for the extension of the elective franchise for the counties and boroughs. This proposal, although considered necessary on account of the reduction of electors in Ireland by the impoverished state of the tenantry and other causes, had been brought forward during several previous sessions, but always without effect. Sir William Somerville, secretary for Ireland, now moved to bring in the government bill, by which the franchise was to be extended to all occupiers of land to the amount of £8 per annum. This concession was objected to as being too much compared with the elective franchise of England—as too little compared with the privileges we had granted even to the Hottentots—as a strengthening of the democratic element—as a weakening of the leasehold suffrage. The bill was generally confessed to be both good and necessary; and although several attempts were made to alter or amend it, the third reading was successfully carried in the commons by a majority of 254 against 186. It experienced a keener opposition in the lords, where the £8 qualification was thought too little, and where it was proposed to raise it to £12 or even to £15. An amendment proposing the last-mentioned rate was carried against the ministers by a majority of seventy-two to fifty; and another, in which the drawing up of the election lists was subjected to the approval of the unions instead of the county clerks of the peace, as in the original proposal, was carried by fifty-three against thirty-nine. These were ominous symptoms of want of confidence on the part of the upper house towards the government that might well have made Lord John Russell and his coadjutors

quake; and upon the bill being sent back with these important alterations, the discussion was opened anew in the House of Commons, and with redoubled keenness. At last the commons yielded to three amendments proposed by the lords, and compromised the amount of franchise right by a twelve-pound qualification. With these concessions, the bill, on being sent back to the upper house, was passed, but with much demur and reluctance.

The measure that came next in connection with Irish affairs was the abolition of the office of lord-lieutenant, but although there appeared 295 votes for the second reading against 70, the bill was postponed at this favourable stage, owing to the great pressure of other business, and the lateness of the session.

So early as the 18th of February, the affairs of Ireland had been the subject of frequent consideration, as it was at that date that the unfortunate conflict at Dolly's Brae was discussed in the House of Lords. It was an event only too characteristic of the country, and the political and religious hatred by which it continued to be rent asunder. As the act making party processions illegal had just expired, a band of Orangemen resolved to improve the golden opportunity by holding their favourite anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, with an armed display that should bid defiance to their enemies, and perhaps produce the luxury of a faction fight. For this purpose, also, they resolved to pass in their rout a steep ridge called Dolly's Brae, near Castlewellan, which at such a season had been usually occupied by the Ribandmen from an early period. The pretext of the Orangemen was, that they were desirous of congratulating the aged Earl of Roden, the lord-lieutenant of the county, on his birthday, and that the pass in question lay on their way to Tollymore Park, the residence of his lordship. There was indeed another road skirting the base of the hill, which had been constructed to avoid the steepness of the old one, but chiefly to prevent hostile meetings between the two parties; but this was only an additional temptation to take the old established path. On, therefore, by this Thermopylæ of Dolly's Brae marched the Orange party to the number of 1500 strong, with flags and music, and found, as they had expected, the pass well occupied by a formidable party of armed Ribandmen. An encounter would have been inevitable but for the presence of a strong body of soldiers and police, and the remonstrances of the priests; and a truce was struck, by which the Riband party agreed not to fire a shot, provided they were unassailed. Through the press, therefore, the procession marched without a blow, and on reaching Tollymore Park, and presenting their congratulations to the earl, they were regaled with all the fervour of Irish hospitality. Unfortunately, however, on their return, and just when they had passed the hostile encampment, a random squib thrown by an unknown hand lighted among the ranks of the Ribandmen, and taking this as a signal of battle, the latter fired an indiscriminate volley not only at the procession, but the priests, soldiers, and policemen who were stationed near the spot A pell-mell fight immediately followed, in which the Orangemen defeated their adversaries, and were said to have used their victory with great cruelty As it was, four of the Riband party were killed, about thirty or forty wounded, and several houses sacked and destroyed. The county magistrates endeavoured to stifle inquiry into this disgraceful outrage, but government would not be so satisfied, and after a keen scrutiny, the Earl of Roden was dismissed from the lieutenancy, as well as several magistrates from the commission, while stringent measures were adopted for the prevention of all such deeds in time to come.

This unhappy affair, involving as it did the deposition of a worthy and popular nobleman from office, was now made the subject of investigation in the House of Lords. It was introduced by Lord Stanley, as an opportunity for examining into the ministerial policy manifested in the government of Ireland, and for this purpose he moved for copies of certain correspondence between the chief magistrate of Armagh and the executive government in June and July, 1846, and also for a variety of papers relating to the events which took place in this Castlewellan affray The indirect approbation given by the ruling party to Orange meetings and processions, and the arbitrary dismissal of Lord Roden and the magistrates, formed the chief topics of his animadversions. On the other hand, the Earl of Clarendon, who had come over from Ireland and taken his place in the house, to answer in person every charge, showed that the magistrates had deserved their dismissal by not preventing the procession from returning by the way of Dolly's Brae, when a collision was apprehended. About the procession itself, which was not essentially illegal, every precaution had been adopted by government to prevent any outbreak from taking place. As for the removal of Lord Roden from office, the Earl of Clarendon, after alluding to the valuable public services of the noble lord, and the warm friendship that had subsisted between them, thus proceeded to justify himself:—"I knew how much his dismissal would be resented by his numerous friends, and the unpopularity I should earn for myself, even among those who were not his friends, throughout the north of Ireland. I felt and I

foresaw all that: but still there was one feeling superior even to that—a feeling of duty; a feeling from which I did not venture to shrink, and by which I need not assure your lordships I was alone actuated in the course that I adopted. Ever since the government of Ireland was confided to my care, my great object has been to render the law a reality—to inspire all classes of the community with confidence in the impartial administration of justice—to convince them that before the law all men were equal, and that, whether high or low, rich or poor, the same justice should be meted out to all. And I should have felt ashamed of myself, and unworthy the confidence of my sovereign, if I had decided in a manner different with respect to the noble earl to that in which I should have decided in the case of any other man, or if I had allowed for one moment any personal consideration to interfere with what I believed the justice of the case required."

The discussion of this difficult question terminated in a cordiality of agreement not often witnessed when Irish affairs were the subject. It was generally felt that the Dolly's Brae procession had only become illegal through its consequences—that the Earl of Roden had committed an error of judgment in so far countenancing it, and must quietly underlie the penalty—and that the Earl of Clarendon had discharged the duties of a wise ruler and upright judge, both in his plans to prevent an outbreak, and the punishment of those through whose imprudence it had occurred In these circumstances, the motion of Lord Stanley for the production of the Irish documents was agreed to without a division.

The financial statement for the year, which was laid before the committee of ways and means in the House of Commons by Sir Charles Wood, the chancellor of exchequer, gave great satisfaction, as it showed that for 1850-51 there would be a surplus of £1,500,000 over the expenditure To dispose of this surplus was now the question, and the chancellor proposed that its paramount application should be to the reduction of our debt This was the more necessary, as during the last twenty years we had borrowed to the amount of £35,000,000, of which our increased revenue had as yet paid off only £8,000,000. Next to this, an abatement of taxes on landed property, chiefly in stamp duties, should be effected, a repeal of the duty on bricks, and advances furnished for drainage and land improvements These proposals threatened to wake into fresh vigour the protectionist controversy, from the confession of agricultural weakness and distress which they were supposed to imply; and during the course of discussion the government sustained a defeat, by the reduction of the duty on loans to 1*s.* in fifty pounds, instead of 2*s.* 6*d.* as the chancellor had proposed. Sir Charles Wood then attempted a compromise in the other reductions, in which he was successful, with no greater loss to the revenue than £500,000 per annum.

These abatements emboldened further demands, which had for their object the reduction of public burdens and retrenchment of expenditure—claims that had never ceased to be urged since the commencement of our mercantile depressions, as well as the withdrawal of agricultural protection. The movement to that effect by the opponents of government was anticipated by Lord John Russell himself, who brought in a bill for the reduction of the salary of the lord chief-justice of the common pleas, and for an inquiry into the salaries and emoluments of offices held during pleasure by members of parliament. To these were also added the salaries of judicial offices in the superior courts, the retiring pensions of the judges, and the expense of diplomatic establishments. It was a sweeping measure of economy, by which he hoped to clear away the opposition that had been gathering against his administration. Even this, however, was not enough for the friends of retrenchment, and Mr. Hume declared that the three points embraced by Lord John's motion would not touch one-tenth of the unnecessary expenditure, but it was carried notwithstanding by a majority of ninety-one. It was also moved by Mr. Horsman that the inquiry should be extended to the incomes of ecclesiastical dignitaries, but this dangerous proposal, which might have awoke the Sacheverell cry of "The church is in danger," was speedily negatived by 208 to 95. Other financial motions followed, which had for their object the reduction of the public expenditure, and for their supporters both the free-trade and the landed interests, the former represented by Mr Cobden, and the latter by Mr. Henry Drummond, but the motion of the former was negatived by a majority of 183, and of the latter by thirty-four. Mr Drummond's, which was thus let down so gently, was, that "whereas the present system of taxation depresses all classes by diminishing the funds for the employment of productive labour, adequate means should be forthwith adopted to reduce the expenditure." This he proposed to effect by diminishing the salaries of all servants of the crown, and by removing every impediment in the way of the cultivator of the soil. A still more hopeful prospect of the final repeal of the window-tax was afforded during the session, although it was introduced after the financial arrangements of the year had been determined. Since 1835, it was stated, five chancellors of the exchequer had promised to "consider" the sub-

ject, while not one of them had *considered* in accordance with the public wish. It was also declared that, by the removal of this unpopular impost, £1,800,000 of taxes would be got rid of The motion was suppressed by a scanty minority of three, seventy-seven being in its favour, and only eighty against it Among the other proposals for the repeal of taxes, one upon the malt-tax was introduced towards the end of the session, but negatived by the large majority of 247 against 123.

The working of the act passed in 1847, for the regulation of labour in factories, an act of which Lord Ashley was the honoured founder, and over which he had watched with paternal care, was brought under the attention of parliament by his lordship on the 14th of March. By the terms of the act, ten hours were to be the period of the labour of women and young persons in factories, to date from the time when they came to work But several devices had been used by the employers to elude an act that bore so hard upon their interests, the chief of these being a system of relays, by which the perpetual motion of a factory might be kept up, to the subversion of that improvement in the health, morals, and education of the young for which the act had been designed. After stating the benefits it had produced, where it had been honestly observed, and denouncing the plan of shifts and relays by which it was counteracted, his lordship concluded with a solemn appeal, in the name of Almighty God, to the justice and honour of parliament in behalf of the temporal and eternal welfare of thousands which would be affected by their decision. From such a man, an appeal like this was something else than a mere oratorical invocation, the subject was taken up with the attention it merited, and the second reading of the bill was passed without discussion, the final decision being postponed till after Easter On the 3d of May, Sir George Grey announced the intended course of government upon the subject In common with Lord Ashley he felt the difficulty of adhering to the present range of fifteen hours a day, within which women and young persons might be employed for ten hours He therefore would propose a new limitation, by which the entire time of employment should be defined As the case at present stood, the factory might work between the hours of half-past five in the morning and half-past eight in the evening, the ten hours to be included within that time He now proposed to limit this working to between six in the morning and six in the evening, deducting an hour and a half for meals, thus making the working time for all hands ten and a half hours daily. On Saturdays, however, he would take the eight hours from six till two, omitting half an hour for breakfast. In this way, the fifty-eight hours per week would be extended to sixty. Although two hours were thus added, Lord Ashley assented to the amend-

LORD ASHLEY.—From a portrait by Sir W C Ross R A

ment, thinking it more likely to produce a beneficial result than the original bill In this form it finally passed, notwithstanding various amendments proposed in both houses

The closing scene of this session, previous to the prorogation of parliament, was the attempt of Baron Rothschild, the Jewish member-elect for the city of London, to assume his seat in the House of Commons Weary of the long delay, his supporters had now resolved to take the question by storm, and for this purpose they accompanied him on the morning of the 26th of July to the house, where he presented himself at the table, and requested the oaths to be tendered. The clerk proceeded to do so accordingly, when the baron, in a clear distinct voice, exclaimed, "I desire to be sworn on the Old Testament" "I protest against that!" cried Sir Robert Inglis, in a voice that trembled with agitation; and amidst a storm of cheers and counter-cheers, he moved the resolution —"That from the earliest times of a Christian legislature, no man has ever been permitted to take part in it, except under the sanction of a Christian oath; and Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild having requested to take the oath on the Old Testament, and having in consequence been desired to withdraw, this house refuses to alter the form of taking the oath" The debate of the admissibility of a Jew was awakened afresh, and with all the fervour which such a sudden apparition was fitted to excite It was adjourned to the 29th, and on the question being then put by the speaker

to the baron, why he demanded to be sworn upon the Old Testament, the latter of course replied, "Because that is the form of swearing which I declare to be most binding upon my conscience," after which he retired. Mr. Hume then moved as an amendment to the motion of Sir R. H. Inglis, "That the Baron de Rothschild having presented himself at the table, and having requested to be sworn on the Old Testament, declaring that form to be most binding on his conscience, the clerk be directed to swear him on the Old Testament accordingly." This motion was carried by the large majority of 113 against 59, and on the next day, Mr. Rothschild was called to be sworn before the house. With the Old Testament in his hand he took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, repeating after each the usual solemn attestation, "So help me God" But when the oath of abjuration followed, and the words, "upon the faith of a true Christian," should have closed it, he said, "I omit these words as not binding on my conscience, and hastily passed on to the final "So help me God" The discussion was opened afresh, and it was attempted to be proven that the abjuration oath itself was superfluous—that even if retained, the baron's form of taking it was sufficient—that in either case, he was entitled to take his seat without further opposition. At length the difficult knot was attempted to be cut by the attorney-general, who proposed the two following resolutions —

1. "That the Baron Lionel de Rothschild is not entitled to vote in this house, or to sit in this house during any debate, until he shall take the oath of abjuration in the form appointed by law"

2. "That this house will, at the earliest opportunity in the next session of parliament, take into its serious consideration the form of the oath of abjuration, with a view to relieve her majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion" Both of these resolutions were carried, the former by a majority of seventy-two, and the latter by one of thirty-six; and thus the difficulty, which was too much for the present hour, was postponed to a later period.

Passing over the minor events of this year, we must now hasten to the most important movement of the present day in Britain, whether viewed in its religious or political bearing. We refer to that daring aggression of Popery by which the Roman see revived its ancient claim to the homage and submission of our country, and the still more daring pertinacity with which a party in England endeavoured to establish the claim.

The concession of equal rights and privileges to the Roman Catholics by their admission to seats in parliament—a concession from which so much had been hoped even by the most rigid Protestants—was soon found to be anything than a source of concord and contentment. The fact had been strangely lost sight of, that a church which claims all by right divine will never rest satisfied with a part, and that each concession will be only viewed as a step in advance to the possession of the whole. The recovery of her lost kingdoms was not merely the inspiration of ambition and self-interest on the part of the Romish see, but of conscientiousness also, believing, as she does and must, that there can be no salvation beyond her pale. Trusting, therefore, that Britain, by granting the Catholic claims, had voluntarily abandoned its old-established distinction as the head of Protestantism, and thrown open its gates for conciliation with Rome, the Vatican resolved to secure an immediate entrance, and not only so, but to assume immediate possession. A Papal brief to that effect was drawn up, with a loftiness of assumption which Hildebrand might have envied, constituting an episcopal hierarchy over England and Wales, instead of those vicars apostolic by whom the affairs of their church had hitherto been quietly managed in England. At the head of this hierarchy was placed Dr. Wiseman, lately an unnoticed priest, but now elevated into a cardinal, and constituted Archbishop of Westminster, and under his rule were placed twelve episcopal sees, into which the country was now parcelled out by pontifical bounty Such was the nature of this strange brief, which, two months after the close of the session, and in the midst of profound peace and unsuspecting security, was published in England. The public rubbed their eyes, and could scarcely believe that they were awake Was this in very truth the middle of the nineteenth century, or was the Reformation itself a dream? Or had the holy conclave itself committed so great a blunder as to confound Englishmen with Spaniards, and the meridian of London with that of Madrid?

A short time sufficed to convince them that this astounding brief was no pasquinade, but a veritable manifesto, for the cardinal-archbishop and new metropolitan of England was impatient to be up and doing. He accordingly addressed a pastoral to his flock in the fullest style of inflation, as "given out of the Flaminian gate of Rome, this 7th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1850," and signed, "Nicholas, Cardinal-archbishop of Westminster" In this arrogant manifesto, after gladdening them with the assurance that through the "generous and wise counsels of the supreme ruler of the Church of Christ," even that "loving father" the pope, the "greatest of blessings has just been bestowed upon our country, by the restoration of its true Catholic

hierarchical government, in communion with the see of St. Peter;" "the great work, then, is complete," he afterwards adds in a sort of poetical rapture; "what you have long desired and prayed for is granted. Your beloved country has received a place among the fair churches, which, normally constituted, form the splendid aggregate of Catholic communion; Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished, and begins now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigour." His own appointment as superintendent of this glorious millennium for England he also describes with great unction, not forgetting his "cardinalitial hat," and he arrogantly proclaims, in a style unheard by English ears for centuries, "so that at present, and till such time as the Holy See shall think fit otherwise to provide, we govern, and shall still continue to govern the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex, as ordinary thereof, and those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire, and Hampshire, with the islands annexed, as administrator with ordinary jurisdiction." It is worthy of observation, that throughout the whole of this bombastic pastoral, the very existence of a Protestant sovereign, parliament, church, and people are utterly ignored and set aside, as things non-existent or at least unworthy of mention, he sees no authority in England but that of the pope, no church but that of Rome, and no people but Papists, with Cardinal Wiseman for their head.

It was now full time not only for the church dignitaries who were thus dethroned, but the Protestantism which was unchurched, and the national independence which was insulted, to express their sentiments upon this act of monstrous usurpation; and, accordingly, all parties, whether of high or low church, or dissent, and all political classes, whether Whig, Tory, or Republican, laid aside their feuds for the time, to oppose this common enemy As Lord John Russell's administration had of late been somewhat unpopular, the present opportunity of winning back the public esteem was not to be neglected, more especially as the sentiments of government upon the subject, announced through its premier, were anxiously expected. His letter addressed to the Bishop of Durham, which was published on the 4th of November, was all that an English and Protestant heart could have desired; and it regained for him the confidence of all classes. He characterized this proceeding of Rome as an insolent and insidious aggression; as an assumption of superiority even beyond that which it had dared to claim in Roman Catholic times. Still, however, his alarm was not equal to his indignation; for he thought that the foreign enemy was too weak to be dangerous to Protestant England. But the chief peril was to be found among ourselves; and he thus adverted to that singular half-way resting-place towards Popery which, under the name of Puseyism, has become so fashionable in the present day. "There is a danger, however, which alarms me much more than any aggression of a foreign sovereign —clergymen of our own church who have subscribed the thirty-nine articles, and acknowledged in explicit terms the queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks, step by step, to the very verge of the precipice. The honour paid to saints, the claim of infallibility for the church, the superstitious use of the sign of the cross, the muttering of the liturgy so as to disguise the language in which it is written, the recommendation of auricular confession, and the administration of penance and absolution—all these things are pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption, and are now openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese. What, then, is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince of no great power, compared to the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself?"

It was evident that here the matter could not rest. Alarmed, indeed, at the loud and universal indignation, and feeling when too late that the mine which had been preparing for years had been prematurely kindled, Dr. Wiseman endeavoured to repair the blunder which both himself and his church had committed, by a long and bland apology, addressed to the English nation at large. But he had too deeply committed himself to be extricated by any apology however ingeniously worded. Intoxicated with extravagant hope, Rome herself had blabbed, and revealed her dangerous purposes The attention of parliament was called to the subject, by a paragraph in the royal address, delivered by her majesty in person to both houses, to the following effect:— "The recent assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles conferred by a foreign power has excited strong feelings in this country; and large bodies of my subjects have presented addresses to me, expressing attachment to the throne, and praying that such assumptions should be resisted. I have assured them of my resolution to maintain the rights of my crown, and the independence of the nation against all encroachment, from whatever quarter it may proceed I have, at the same time, expressed my earnest desire and firm determination, under God's blessing, to maintain unimpaired the religious liberty which is so justly prized by the people of this country. It will

be for you to consider the measure which will be laid before you on this subject."

This promised measure was laid before parliament by Lord John Russell on the 7th of February, 1851. In moving for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles, his lordship adverted to the excitement and alarm which the recent Papal aggression had produced in Britain, as well as the arrogant assumption of authority with which it had inspired the Romish priesthood of Ireland He showed that this aggression, also, on the part of the pope upon England, was of a still more arbitrary character than that which had been attempted even with Roman Catholic countries—of France and Austria for instance, where the sanction or *placet* of the sovereign was indispensable to the validity of high spiritual appointments. Indeed, into no Roman Catholic country would a Papal bull be permitted to enter without the sanction of some civil authority, and even upon the weakest of these governments no such insult would have been attempted as that which the pontiff had offered to the Queen of England Here was an assumption of territorial power, whether backed by authority to enforce it or not. His lordship stated, that the legal advisers of the crown had been consulted as to the existing law, but they were of opinion that neither by the common nor statute law could the mere assumption of titles be prosecuted as an offence, and that, although the introduction of bulls or writings from Rome was illegal, and subjected the party to penalty, yet the law had been so long in disuse, that a prosecution on that ground would probably fail. Amidst these and other difficulties, and with reference to the control which the new Roman Catholic prelates would obtain over large endowments in the hands of Roman Catholic trustees in this country, the government had proposed, in the first place, to prevent the assumption of any title, not only from any diocese now existing, but from any territory or place in any part of the United Kingdom; and to restrain parties from obtaining, by virtue of such titles, any control over trust property.

The debate that followed this announcement of the bill was conducted with all the earnestness which the subject demanded, and was protracted throughout four nights by successive adjournments We can only afford a brief allusion to the principal arguments on each side of the question. Against the bill it was alleged, that the facts and principles by which it was supported had been derived from Roman Catholic states, and applied to one that was not Roman Catholic; and that, in the meantime, the chief case in point had been omitted – the example of the United States of America, which, though governed by our institutions, and speaking our language, were not afraid of the pope. And why legislate against one class of ecclesiastics only?—a class which, in Ireland, had been recognized by their territorial titles even in acts of parliament. If Dr. Wiseman were to call himself Archbishop *in* Westminster instead of Archbishop of Westminster, the proposed act could not touch him. Extend this bill to Ireland, and there the religious agitation it would stir up would be of the most mischievous character The question, it was alleged, was simply, Whether the Roman Catholic prelates should be nominated at all if the pope must not nominate, and if the state stood aloof, the sovereign protesting against the religion of one-third of her subjects, was not this tyranny? And here Ireland, it was stated, formed the strongest argument of the opponents of the bill, and the only answer given to the measure in that country would be—"We defy you to carry it into effect" In such a discussion it was impossible that the great antagonist of Romanism, the Church of England, should escape not only a side-blow but a home-thrust. How, it was asked, had our legislation acted with regard to the Roman Catholic religion in England? According to the letter of Lord John Russell to the Bishop of Durham, the Church of England, which had been called the bulwark of Protestantism, was a kind of manufactory of home-popery. Notwithstanding the power and influence of the episcopacy in England, and its revenues, the depth of which the plummet of inquiry had never sounded, not only had the Church of England not saved the country from Popery, but it was said to be deeply infected with it, yet it was the ascendency of this church that the bill of the noble lord was intended to bolster up, and which he believed would be impotent for the object in view.

Such were the chief arguments against the introduction of the bill On the other hand it was declared, that the question now at issue was, Whether ecclesiastics of the Church of Rome should be allowed to occupy a position in this realm which they had never held in their most palmy days? The question did not affect the Church of England merely it affected dissenters of all denominations, and touched the civil and religious liberties of Roman Catholics themselves. It might be said that the temporal power of the pope was weak; but his spiritual power was vast. It had been alleged that we were about to encroach upon the act of 1829, by which government had entered into a legislative compact with the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom; but the present was not a question of taking anything from the Roman Catholics, but of allowing them to take something from us. The testi-

mony of Dr. Wiseman himself was quoted, who had declared that the object of the hierarchy was to obtain synodical action, which was repugnant to the rights of the crown and to the liberties of the people, and by which the Roman Catholic laity would be subject to the canon law for the first time in England—a law which declared that the laws of the state were subordinate to those of the church. It had been said that all this had been only a dispute about names, but there was an essential difference between a vicar apostolic and a bishop of a diocese, as regarded ecclesiastical distinguished from spiritual jurisdiction. The erection of sees, also, was an act of sovereign right. In England no attempt had ever been made to erect a see, except by royal authority; nor had the pope ever been allowed to erect a see in any continental state. It was also declared again and again, that the strong and general feeling which had called forth this discussion—a feeling in which the more reflective of the Roman Catholics of England participated, and which they had expressed in energetic protests against the Papal brief—was not to be stigmatized as a mere outburst of bigotry. On the contrary, it was a national demonstration against an attempt to force upon us a foreign yoke which our ancestors had successfully resisted

With regard to the general character and expected results of the bill, these were sufficiently explained by the attorney-general The offence to be remedied was the introduction of a bull into England, permitting certain persons to assume the titles of bishops with territorial jurisdictions, and to this the remedy was fully proportioned. As for the insult inflicted by Rome, that had been sufficiently requited by the general indignation of the country, and with the spiritual effects of the bull the house had nothing to do All that was needful to be done, therefore, was to arrest the temporal power of these territorial bishops, so as to prevent them from interfering with the rights of British subjects. The bill, therefore, in the first place extended the provisions of the Roman Catholic relief act, which imposed a penalty of £100 upon the assumption of the title of any existing see to that of *any title whatever* from any place in the United Kingdom But still more effectually to prevent the assumption of territorial titles, it would make every act done in virtue of such titles absolutely void, and moreover, to hinder parties from making gifts to persons assuming such titles, the bill would declare the endowment of such pretended sees illegal, and the gifts would be forfeited to the crown. By thus preventing persons from assuming territorial titles, and by preventing the existence of the dioceses or sees themselves, the bill would effectually remedy the mischief complained of.

By such statements it was attempted to reconcile the objections of the two parties now at issue, the one complaining that the bill was an infringement of the principles of religious liberty, and the other, that it was of too lenient a character, as compared with the trespass committed and the danger sought to be averted On the 14th of February, the house was brought to a division, when 395 votes were given for the introduction of the bill, and only 63 against it

Thus far had the initiatory step in this important measure proceeded, when events threatened a complete change in the ministry, notwithstanding their successful majority upon the ecclesiastical titles bill. This change, in the first instance was menaced from the protectionist party, and the motion of their leader, Mr D'Israeli, at the beginning of the session to the following effect —"That the severe distress which continues to exist among the owners and occupiers of land, lamented in her majesty's speech, renders it the duty of the government to introduce without delay measures for their effectual relief" The passage in the royal speech, after alluding to the prosperous state of our manufactures and commerce, was as follows —"I have to lament, however, the difficulties which are still felt by that important body among my people who are owners and occupiers of land. But it is my confident hope that the prosperous condition of other classes of my subjects will have a favourable effect in diminishing those difficulties, and promoting the interests of agriculture"

The arguments in favour of the agricultural interests were filled with the usual statements of the sufferings of our farmers and landowners, from the disproportionate load of taxation imposed upon them, in consequence of which they could not compete with the foreign producer. The great mass of our general taxation, it was stated, was supplied from three sources—external imposts, inland revenue, and local contributions. Nearly one-half of the first was raised by not permitting the cultivators of the soil to produce a particular crop, or by loading it with a peculiar impost; two-thirds of the inland revenue were raised by a colossal tax upon one crop of the British agriculturists while of the £12,000,000 of local contributions, £7,000,000 were paid by them, and the whole was levied upon a very limited class. This statement of the leader of the agriculturists, which was characterized as "hotch-potch" by the chancellor of the exchequer, was answered by the latter, who went over every item of taxation, and endeavoured to show the groundlessness of the complaint On the division of the house, the motion was lost by 281 votes against 267; but this small majority of 14 in favour of government showed the insecure tenure

of Lord John Russell's administration, as well as the strength of the recoil with which the interests of free trade were threatened.

A still more direct and formidable opposition to ministers was made on the 20th of February, when Mr. Locke King, member for East Surrey, moved to bring in a bill to make the franchise in counties in England and Wales the same as in boroughs—that is, the occupation of a tenement of the value of £10 a year. This, it was sarcastically alleged, would pave the way for the great and comprehensive measure of reform with which the house was to be favoured by Lord John Russell when the "proper time" should have arrived. In favour of the motion it was also stated, that there had been, since 1843, an annual decrease in the number of county electors to the number of 22,666 in seven years, while during the same period there had been an increase in the boroughs of 50,000 Lord John Russell, whose co-operation was invoked on this occasion, as the advocate of free trade and liberal measures, was obliged to confess the justice of the proposed measure, but he thought the time unsuited for the experiment On a former occasion he had acknowledged, he said, that he thought some extension of the franchise desirable; and he still considered it desirable that a measure should be introduced for a further extension of the suffrage. But there were reasons, general and particular, why it was not advisable to bring in such a measure this session, though there would be no reason why it should not be brought before the house at the commencement of the next. The motion was carried by 100 against 52

The dissatisfaction of parliament against the government, manifested by so large a majority, had been brought up to full opposition heat by the financial statement of the chancellor of exchequer in the committee of ways and means, just three days previous. The probable surplus of this year, ending on the 5th of April, would be £2,521,000. But the question of what taxes might be safely modified or repealed in consequence of this increase became the subject of parliamentary contention, and the chancellor's proposal on this head was met with a murmur of dissatisfaction, all parties being more or less displeased. Some complained of the proposed continuation of the income-tax; and others were indignant that the window-tax, instead of being totally repealed, was only to be shifted from one part of the building to another. The hop-growers were to be left without redress, and the agriculturists to be mocked with a stinted relief. It was evident from the proceedings of the last three days, that the dissatisfaction against the Whig cabinet, which had been growing for some time past, had reached the height, and that the confidence of parliament was now withdrawn from it. On the 22d, therefore, Lord John and the members of his administration waited upon her majesty, and tendered their resignation.

A new cabinet must now be formed: but by whom? and from what materials? Lord Stanley was immediately sent for by her majesty, and desired to construct a government; but the task of building up, especially at such a period, was more difficult than that of throwing down. His lordship was not prepared to form one Others were then applied to, but were found in the same dilemma. As a last resource, Lord John Russell was recalled to the royal presence, and commissioned to reconstruct a cabinet, to which he assented, and asked the house to adjourn until the 28th for that purpose As it was found that no single party was strong enough to carry on the government, and that no parties could be brought to coalesce for the purpose, the former administration, after their short retirement, were continued in office.

The great obstacle which our statesmen had lately encountered in the formation of a ministry, arose from the ecclesiastical titles bill, that still awaited a settlement. The opposition against it in parliament was so strong, while the public voice was so decisive in its favour, that, let the end be what it might, no one seemed willing either to encounter the difficulty or undergo the responsibility. Settled however it must be, and that without further delay; and accordingly, it was reintroduced on the 7th, but with sundry modifications, which had been devised during the interval. These, on the order for the second reading, were stated by Sir George Grey. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, as distinguished from those of England and Scotland, the bill as it now stood would, without intending it, interfere with the purely spiritual practices of Irish Roman Catholic prelates in reference to ordination and collation of priests, and in regard to bequests and practices that had been long sanctioned; and on this account, the government had agreed to omit the second and third clauses altogether. It was indignantly objected by several members, that the bill thus curtailed would be no bill at all—a disgrace to the legislature, and a ground of discontent to the country. Sir George Grey's motion, however, was agreed to, and on the 14th of March the debate on the second reading commenced. But even in spite of the heavy abatements made on the bill, it was still so obnoxious, that its advocates could scarcely bear up against the storm, and seven nights of fierce debate were spent before the second reading was carried, which was done by 438 against 95.

In a matter of such paramount importance, the arguments upon either side were worthy of the

consideration they demanded. Should this measure become law, and be enforced, we were told that we should soon see a crowd of English exiled Roman Catholic prelates upon the shores of Belgium, Holland, and France. And would it suit the views of Englishmen to have complaints of their persecuting spirit thus dinned into foreign ears, and odious comparisons drawn between their illiberality and the toleration of the Continent? A long list of examples was rehearsed, to show that important ecclesiastical as well as lay functionaries, in official documents, had used the territorial titles of the Roman Catholic bishops in reference to the incumbents of those sees The pride of Protestantism was also appealed to, with the assurance that no threat was held out by the Church of Rome against our civil and religious liberty, and that even at the worst the Church of England had nothing to fear

For the bill it was alleged, that the Roman Catholics had no right to establish their hierarchy in England, merely because the state had granted them the free and unfettered exercise of their religion. But the means adopted for this purpose were a breach of our municipal and constitutional law, and were a violation of the public law of Europe, of the sovereignty of our state, and of our national independence It was monstrous and intolerable, therefore, to declare, that the government and parliament of this country must submit to such measures, because some people thought that the Roman Catholic church would be better governed by archbishops and bishops than by vicars apostolical. This establishment of an hierarchy, also, had something more than a spiritual scope and effect If any town or place were appointed to be an episcopal see, it became *ipso facto* a city, and was not this on the part of the pope an act of territorial sovereignty? If the Roman Catholics had wanted important changes, they should have come to parliament for them, and pursued their objects by legal and constitutional means, and not by what the nation regarded as an insult In the mean time, it was not worth while for a great country like this to enter into hostilities with the Roman pontiff The present bill would be enough for the emergency. By its preventive power, the Roman Catholics could not have episcopal jurisdiction; they could not introduce canon law; they could not assemble in synod to frustrate, perchance, the decrees of the imperial parliament, unless there were bishops with those territorial titles, which the bill would prohibit them from assuming

In answer to those who were dissatisfied with the limitations of the bill, as well as those who thought it too stringent, especially for Ireland, the attorney-general explained its legal bearings, and showed how far it was intended to operate, and would most probably operate It would not affect liberty of conscience, or interfere with spiritual action on any Roman Catholic in the country. The canon law, as attempted to be established in our country by the Papal rescript, was not the law of England; but the English law would take cognizance of that part of it which concerns the matter in hand, as a fact to be proved by witnesses of competent character; and when the fact was once proved, the law would not inquire whether it was right or reasonable, but would adopt the fact, and act on it. There were rich ecclesiastical benefices in this country belonging to the Roman Catholics, to which their bishops had always claimed the right of appointment — a claim, however, which had always hitherto been successfully resisted by the laity. The prelates of the Roman Catholic church being simply bishops, and not having any territorial dioceses, could not enforce that claim; but by the canon law they would have the right, if their dioceses were made territorial, to appoint under certain circumstances and conditions the priests to these benefices. Such would be the consequences of the Papal brief, which this bill was calculated to prevent. These bishops, though thus debarred from the authority granted to them by the canon law, would still be able to exercise all their purely spiritual functions as before The measure, as a whole, might check the first step towards giving the Romish church in England a predominance over that in Ireland, but it would not injure religious liberty, and ought not to injure the friendly relations with Ireland which all Englishmen desired to maintain

In its progress through committee, the ecclesiastical titles bill was at every step the subject of a fresh controversy at every point a stand was made against the measure, while the amendments proposed and negatived surpassed all former precedent. On the part of the apologists and adherents of Popery, it was a campaign in which they hoped to wear out the stronger party by obstacles and delays. This contest did not terminate till the 27th of June, when the result was brought before the house, and on that occasion an unexpected event occurred, which nonplussed the government and occasioned an important modification of the bill On its preamble being voted as it originally stood, and the fact of this decision being announced, about seventy members, chiefly Roman Catholic representatives of Irish counties and boroughs, rose in a body, and marched out of the house, amidst peals of laughter. It was no laughing matter, however. to Lord John Russell and his administration, whom this secession threatened with heavy loss,

if not positive overthrow, although he referred to it with the coolness of a practised strategist. He called it a "significant and ostentatious retirement," and supposed it meant that these members would take no part in the proceedings. But they would be taking part, by the very act of retirement: they would be consenting parties to the decision of the house; and they would be responsible for the insertion of these amendments by their aid.

These amendments to which his lordship alluded, had been proposed by Sir Frederick Thesiger, and it was in consequence of these that the Roman Catholic members had made their famous exodus. The object of these proposals was an amendment of the first declaratory clause, so that it should apply to all Papal rescripts, and not merely to that which established the hierarchy—to give the prosecuting power to any individual, with the sanction of the crown officers—and to make penal the introduction of bulls. All three were carried. At the third reading of the bill, which occurred on the 4th of July, Lord John Russell endeavoured to persuade the house to reverse these decisions, but was unsuccessful. And still, the Irish Roman Catholic members kept aloof, and took no part in the proceedings. For this third reading, many a speech had been prepared on either side, and a long debate was expected, but on the speaker putting the question, "That this bill do now pass," not a member rose on putting it again, there was the same dead silence; and on the division being taken, there were 263 for the motion, and only 46 against it There had been no fight, because there was no opposition; and the assailing party appear to have been stunned by the mere *vis inertiæ* so unexpectedly assumed by their adversaries.

In this way, a life-and-death contest that had continued nearly five long months, and wound up public expectation to the uttermost, was suddenly terminated It had ended in a victory which was feared to be no victory at all, as not a blow had been struck, or token of resistance offered After having passed the commons, the bill was brought into the lords, but there, a brief discussion sufficed, as the subject had already been so thoroughly sifted. The second reading was passed by a majority of 265 against 38; and on the 29th of July, the third reading in the lords was ended, and the bill committed to the royal approval. Thus sanctioned, on the 1st of August, 1851, under the designation of "An act to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom," this act of 14 and 15 Vict. c. 49, after stating the offence which had occasioned its enactment, thus decrees:—

"I. All such briefs, rescripts, or letters apostolical, and all and every the jurisdiction, authority, pre-eminence, or title conferred, or pretended to be conferred thereby, are and shall be, and be deemed unlawful and void.

"II. And be it enacted, that if, after the passing of this act, any person shall obtain, or cause to be procured from the bishop or see of Rome, or shall publish or put in use within any part of the United Kingdom, any such bull, brief, rescript, or letters apostolical, or any other instrument or writing, for the purpose of constituting such archbishops or bishops of such pretended provinces, sees, or dioceses within the United Kingdom; or if any person, other than a person thereunto authorized by law in respect of an archbishopric, bishopric, or deanery of the united Church of England and Ireland, assume or use the name, style, or title of archbishop, bishop, or dean of any city, town, or place, or of any territory or district (under any designation or description whatsoever), in the United Kingdom, whether such city, town, or place, or such territory or district, be or be not the see or the province, or co-extensive with the province, of any archbishop, or the see or the diocese, or co-extensive with the diocese of any bishop, or the seat or place of the church of any dean, or co-extensive with any deanery of the said united church, the person so offending shall for every such offence forfeit and pay the sum of £100, to be recovered as penalties imposed by the recited act, may be recovered under the provisions thereof, or by action of debt at the suit of any person in one of her majesty's superior courts of law, with the consent of her majesty's attorney-general in England and Ireland, or her majesty's advocate in Scotland, as the case may be.

"III. This act shall not extend or apply to the assumption or use by any bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland, exercising episcopal functions within some district or place in Scotland of any name, style, or title in respect of such district or place; but nothing herein contained shall be taken to give any right to any such bishop to assume or use any name, style, or title which he is not now by law entitled to assume or use.

"IV. Be it enacted, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to annul, repeal, or in any manner affect any provision contained in an act passed in the eighth year of the reign of her present majesty, intituled, 'An act for the more effectual application of charitable donations and bequests in Ireland.'"

CHAPTER XIV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY—A.D. 1851—1853.

VICTORIA.

Necessity of re-constructing the budget—The window-tax modified—Proposal to limit the continuation of the income-tax—Mr. Hume's proposal to continue it only one year—Financial difficulties—Mr. D'Israeli's motion for developing the protectionist instead of the government system of finance—Particulars of the proposal and its author's explanations—Answer of the chancellor of exchequer—The motion negatived—Proposals for other reductions in taxation—Re-assembling of parliament in 1852—Causes of Lord Palmerston's removal from office—The premier explains his pacific plan of policy—Necessity for the means of national defence—Parliamentary reform recommended in the royal speech—Lord John Russell's bill on the subject—The militia bill—Its essential points—It is introduced by the premier—Lord Palmerston's proposed amendment—He demands a regular instead of a local militia—Lord John Russell out-voted—The ministers resign—The Derby administration succeeds—The Earl of Derby announces his principles of government—His cautious enunciations—A petition on free trade to ascertain his views on the subject—Another for a similar purpose about the dissolution of parliament—The Earl of Derby refuses to commit himself—The militia bill re-introduced—Its essential points—Inadequate military force in Britain in the event of an invasion—Statement of the government plan of militia defence—Objections brought against it—The militia bill passed through the commons—It is brought into the lords—The Duke of Wellington's speech on the subject of our national defence—He recommends the bill—It is passed—Motions for parliamentary reform—Motion upon bribery and corruption in parliamentary elections—Our Australasian colonies—A representative government formed for New Zealand—Its details—Work effected during this session by the Derby administration—Parliament dissolved and a new one assembled—Death of the Duke of Wellington—Notice of the event in the royal speech—Motion for the further extension of free-trade immunities—Middle course proposed by Lord Palmerston—His proposal ratified—Prince Louis Napoleon becomes Emperor of France—His *coup d'état* of December, 1851—Secrecy with which it was conducted—Its rapid and complete success—He is appointed permanent and irresponsible president—He is afterwards elected emperor by the national suffrage—Apprehensions of Britain at these changes—Pacific professions of the new emperor—Precautions adopted against the chance of a French invasion—The Derby ministry overthrown upon the finance question—They resign

THE disapprobation with which the financial statement of the chancellor of the exchequer had been received, and the subsequent resignation and recal of the Whig ministry, demanded a reconstruction of the budget, and accordingly it was submitted to the house on the 5th of April, with several important and popular amendments. The chief of these was the window-tax, an impost which not only weighed heavily upon the poorer classes, by confining them to ill-ventilated and darkened habitations, but even induced many of the better classes, especially in the country, to build up every window in their mansions except such as were found absolutely necessary The chancellor, in his first financial statement of this session, had proposed a compromise, by which a tax upon houses should be substituted in its room, according to the principle of the value of the house; but this proposal, which merely shifted the demand to a different pocket of the tax-payer, without bringing the means of improvement in health and morals to the homes of the poor, was received with marked disapprobation. Sir Charles Wood now proposed a milder alternative. As the window duty was £1,856,000, while the surplus was only £1,892,000, he proposed a uniform rate of ninepence in the pound upon dwelling-houses, and sixpence upon shops, irrespective of the number of windows or openings they might contain; while houses not exceeding £20 in annual value were to be exempted altogether. In this way the tax would be reduced from £1,856,000 to £720,000. The final result would be, that of the 3,500,000 houses in the kingdom, 3,100,000 would be exempt, and the tax levied only on 400,000 of the most valuable houses.

The income-tax came next into consideration. This Sir Charles acknowledged had at first been imposed to meet a deficiency; but it had been afterwards continued to furnish means for the removal of impolitic restrictions on industry and commerce. On the resolution to continue it being announced, a debate arose in consequence of the following motion of Mr. Herries:—"That the income and property tax, and the stamp duties in Ireland, were granted for limited periods, and to meet temporary exigencies; and that it is expedient to adhere to the declared intentions of parliament; and in order to secure their speedy cessation, to limit the renewal of any portion of those taxes to such an amount as may suffice to provide for the expenditure sanctioned by parlia-

ment, and for the maintenance of public credit." The usual objections that the tax, by its three-year continuations, threatened to become a financial fixture—that it was so dependent upon the true returns of annual income that rogues eluded it and honest men bore the burden—and that its inquisitorial character was still more odious than the pecuniary infliction, continued to be urged against it. On a division, the resolution of Mr. Herries was negatived by 278 against 230, and the second reading of the income-tax bill was moved for the 28th of April. On that occasion, a motion was made that the consideration of the bill should be postponed till that day six months; but Sir Charles Wood reminded the house, that if it should be thrown out there would be a deficiency of £1,000,000 this year, and £3,500,000 the next.

On the bill going into committee on the 2nd of May, Mr. Hume moved an important amendment, to the effect that the grant should be limited to one year, with the object of having the whole question deliberately considered in a select committee. His principle was that direct is preferable to indirect taxation; and in support of this, he brought forward a dogged array of facts and arithmetical figures which no tropes and metaphors could overturn. By the present mode of taxation, he stated, sixty-seven per cent is levied upon the necessaries of life, eleven per cent. is paid for stamps, eight per cent for assessed taxes, ten per cent for the property-tax, one and a half per cent for the post-office, and the rest for smaller matters As indirect taxation thus pressed with unfair weight upon the working-classes, the whole question of taxation must be re-considered. By direct taxation between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000 might be saved, and several taxes might be relieved with a view to their removal. After a very close debate, in which Lord John Russell and his supporters endeavoured to quash the motion, it was carried by 244 against 230, and the income tax was limited to a duration of one year.

A few days after, Lord John Russell announced his difficulties, and his views regarding the late decision. The trying question that now remained was, what course the government should take in order to sustain public credit, and provide for the expenditure of the country. The window-tax had been exchanged for an equitable house-tax, and the duties on timber and coffee were to be reduced; but during the present inquiry there ought to be no further alterations on the income-tax during the year, nor any diminution of the means of supporting public credit, and the responsibilities to which the house had pledged itself. To this, it was answered by Mr. D'Israeli, on the part of Mr. Hume, that the house having now determined that the income-tax should last only one year, he did not consider members bound by anything that had passed previously with respect to the other financial propositions of the government, which had proceeded under the impression that the income-tax was to last for a much longer period. These he would have the right to consider as new propositions made under greatly altered circumstances. As for the income-tax, those who opposed it only wished, not that there should be an immediate or a very speedy termination, but a slow and gradual extinction And since this very slow progress was an inevitable necessity, was it not a duty to make the tax itself more equitable?

Mr. Hume, after the victory he had gained over the government, proceeded to form his proposed select committee, but found such difficulties as had not previously entered even into *his* habits of careful calculation. When the season of action had arrived, his keenest supporters shrank from the responsibility, some with the complaint that his measure had gone too far, and others, that it had not gone far enough, while not a few had thought that it would never come to a committee at all. At length, however, and by dint of great exertion, a committee was formed, and for a twelvemonth at least the income-tax was left to an undisturbed existence.

On the 30th of June, Mr. D'Israeli brought forward a motion for the purpose of developing the protectionist system of finance, in distinction to that of the government, and of affording opportunity for a comprehensive discussion of their merits. His motion was embodied in the three following resolutions:—

"That, according to an estimate of the probable future produce of the existing taxes, submitted to this house by the chancellor of the exchequer, it appears that a surplus revenue may be expected in the present year of about £2,000,000.

"That in the revenue so estimated, is included a sum exceeding £5,000,000 derived from the tax upon income, respecting which an inquiry has been directed to be made by a committee of this house, on the result of whose labours may depend the future renewal or modification of that important impost.

"That in this provisional state of the financial arrangements of the country, it appears to this house to be most consistent with a due regard to the maintenance of public credit and the exigencies of the public service, not to make any material sacrifice of public income in effecting such changes as may be deemed advisable in other branches of taxation"

In the speech with which these proposals were followed, Mr. D'Israeli complained, that though

there was to be a surplus of about £2,000,000, it was only assumed in the expectation that the income-tax should be renewed not merely for three years, but an indefinite period beyond them. It was now evident that the present ministry intended to continue it as long as they held office; and from their tenacity in this respect, he thought that the prospect of relief was indeed a remote one. As for the abatements that had been made in taxation, they had been mere compromises of little value. As for the agricultural distress, it still remained unrelieved. Taking in review the other financial propositions of the session, Mr. D'Israeli observed, that a deficiency of £5,000,000 would be occasioned by the threatened extinction of the income-tax; and if this measure should be accomplished, how was the deficiency to be met?—it must be either by reducing expenditure or increasing taxation. The first could not be done, and the last had been rendered hopeless, by the recent abatement of £2,000,000 of taxes. He and his friends were willing to accede to a total repeal of the window-tax, but only on condition that the house-tax should be transformed into a complete commutation. As to the timber duty, he hoped they would not persist in their impolitic proposition, but would permit the British shipbuilder to build his ships in bond Such was the gist of a speech that occupied two hours in its delivery. In reply, the chancellor of the exchequer declared that he could extract no practical suggestion from it, except the concluding one—that it should be allowed to build ships in bond. Mr. D'Israeli's motion had said, Repeal no taxes, but his speech said, Repeal the window-tax unconditionally, and then, after the surplus was thus disposed of, his (Mr D'Israeli's) speech had concluded with reflections on the necessity of upholding public credit, couched in high-flown language about the empire of the Cæsars with its triple crown, the mines of Golconda, pillared palanquins, and other things having as little to do with the question. The surplus of this year did not depend upon the income-tax it was independently of it that the repeal of the more urgent burdens had been proposed; while the repeal of others would depend upon the settlement of the question, whether the income-tax was to be continued or not. Mr. D'Israeli's resolutions were negatived by 242 against 129.

In the reductions of this year upon the customs duties were those on timber and coffee, which were brought down to half their previous amount. A proposal was made for the repeal of the malt-tax; but as this yielded a revenue of £5,400,000, the loss of which would be ruinous to the revenue after the late concessions, the motion was negatived by 258 against 122. After this defeat, the advocates for wholesome drink for the working-classes, instead of gin and foreign spirits, moved for a repeal of half the amount of the tax upon beer, but were in this instance also defeated by large majority. The same fate attended a motion for the remission of the duty on hops. Another motion respecting the mode of levying duty on home-made spirits taken out of bond, although ultimately lost, produced a discouraging defeat to ministers, as on its first proposal

THE RIGHT HON B D'ISRAELI
From a print by Kobel, after the portrait by F Grant, R.A

the votes of the ministers and opposition were equal, so that the question was adjourned only by the casting vote of the speaker.

Such were the chief events of a session which, with the exception of the Papal aggression, and the ecclesiastical titles bill founded upon it, presented scarcely any event of historical importance. But the great event of public interest, the crowning achievement of 1851, was not only unconnected with parliamentary proceedings, but sufficient to make amends for their poverty. We allude to the opening of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park for the exhibition of the industry of all nations on the 1st of May, of which an account will be given in that department of our history to which such an event more properly belongs. Parliament was prorogued by her majesty in person on the 8th of August.

At the re-assembling of the houses, which occurred on the 3rd of February, 1852, there were several indications that the present ministry, notwithstanding that retentiveness with which they had been twitted by their opponents, held office by a precarious tenure. Not the least of these symptoms was the removal from office of Lord Palmerston, who was one of the chief sup-

porters of the government; and the causes of this removal became the earliest subject of inquiry. This explanation was given by Lord John Russell; and it appeared from it, that the offence of the secretary for foreign affairs (Lord Palmerston) had chiefly consisted in approving of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, by which he had overthrown the republican party in France, and paved the way for the establishment of the empire. This, Lord John alleged, was not only putting himself in the place of the crown, but giving the moral approbation of England to the acts of the president, in direct opposition to our system of pacific policy towards France. Under these circumstances, he felt he had no alternative, while prime minister, than to advise Lord Palmerston to resign his seals of office

Lord John then adverted to the present state of France, in its relation to the peace and safety of England, and thought it would be advisable, while maintaining our friendly relations with France, notwithstanding the late changes, to propose some augmentation of the estimates. This was no more than a necessary precaution which every prudent state ought to adopt. "It is impossible not to see," he said, "that, in the great changes which have taken place in the world within these few years, among other arts the art of war has been improved, and that it is necessary when there is, as there always is, a possibility of war, to be prepared for our defence. But, really, to see some of the letters which have been published, and to hear some of the language that has been used, it would seem that these two great nations, so wealthy, so civilized, so enlightened, were going to butcher one another, merely to see what would be the effect of percussion-shells and needle-guns. I trust these fears are only temporary; I am convinced the solid and deliberate opinion of this country and of this house is for peace—for the continuance of the most permanent and solid peace." His lordship then adverted to the terrible revolutionary year 1848, and the changes it wrought in Tuscany, Austria, Hesse, and other states, where democratic constitutions were proclaimed, and when many in that house expressed their joy at the tidings. But these democratic governments had one and all of them been strangled in their birth, and the rule of absolute power had been restored. "Now, sir," his lordship asked, "is there no moral to be drawn from this? Does it not show, in the first place, that we should not judge hastily or rashly of events occurring in foreign countries? Does it not show, likewise, that, with respect to ourselves, though it was thought we had not the same degree of liberty as some of those states, we have done wisely to adhere to our ancient institutions? . . . I trust, therefore, that we shall, with regard to our own country, continue in the path of peaceable and safe reform, rather than, by the adoption of anything discordant with our institutions, run the risk of losing the very liberty for which we make the change. But as to foreign countries, there is this to be said, that while we do not interfere with their domestic concerns—while we abstain from any intemperate judgment on their internal affairs—yet, there is one result which comes home to us, and imposes upon us a duty from which we cannot flinch. All these various governments of foreign states, as each gets uppermost, send their enemies and opponents out of the country; and the consequence is, that we have many who are seeking refuge in England. In giving them hospitality we are but pursuing the ancient and known policy of this country; we are but doing that which was celebrated two centuries ago." In concluding this explanation of his pacific and conciliatory plan of policy, the wisdom of which a short time sufficed to demonstrate, the premier emphatically wound up the conclusion "I must again repeat, that in any measures we have to take—that in any measures which we may have to submit to this house—it shall be our object not to increase that unreasonable panic, but to alleviate it. It is my persuasion that it is wise at all times to take precautions against contingent and possible danger; but, at the same time, I say, there is no reason to suppose that any danger threatens us—that there is, in fact, no dispute between us and any other power. I have the happiness to say, that the relations of peace exist between this country and foreign nations in the fullest degree. I trust they may continue to do so, and while I deplore events which have passed on the continent of Europe—events which, I fear, were but the too certain consequences of the revolution of 1848—I do trust that by peace and civilization, by the intelligence which is daily pouring in on us, by the inventions made to improve the condition of mankind, liberty shall be at length introduced and established, and that, with religion, it shall govern the hearts of men, and produce happier days to mankind."

After an explanatory speech from Lord Palmerston upon the subject of his retirement, the attention of the house was directed to the great periodical question of parliamentary reform. This had been called for in the following paragraphs of the royal speech at the opening of the session: —"It appears to me that this is a fitting time for calmly considering whether it may not be advisable to make such amendments in the act of the late reign, relating to the representation of the commons in parliament, as may be deemed calculated to carry into more complete effect the principles upon which that law is founded.

"I have the fullest confidence that in any such consideration you will firmly adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution, by which the prerogatives of the crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people, are equally secured."

In accordance with this intimation of the purpose of the government, Lord John Russell announced, on the 9th of February, his intended bills for further parliamentary reform. He proposed to disfranchise the smaller nomination boroughs in cases of proved corruption, and to make a considerable change in the mode of inquiry into cases of corruption. He also proposed to extend the general franchise by lowering the established £10 to a £5 qualification for households, and to give the county franchise to persons living without the borough who paid 40*s.* annually of assessed taxes. Upon the qualification for members, he proposed that the oaths taken at the table of the house should be altered, the chief of these alterations being the omission of the words "on the faith of a true Christian." On a change of offices held under the crown, vacation of the seat and re-election were not to be required. And lastly, although he did not propose to alter the county franchise in Ireland, he wished to reduce that for cities and boroughs from £8 to £5.

After some discussion, in which it was manifest that the subject of parliamentary reform for the present had a very inferior degree of interest —that some other measure occupied the thoughts of the house—leave was given to bring in this reform bill at the specified period of three weeks afterwards. During the interval, the militia bill was brought in, by which the overthrow of the ministry was occasioned.

This bill was explained by Lord John Russell in a committee of the whole house, on the 16th of February. It was a matter of vital importance, as it concerned the national defence at a time when war, and even invasion, might have been apprehended, in consequence of the recent political changes in France. These were fully stated by his lordship as the causes of his present proposal, and he alluded to the facility with which Britain might now be invaded, from the changes produced by steam navigation. After stating the necessity of increasing our standing army, and concentrating our troops that were scattered over the colonies, his lordship announced the design of the ministry to establish a local in preference to a regular militia. The plan was as follows.— Two-thirds of the officers were to be appointed by the lord-lieutenants, one field-officer in each corps, and the others to be appointed by the crown. A qualification for officers of a certain amount of landed property was to be dispensed with Of the men, it was proposed that instead of limiting the standard to 18 and 30 years of age, as under the old local militia act, the limits of the ballot should, in the first year be from 20 to 23 years of age, and in the second, from 20 to 25; but any persons between 20 and 30 might volunteer, who should serve one year less than those drawn by ballot. Lord John then proceeded to detail the manner in which this militia army was to be combined. In the first year it was proposed that its number should not be less than 70,000 men, its expenses to be less than £200,000; n the second year the number should be raised to 100,000 men, and afterwards to 150,000, with proportionally increased expenses. In conclusion, he declared that, from the present aspect of affairs, it was evident some such force was needed; and he expressed his confidence that, whether his measure was accepted or not, he had laid the foundation of a force for the defence of the country.

The necessity of a national defence was felt by the dullest and advocated by the most economical, and therefore the house was at one upon this point. But was a militia the most effectual of defences? and was the present form of preparing it the best? Upon these points Lord Palmerston spoke fully. He first adverted to the suggestion of Mr. Cobden, that our navy was sufficient for the purpose, and he showed that upon any point of our coast, whose full extent it was impossible to cover, a hostile army might be landed. A land force, therefore, like the present, was the best—one dormant in peace, but ready to act with regular troops in time of war, but he thought it would be better to retain the plan of the old regular militia, and that the word "local" should be left out of the bill, which was also susceptible of other important improvements.

Leave being given to bring in the bill, Lord John Russell proposed it with several modifications. Substitutes were to be allowed, but only taken out of the same lists of the year and county, by which strict personal service would be avoided on the one hand, and the evasions attendant upon hiring substitutes on the other. Her majesty should be empowered to call out the force not only in the case of actual, but even of apprehended invasion; and it should be retained embodied not six weeks, but six months after the enemy had left our shores, with a further liability to be kept on foot for twelve months. Lord Palmerston then rose to propose his amendment, of which he had previously given notice. He thought there was an essential difference between the title of the bill and its purport; it confounded the essential distinction between a general and local militia. The danger of an invasion was most imminent at the breaking out of a war, and how

was this to be met? by having in time of peace a considerable force, organized, drilled, armed, and equipped, which could be raised at the shortest possible notice. But a local militia was not such a force. What the country wanted was a regular militia—a force that had existed nearly two centuries, instead of a local militia, which was only an occasional force for a particular emergency. He therefore proposed to insert the word "consolidate", and omit the word "local" in the title and language of the bill. To this, Lord John Russell replied, that after some months of consultation, the government had come to the conclusion that the plan they had proposed was the best; but if the house decided to leave out the word "local", all he could say was, that the chairman of the committee and Lord Palmerston must bring in the bill. Upon a division taking place, Lord John was outvoted by 135 against 126 He then declared, according to his pledge, that as the government had been defeated in bringing in the bill according to their own form, he must decline the responsibility of the measure. He had now been told by their decision that the house had no confidence in the government, and he moved, that the chairman and Lord Palmerston be ordered to bring in the militia bill. A scene of noisy confusion followed this display of pouting politics, and the necessary result followed: the ministers resigned office, and the Russell administration was ended. To the Earl of Derby was intrusted the task of forming a new administration, in which he succeeded.- Much anxiety was felt to learn the course which the new premier meant to pursue in the present crisis both of foreign and domestic troubles; and this the earl announced in the House of Lords on the 27th of February. He was firmly bent on maintaining the blessings of universal peace, without either an ostentatious display of naval and military preparation, or a vain hope of disarming the world by casting down all our own defences. He would carefully avoid interference with other countries in the form of government they might be pleased to adopt, and would recognize it, even though it should be an absolute red republic. But while acting on these conciliatory principles, he would be anxious to put the country in a safe position against hostile aggression, and on this head he was glad to state, that our navy was never in a better condition than at present. As for home defence, he avowed his preference to the "old constitutional force". With regard to his principles in commerce and finance, he spoke with necessary caution; and upon the terrible question of protection, which was certain to be brought forward as the test of the new administration, he expressed himself in such terms as sufficed to keep both parties in doubt; that, he said, referring to the question of a tax on food, "could only be solved by the intelligent portion of the community"; and it was not the intention of the government to make any proposition on the subject at present. The house then adjourned to the 12th of March.

The Earl of Derby.—From a portrait by W Derby

On the re-assembling of parliament, the gage of battle was thrown down This was in the form of a petition from certain inhabitants of the West Riding of Yorkshire, praying for a definite answer as to whether free trade was to be maintained or abandoned. But although conjured to announce the intentions of government on this subject, the Earl of Derby still maintained his cautious oracular obscurity. All he would divulge was, that this question could only be solved by a general election, an event which the formation of the present government would materially accelerate, and that such a step as the re-imposition of a duty on corn could only be taken after careful deliberation, and then, not by a bare majority, but after an expression of very general concurrence on the part of the country. Although these answers were deliberated in both houses, and were interpreted by each party according to its hopes or fears, no further satisfaction was vouchsafed for the present. Another trial was made to ascertain the purposes of the new ministry, by the question, at what period they intended to advise the crown to dissolve the parliament. But here also there was no definite answer. The Earl of Derby contented himself with stating, that he saw no good reason for an immediate dissolution; that the attempt to govern the country by a minority was sanctioned by example so late as that of Sir Robert Peel, but that he had no hesitation in declaring his opinion,

that the next autumn ought not to pass without calling a new parliament for the expression of the national feeling as to the principles on which the government of the country should be conducted.

After this difficult ordeal had been endured repeatedly by the new premier, without committing himself either upon his commercial or protectionist intentions, the serious business of the session commenced with the militia bill, which was introduced on the 29th of March, by Mr. Spencer Walpole, the home secretary. He stated that this country, in its means of defence at least, should be on an equality with other nations, but that such was not the case at present. There were 100,000 men for the army, 30,000 in India, 15,000 pensioners, 13,500 yeomanry, in all 160,000 men But what number of men remained out of these for our own defences? Even this was not a quarter of the army of Russia, not a half of the army of Prussia, not one-third of the army of France, and very little more than the army of Belgium But while the British empire comprehends one-sixth of the population, and one-eighth of the habitable surface of the globe, we could not bring 25,000 soldiers on any one point in England, and that then, the rest of the country, the metropolis itself, and the queen's palace, would be left to the defence of pensioners and police Even our fleet, too, would be insufficient to prevent invasion, as the only ships at present in commission were nine vessels of war, five frigates, one sloop, nine steamers propelled by screw, and eight steamers propelled by paddle Mr. Walpole then detailed the government plan of the militia defence, which consisted of the following particulars —1 To raise, if possible, without abandoning the ballot, a force of 80,000 volunteers, 50,000 being raised for the first, and 30,000 for the second year, the period of service to be five years. 2. To raise these men by bounties of £3 or £4. 3 To dispense with the property qualifications hitherto required of all officers under the rank of major 4. The number of days' training in the year to be twenty-one, the crown having the power to extend it to seven weeks, or reduce it to three days Lastly, to make no alteration in the existing law about the embodying of the men. As to the expense of this national array, Mr Walpole stated that £1,200,000 would be required for bounty and equipment, but if spread over five years, it would be about £240,000 per annum, except for the first year, when the cost of equipment and clothing would raise it to £400,000. These troops being a national defence, the expenses already mentioned should be borne by the public purse, except in those districts which could not provide their proper quota.

This simple and lucid statement, even though it had been tenfold more worthy of acceptance, could not have escaped from cavil; it was the measure of a new administration whose course of action had hitherto been provokingly concealed, and for whose halting, therefore, many were on the watch. The bill passed the first stage however, and on the second reading, which occurred on the 23d of April, the debate of two nights only served to strengthen the government, by exposing the rancorous temper and weak arguments of the opposition It was alleged, that our military contingents in the colonies could be so pared down and lessened, as to furnish 15,000 good trained soldiers for home service, with a saving of from £200,000 to £300,000—that the militia force proposed to be raised would cost too much —that it would be impracticable to raise the men without ballot—that no plan of foreign invasion could be devised against us which our diplomatic agents would be unable to detect—and that this militia system, founded on the old plan, was unsuitable to the new emergencies of modern warfare, should the apprehended evil actually occur The second reading was passed by 355 to 165, a result that showed in a wonderful degree the confidence that had already been won by the new cabinet The third reading, notwithstanding the objections and amendments, which were continued to the close, was passed by 187 to 142.

In the House of Lords, where the subject was introduced on the 15th of June, the most prominent speaker in the debate was the Duke of Wellington, and upon a question on which he was so completely at home, and so well entitled to speak with authority, he made one of those last public addresses, which the nation would do well to lay to heart It was like the testament of the heroic Bruce of Scotland, which he delivered upon his death-bed, and by which the land was often defended long after he had passed away. "I am certainly the last man," he said, "to have any hesitation of opinion as to the relative advantages of meeting an enemy with disciplined, or with undisciplined or half-disciplined troops The things are not to be compared at all. With disciplined troops, you are acting with a certain degree of confidence that what they are ordered to perform they will perform. With undisciplined troops you can have no such confidence, on the contrary, the chances are that they will do the very reverse of what they are ordered to do. But we must look a little at the state in which we stand at the present moment. This country is at peace with the whole world, except in certain parts, or on the frontiers of its own distant dominions, with which operations of war are carried on by means of our peace

establishment. I say that peace establishment ought to have been effectually provided for long ago. If it had been, we should not have needed now to be told, as we have been by the noble marquis (Lansdowne) about the number of days and weeks it will take to train the militia recruits, or about the futility of expecting anything to the purpose from troops with their three weeks, or their six weeks, or what time it may be, of training. We have never, up to this moment, maintained a proper peace establishment —that is the real truth; and we are now in that position in which we find ourselves forced to form a peace establishment such as this country requires. I tell you, that for the last ten years you have never had in your army more men than enough to relieve the sentries on duty of your stations in the different parts of the world: such is the state of your peace establishment at the present time, such has been the state of your peace establishment for the last ten years . . . We are still at peace with all the world, let us, then, have a peace establishment—our constitutional peace establishment; and, when you have got that, see what you will do next. The noble marquis says, he thinks he should prefer an army of reserve An army of reserve! What is an army of reserve? Is it an army to cost less than £40 each man all round? If he thinks that possible, I tell him that we can have no such thing But what I desire—and I believe it is a desire the most moderate that can be formed—is, that you shall give us, in the first instance, the old constitutional peace establishment When we have got that, then you may do what you please. The noble marquis says, very truly, that these 50,000, or 80,000, or 150,000 militiamen won't be fit for service in six months, or twelve months, or eighteen months. but I say they will be fit, at all events, for some service; and certainly they will enable us to employ in the field others who are fit for service; and in time they will themselves become fit for service. In the last war we had in service several regiments of English militia, and they were in as high a state of discipline, and as fit for service, as any men I ever saw in my life. It was quite impossible to have a body of troops in higher order, or in higher discipline, or more fit for discipline, than those bodies of British militia were at the commencement of the present century up to 1810; they were as fine a corps as ever were seen; and I say, no doubt these bodies of 50,000 or 80,000 men, whatever the number may be, will be so too, in the course of time. Everything has its beginning, and this is a commencement. You must make a beginning here, and it will take some months before you can form reserve regiments. . . . If you begin with the formation of corps under this act of parliament, they will in time become what their predecessors in the militia were; and if ever they do become what the former militia were, you may rely on it they will perform all the services they may be required to perform. I recommend you to adopt this measure, as the commencement of a completion of the peace establishment. It will give you a constitutional force. It will not be at first or for some time everything we could desire, but by degrees it will become what you want—an efficient auxiliary force to the regular army." Such was the advice of the highest of all military experience, and the bill passed into law without further difficulty.

During this session, the subject of parliamentary reform was again brought up in a variety of forms, but with little or no immediate result. The first motion on the subject was made by that indefatigable reformer, Joseph Hume, who moved for leave to bring in a bill to extend the elective franchise in England and Wales, so that every ratepayer of age, a resident in his parish for twelve months, and free from mental or legal disability, should be entitled to vote for a representative in parliament—that votes should be taken by ballot; and that the duration of parliament should not exceed three years. His proposal fared as it had done before, being rejected by an immense majority. Another, re-introduced by Mr. Locke King, for the assimilation of the county to the borough franchise, was lost by a majority against it of fifty-three. A more fortunate measure was that proposed by Lord Brougham at an early part of the session in the House of Lords, to reduce the fifty days required to elapse between a dissolution and the meeting of a new parliament to thirty-five days. A bill to this effect was passed without opposition.

A more important subject than any of these —that of election bribery and corruption—was now brought before parliament; and it soon appeared that the application was by no means premature. An appeal of this nature near the close of the last session had been made against St. Albans; and the appointment of a commission of inquiry was followed by the discovery of such a system of bribery which had prevailed for generations in this effete moth-eaten borough, that it was forthwith disfranchised, and struck out of the election list. But the same inquiry showed that the purchasable men of Verulam were not the only trespassers in this respect: other boroughs were equally corrupt and rotten; and during the present session, an act was passed extending similar commissions to every other place in which the evil was reported to exist. The dismay which this law excited in several quarters fully evinced the

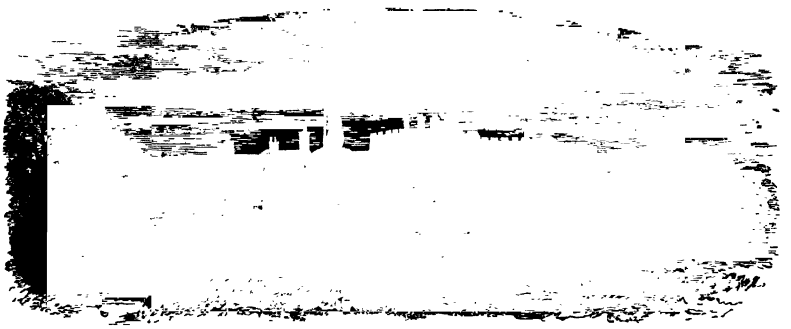
necessity for its enactment. By the disfranchisement of St. Albans and also of Sudbury, four seats in parliament were annihilated; and as it was judged necessary to keep up the full number of the national representation, the government wished to create four others in their room. To this effect Mr. D'Israeli moved, that two new members should be added to the West Riding of Yorkshire, and two to the southern division of Lancashire—and this to be done before the dissolution of the present parliament. In this proposal, however, the government was defeated by a majority of eighty-six.

The growing importance of our Australasian colonies, and the propriety of giving them a representative constitution in conformity with that of the mother country, had met with a ready acquiescence, and it was now the turn of New Zealand to have her claims on this head fully considered This lately occupied settlement of British enterprise had received in 1846 a *pro tempore* constitution which would expire in 1853, and it was needful for so important a colony that a new and more ample constitution should be in readiness to replace the old. Some difficulty, however, was found in adapting it to the anomalous character of this settlement, where the natives not only greatly outnumbered the British settlers, but were rapidly advancing in civilization and political consequence. To this also was to be added the geographical character of the two islands of which New Zealand is composed, and the manner in which it had been colonized by the detached British communities from every part of the United Kingdom The task was undertaken by Sir John Pakington, the new secretary for the colonial department, and was executed in such a manner as to give general satisfaction, so that the bill for the New Zealand constitution passed easily through both houses. A scheme of such difficult legislation is worthy of some detail. It was proposed that New Zealand should be considered as one colony, but be divided into seven provinces, each governed by a superintendent appointed by the governor-in-chief, with a salary of £500 per annum. Each superintendent was to have a legislative council of not fewer than nine members, to be entirely elective, while the qualification of the electors, whether settlers or natives, was to consist of either a freehold worth £50, or a house—if in the town, worth £10 a year, and if in the country, worth £5—or household property with an unexpired term of three years, worth £10 a year. Whether the members of these provincial councils should be salaried was a question left to the central legislature. Fourteen subjects were specified upon which these councils were to be prohibited from legislating. At the end of every four years, new councils were to be elected. The central legislature was to consist of the governor-in-chief as head, and two chambers; the members of the upper chamber to be appointed by the crown during pleasure, and those of the lower to be elective, the privilege of election being held on the same terms as that for the provincial councils. The number of members for the upper chamber was to be not less than ten, nor more than fifteen, at the discretion of the governor-in-chief; for the ower chamber, not less than twenty-five, nor more than forty. This central parliament was to have a five years' duration, and its enactments were to overrule those of the provincial legislatures. A civil list was to be established, of which £12,000 a year was to be reserved for the salaries of the superintendents, and £7000 a year for native purposes. Finally, the local legislature should have full power, from time to time, to enact changes in the constitution, with consent of the crown.

Such were the chief proceedings of the session previous to the dissolution of parliament; and although it was alleged that the Derby administration had done little more than carrying through those measures that had already been prepared to their hand, it was still felt that much business had been transacted, and transacted ably as well as successfully. Besides those changes, several improvements were effected in the courts of law and equity, the common law courts, the county courts, and the court of chancery, by which their processes were simplified, and their vexatious delays abbreviated. Several sanitary regulations were also passed for supplying the metropolis with water, and abolishing the practice of intramural interments. On the 1st of July, parliament was prorogued by her majesty in person, previous to its dissolution, which was announced the day after.

The first meeting of the new parliament occurred on the 4th of November, when the Hon. Charles Shaw Lefevre was elected speaker of the House of Commons, and the royal speech was delivered on the 11th, but in the House of Lords one place was vacant which it may take centuries to fill. We allude to the death of the Duke of Wellington, at Walmer Castle, on the 14th of September. His grace was already in his eighty-fourth year—and with what important events both in war and politics had that long-extended life been crowded! This bereavement formed the first announcement, the commencing mournful note of her majesty's address, and the following words, in which it was intimated, were something far beyond the language of established usage or political compliment —"I cannot meet you for the first time after the dissolution of parliament, without expressing my deep sorrow, in

which I am sure you will participate, that your deliberations can no longer be aided by the counsels of that illustrious man whose great achievements have exalted the name of England, and in whose loyalty and patriotism the interests of my throne and of my people ever found an unfailing support. I rely with confidence on your desire to join with me in taking such steps as may mark your sense of the irreparable loss which the country has sustained by the death of



WALMER CASTLE, Coast of Kent —From a view by S Read.

Arthur, Duke of Wellington" It was the touching spectacle of the sovereign of the realm bewailing the decease of the best support of her throne —of the hero whose firm unswerving loyalty had been so tenderly mixed with an almost paternal affection The deep grief of all parties and classes throughout the nation—the eulogiums in parliament—the funeral of the illustrious deceased, in which the whole country bewailed their loss as one of the greatest of national calamities—and the monuments which have been erected to his memory, attest the cordiality with which the royal advice was received, and the unanimous enthusiasm with which it was fulfilled.

But there were stern political questions at hand to dry up the public tears, and introduce other feelings than those of funereal sorrow. The smothered indignation which the doubtful language of the cabinet had excited about their intentions upon free trade and finance broke out afresh, and the combat was opened anew. This conflict was commenced on the 23d of November, by Mr C Villiers, who proposed his resolutions in the House of Commons to the following effect —"That it is the opinion of this house, that the improved condition of the country, and particularly of the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent commercial legislation, and especially of the act of 1846, which established the free admission of foreign corns; and that that act was a wise, just, and beneficial measure. That it is the opinion of this house, that the maintenance and further extension of the policy of free trade, as opposed to that of protection, will best enable the property and industry of the nation to bear the burdens to which they are exposed, and will most contribute to the general prosperity, welfare, and contentment of the people. That this house is ready to take into its consideration any measures consistent with the principles of these resolutions which may be laid before it by her majesty's ministers" If taunts not only bitter, but in many cases justly merited, could have extracted a distinct avowal from ministers of their future intentions about protection, the speech of Mr. Villiers might have shaken them from their ambiguity, and made them speak plainly out On the other hand, it was objected by Lord Palmerston, that the present resolutions were too humbling, and that if eagerly pressed, they would probably be rejected. What he desired therefore was a middle course, embodied in the following amendment:—

"That it is the opinion of this house, that the improved condition of the country, and especially of the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent legislation, which has established the principle of unrestricted competition, has abolished taxes imposed for purposes of protection, and has thereby diminished the cost and increased the abundance of the principal articles of the food of the people.

"That it is the opinion of this house, that this policy, firmly maintained and prudently extended, will best enable the industry of the country to bear its burdens, and will thereby most surely promote the welfare and contentment of the people.

"That this house will be ready to take into consideration any measure consistent with these principles, which, in pursuance of her majesty's gracious speech and recommendation, may be

laid before it." After a long debate, in which two adjournments occurred, these resolutions were agreed to by a majority of 468 to 53, the only alteration made in them being these words in the second, "without inflicting on any important interest," which were interposed after the words, "prudently extended." In this way, the policy of free trade received the full sanction of the House of Commons; and the Earl of Derby was encouraged to express his hope, that by this decision the question was finally set to rest. This hope was ratified by the decision of the lords, before whom the subject was brought on the 3d of December, and who agreed unanimously, that "this house adheres to the commercial system recently established, and would view with regret any attempt to disturb its operations, or impede its progress."

In the meantime, events had been occurring in France which were destined most materially to influence the political relations between that country and Great Britain. On the 6th of December, the astounding fact was announced in both Houses of Parliament, that Prince Louis Napoleon, late President of France, was now its emperor, and that he had been elected to this highest of places by the suffrages of 8,000,000 of voters, being almost the entire adult male population of the country Accustomed as we had been to the strange and sudden mutations of the French government, so that we had ceased to wonder at them, this event so transcended all British calculation, that at first men could not believe the tale, notwithstanding the overwhelming huzzas of the election, and the substantial deeds of imperial power with which it was immediately followed.

We have already mentioned the singular manner in which this most incomprehensible of mankind succeeded, though with an inferior title, to almost all the kingly power of the deposed Louis Philippe. Invading France with nothing but his carpet-bag, he extinguished in a twinkling the strong rival claims of the two Bourbon families, and reduced to a mere question of days or hours his own final occupation of their throne. No one who had considered either the character of the nation, or the tendencies of the Celtic races, could believe that France would long remain a republic; with them, it must be at best a temporary expedient, either to recover from an universal anarchy or to avoid it. In a republic, every man must have a voice—and what would that be in France!! A republic indeed had succeeded the overthrow of monarchy, but all its subsequent proceedings only showed the restlessness of the people, their unfitness for representative government, their ignorance of what constitutes personal and individual liberty, and the innate craving by which the Celt is distinguished for that patriarchal irresponsible rule and guidance which constitutes the chief element of his political being. The whole nation was soon weary of brawling senates, and divisive councils that ended in nothing, and this more especially when they had now a Napoleon at hand. And no one knew better than he the time when and the mode in which the opportunity should be seized. In his uncle's oracular language, the "pear was ripe," and he now proceeded to pluck it. Even his enemies too had prepared the way, by endeavouring to lessen his authority, and place the army under the control of the assembly. In this way, the assembly threw the army into the hands of the president, and sealed their own doom, which was to be effected by one of those dramatic movements so congenial to a French imagination—by a *coup d'état*. Accordingly, at day-break, on the 2d of December, 1851, those Parisians who were awake saw the city wall covered with papers, and on rubbing their eyes, they found that they were proclamations, dated from the palace of the Elysée, announcing to them that the assembly was dissolved, that the council of state was dissolved, that universal suffrage was re-established, and the state of siege decreed throughout the first military division. The new plan of government was then proposed; and that the people might know what it meant, as well as be enabled to guess its final purpose, it was recommended by the new Napoleon in the following language —"This system, created by the first consul in the beginning of the present century, has already given to France repose and prosperity. It guarantees them still. Such is my profound conviction. If you partake it, declare so by your suffrages If, on the contrary, you prefer a government without force, monarchical or republican, borrowed from some chimerical future, reply in the negative. Thus, then, for the first time since 1804, you will vote with complete knowledge of the fact, and knowing for whom and for what you vote"

To this proclamation, which burst upon his friends and enemies like a thunderbolt, the president had made only three men privy; these were M. de St. Arnaud, minister of war, M de Morny, representative of the people, and M de Maupas, prefect of police, who were all ready to perform their assigned parts in this strange political drama. The bold proclamation was accompanied with still bolder action; for at a few minutes after six o'clock on the same morning, and even before the bill-stickers had commenced their office, the troops were placed at their posts, the agents of police were in motion; and at one and the same instant, over the whole city, every person whose resistance to the new state of things

was apprehended, was arrested, hurried from his bed into a carriage in waiting, and whirled away he knew not whither; so that in twenty minutes, Paris was utterly emptied of its choice republicans and agitators, some of them holding the highest distinction for their past services and influence. The assembly made a desperate rally to vindicate their authority, and met at an early hour in a different building, their own being occupied by soldiers; and there they declared Louis Napoleon Bonaparte a traitor, and deprived him of all authority as president of the republic; but in a few minutes after, they were marched as prisoners through the streets, and shut up in the barracks of the Quai d'Orsay Thus the whole authority of France, which all Europe had recognized, was ignominiously cooped up in a barrack-yard. The members were offered their liberty, on condition of offering no resistance to the president's measures; but although they refused these terms, they were all, with the exception of fourteen, set free a few days afterwards.

MONSTER BARRICADE AT THE PORTE ST. DENIS, PARIS.—Illustrated London News, 1851.

In this way, by a deed more deeply planned and more daringly and skilfully executed than anything which Napoleon the Great or Cromwell had attempted, France was revolutionized, and fitted for the rule of a master. During that day, Paris looked on stupified and motionless; but on the morning of the 3d, the cry of "To arms!" was heard, the people began to muster for the fight, and street barricades were thrown up to the amount of several hundreds. Of these, the largest and strongest was at the Porte St. Denis, across the corner of the street of that name, skilfully constructed of huge paving-stones, beams of timber, and overturned waggons, and which was assailed by infantry, cuirassiers, and lancers, backed by a heavy cannonade, before it could be stormed. But skilled though the Parisians were in the war of civic insurrection, the troops had been so skilfully disposed, that every attempt at resistance was quelled almost as soon as it commenced No scruples also withheld the soldiers from the full execution of their task, so that besides the deaths occasioned by actual conflict, citizens, whether singly or in groups, were fired at and struck down, wherever they presented a mark. After this, the last and most formidable source of resistance, the national guard, was disbanded; and that the sanctions of religion might be secured both for past and future proceedings, the Pantheon was restored to its original Christian destination as the church of St. Geneviève, by a decree of the already all-powerful president.

And now for the voting in of the new constitution, the terms of which were already understood both from past experience and recent proclamations! But what otherwise than a general assent could be expected, especially as the army had already proclaimed their choice, and were ready to maintain it? Even those, however, who were superior to such fears, were equally ready to vote for Louis Napoleon, and the reasons for this step, as announced by M. de Montalembert in his justification for taking it, might have been re-echoed by all the wise and reflective in France. "If Louis Napoleon were unknown," he thus wrote in his public declaration, "I would undoubtedly hesitate to confer on him such a force and such a responsibility. But without entering here into an appreciation of his policy for the last three years, I recall to mind the great religious acts which marked his government as long as the two powers agreed together—the liberty of instruction guaranteed, the pope restored by French arms; its councils, synods, and the plenitude of its dignity given back to the church; the number of its colleges, its communities, and works of charity gradually increased. I seek in vain elsewhere for a system or force able to guarantee to us the preservation and development of such benefits. I see only the gaping gulf of victorious socialism." The result of these mingled motives of fear and favour was shown in the great national poll, in which 7,439,219 votes were

in favour of the president, with increased power for ten years, while only 640,737 were against him.

On the establishment of the new government, unmistakeable symptoms appeared of the restoration of the old Napoleonic rule. The symbols of republicanism were to be removed, and condemned as treasonable and anarchical. The words *liberté, egalité, fraternité*, which figured on most of the public buildings, were therefore denounced by proclamation as incentives to public revolt, by reminding the people of successful insurrections, and ordered to be erased. In like manner, the trees of liberty, which were declared to be dried up and decayed sticks, were ordered to be cut down or rooted up. Certain living trees of liberty were in like manner disposed of, by several hundreds of obnoxious persons being banished to Cayenne or Algeria, or imprisoned in the fortress of Ham without the ceremony of a trial. But with all this severity, the general proceedings of the president were of such a popular character, that all lovers of order and settled government (and in France they now constituted an immense majority) thought that too much power could not be conferred on one who used it so benignantly and wisely. The effect of this feeling was shown with true French rapidity, and in a few months a general desire was felt to convert the president into an emperor It seemed to them as if the mere name of Napoleon was insufficient, and of no meaning, unless coupled with the imperial title. At length all was in such readiness for the change, that a meeting of the senate was convoked in November, 1852, for the purpose of framing a *senatus consultum* for the empire, and there the president was proclaimed emperor, under the title of Napoleon III., and the imperial dignity made hereditary in his direct descendants, or failing issue, in the descendants of his uncle's brothers, whomsoever he might be pleased to adopt. The public voting for the empire, which commenced on the 21st of November, and was continued for several days, confirmed this decision of the senate by 7,824,189 votes, while only 253,145 were against it. Be its permanency what it may, no national choice could be more universally or distinctly intimated.

A new comet had thus risen in the political horizon of Europe "with fear of change perplexing monarchs;" and by no country was this apprehension more keenly felt than by Britain. It was remembered, that of all her military disasters, that which rankled the most in French feeling was the defeat of Waterloo, and it was thought that the new emperor would be compelled to signalize his reign by an attempt to avenge it. One guarantee, indeed, the country had for a continued peace, in a speech of the emperor himself at his accession; he had declared that he was sovereign only by the voice of the people, and not by hereditary right to the throne, that he distinctly recognized all the governments that had existed in France since 1814, that he recognized the acts of these governments; and that he acknowledged the solidarity of his government as succeeding the others These were guarantees, so far as they could go, of his purpose to continue those amicable relations which had subsisted so long between France and Britain, but who could tell what necessities might compel him to yield to those warlike impulses which were so congenial to the French character? Even the possibility of an invasion might now be more certain than before. It was not difficult therefore for the British parliament to agree to that proposal for strengthening our naval defences which had been made in the earlier part of the year. Accordingly, it was carried without a dissenting vote, that 6000 additional men should be employed in the sea service till the 31st of March, 1853, that a Channel fleet and a screw fleet should be established; and that £100,000 should be granted for the expenses of steam machinery. Additional estimates were also voted for the ordnance service.

The stability of the Derby administration was now to be tried upon the question of financial re-adjustment, upon which they could no longer maintain their cautious silence. Their plan was accordingly developed by Mr. D'Israeli, the chancellor of exchequer, on the 3d of December, in an eloquent speech of five hours' length. Into its long details, however, it is unnecessary to enter, as both plan and supporters were swamped in the attempt The new chancellor had devoted himself heart and soul to the task, and had devised a financial scheme by which all former ones were to be surpassed as well as superseded; but it pleased no one and effected nothing. The debate was continued during four nights by successive adjournments, and the government was defeated by a majority of 305 against 286. Resignation after such a defeat was unavoidable, and accordingly, the Earl of Derby and his colleagues repaired to Osborne, and gave up their offices into her majesty's hands.

CHAPTER XV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D 1853.

VICTORIA

Formation of a new administration—Re-assembling of parliament—Attack on the new ministry—Motion for a remonstrance against the religious persecutions in Tuscany—Discussion of our relations with France—The Maynooth question—Inquiry demanded into the education of Maynooth college—Motion on the subject negatived in the commons by an amendment—A committee of inquiry on Maynooth education appointed by the House of Lords—Reasons adduced for and against the inquiry—Canadian clergy reserves bill—Parliamentary debate on the subject—The bill passed—The Jewish disabilities bill—It is revived by the election of Mr. Salomons to a seat in parliament—Bill for the removal of disabilities lost in the lords—Government plan of education proposed by Lord John Russell—His detail of the plan and its advantages—Comprehensive character of the plan—Permission given for an educational bill to be introduced—Nothing further effected—Finance—Resolutions proposed by the chancellor of exchequer in connection with the national debt—Their introduction into parliament approved of—Success of the chancellor's financial exposition—Popular character of his plan of retrenchment—A stand made against the continuation of the income-tax—The chancellor's bill passed through the commons—Opposition to it from the lords on account of the income-tax—Various obstacles to the bill—It finally passes—Motion for the repeal of taxes on knowledge—One out of three resolutions carried—Increase of nunneries in England and Wales—Suspicions of their coercive character—Motion to facilitate the recovery of personal liberty among their inmates in certain cases—Statements of the despotic character of these institutions—The bill negatived—Counter-motion against the Protestant Established Church of Ireland—Fallacious arguments by which the motion is supported—Answer to these arguments by Lord John Russell—The bill rejected—Bill to alter and amend the laws of church rates—A counter-motion brought forward—Both are negatived—Registration of assurances bill—Its previous frequent failures—It passes a third reading, but is withdrawn—Charitable trusts bill passed—Question of the transportation of our convicts—Impossibility of finding a new penal settlement—Secondary punishments substituted for transportation—Attention of parliament called to India affairs—Statement of the defects of our India government—Bill introduced for their removal—Lord Macaulay's statement on India affairs—The bill passed.

A NEW administration was formed by a combination of the Whig party and the followers of Sir Robert Peel, having at their head the Earl of Aberdeen as first lord of the treasury, Mr Gladstone, chancellor of the exchequer; with Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and the Duke of Newcastle for the home, foreign, and colonial secretaries, &c. The Earl of Aberdeen announced the line of policy he meant to follow, the principal particulars of which were, that he would endeavour to maintain the general peace of Europe without relaxing those defensive measures so recently adopted and too long neglected; and that at home, he would maintain and extend free-trade principles, and pursue the commercial and financial system of the late Sir Robert Peel. The measures of the government would be conservative as well as liberal, for both were essentially necessary in the present state of things.

The Christmas recess being ended, parliament re-assembled on the 10th of February. In the House of Lords, the signal of onset against the new ministry was given by the Earl of Derby, in a question with which he had often himself been assailed, but had found difficult or inconvenient to answer; he asked Lord Aberdeen, what measures were intended for the session, and urged the premier to lay a statement of them before the house To this the latter replied, that he had already stated the general principles on which government would proceed, and as for the particular measures, they would be announced in the House of Commons. This was accordingly done on the same day by Lord John Russell.

The first business into which parliament entered, was to discuss the propriety of a proposal made by Mr. Kinnaird to address the queen on the subject of the persecution of the Protestants in Tuscany. There, it was declared, a systematic course of religious persecution had been established; and the last instance of this nature, the imprisonment of the family of the Madiais, had roused the resentment of Protestant Britain, so that the public demand for our government to interpose was both loud and influential. The motion of Mr. Kinnaird proposed a remonstrance on the part of Great Britain, in concert with the Protestant governments of Prussia and Holland, for putting a stop to this religious tyranny. The house was recommended to leave this question in the hands of government, which had already remonstrated on the subject; and accordingly the motion was withdrawn. Another subject of discussion, brought forward by Mr. D'Israeli, was that of our relations with France. There was still a profound peace between the two countries, while our

armaments were continuing to be increased; and he wished to have a frank explanation from government as to how its foreign policy in this important case was to be conducted. To this it was answered, that we were on terms of intimate friendship with France, and would not interfere with its domestic concerns; that the virulent language used by our platform orators against the emperor was highly reprehensible; and that the increase of our armaments was only a wise precaution, when we recollected on what slight occasions, at such a period as this, unexpected hostilities might occur. Here the discussion terminated.

After the late Papal aggression, it could not be expected that the Maynooth question, so often the subject of keen debate in both houses, would be allowed to pass over undisturbed. At one time the propriety of endowing the college, at another the character of its education, was the subject of angry question both within doors and without On the 22d of February it was awakened into full vigour, by a motion of Mr. Spooner, for a committee of the whole house to consider the act relating to Maynooth College. He had previously overtured upon the subject; but his facts, he complained, while uncontradicted, had been met with abuse, and the imputation of selfish motives He now demanded inquiry into the character of the books from which its teaching was derived, and the effects of that teaching, and he proceeded to show from the text-books that were used, and from recent proceedings of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, that the college had not corresponded to the expectations and intentions of the founders The motion of Mr. Spooner was met by an amendment of Mr. Scholefield, in which he moved that the consideration of the committee should be extended to "all enactments now in force, whereby the revenue of the state is charged in aid of any ecclesiastical or religious purposes whatsoever, with a view to the repeal of such enactments" This counter-proposal, like a wedge, split the Protestantism of the house into its two antagonist divisions of state church and dissenterism, from whose contention Popery had ere now derived its strongest chance of safety. The debate was continued by adjournment over the 24th of February, and the 2d of March; and the damaging effect of the amendment was conspicuous throughout, and resolved itself chiefly into the question whether churches should be endowed or not. The original motion was defeated by a division of 192 against 162, and the amendment upon which the debate was continued was negatived by 262 to 68.

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN —From a portrait by Desmaisons

The subject, thus set to rest in the House of Commons for a season, was taken up by the lords on the 18th of April, in consequence of the Earl of Winchelsea moving for a committee "to inquire into the system of education pursued at Maynooth" His lordship traced the late Papal insult to our sovereign, and indeed most of the evils of Popery, to the canon law, according to which the pope assumed temporal as well as spiritual authority over the subjects of other sovereigns, and he showed by extracts from books and documents on the Papacy, that the canon law, and the doctrines it inculcates, were taught at Maynooth It was high time therefore, he thought, that such a system of education should be suppressed. Lord Aberdeen, who replied, observed that a commission had made in 1826 a full inquiry into the subject, followed by a most elaborate report, and that this had been thought sufficient to supersede the necessity of the present proposal · but as public opinion had demanded the inquiry, he would not check it, and he believed that it would redound to the advantage and credit of the college But he objected to the proposed select committee, and desired a fair and impartial inquiry by able and independent men, on which account he would propose the following amendment, of which he had previously given notice —"That an humble address be presented to her majesty, praying that her majesty will be graciously pleased to issue a commission to inquire into the management and government of the college of Maynooth, the discipline and the course of studies pursued therein; also into the effects produced by the increased grants conferred by parliament in 1845"

As dissenterism was not to be found in the British peerage, there was no word in the debate

about the disestablishment of churches, and the blessings of the voluntary principle. All was therefore left to the question, whether Popery should continue to enjoy its state endowments or be left to shift for itself. The chief arguments used in favour of the Maynooth grant were, that it went far to break the Protestant ascendency in Ireland, which had been so fertile in political contention—that the system of education pursued at Maynooth was precisely that which was necessary to form a Roman Catholic priest—and that the proposed inquiry would produce nothing but misunderstanding, mischief, and discord. On the other hand, it was alleged, that the grant had produced no improvement in the character of the Irish priesthood, that it trained a greater number of priests than were needed in the present reduced state of Irish Popery, and that the persons educated there would never rest until they had effected the overthrow of Protestantism The nature of the inquiry was also a subject of debate, some preferring a committee, according to the original motion, and others a commission, according to Lord Aberdeen's amendment. Against the latter mode of inquiry it was objected by the Earl of Derby, that the persons composing it must derive their views from parties who were connected with the institution, in which case, even if they were perfectly impartial men, still they would give the house only partial evidence The inquiry ought to be on oath; but commissioners would have no power to examine on oath, or to compel witnesses to answer. The original motion was thrown out by 110 against 53, and Lord Aberdeen's amendment adopted In this way the Maynooth question was set aside for future altercation.

The Canadian clergy reserves bill was another Protestant question that had already occasioned much contention. When the province of Canada had been divided in 1791 into two parts, an act was passed, that whenever the crown should dispose of waste lands, one-seventh of their value should be reserved for the support of the Protestant clergy But during the fifty years that succeeded, complaints had been made that this seventh had been unfairly distributed, and that the clergy of the established churches of England and Scotland had received the larger share In consequence of the quarrels between the legislative council and the house of assembly which this subject of complaint occasioned, and their appeal to the home legislature, an act had been passed in 1840, when the upper and lower provinces were united. By this act it was decreed, that the one-fourth of the church land already sold should be considered as belonging to the churches of England and Scotland, in the proportion of two to one; that of the remaining three-fourths, one-half should be considered as belonging to the churches of England and Scotland in the proportion of two to one; and with regard to the other half of the three-fourths, it should be left to the disposal of the Governor-general of Canada and the executive council, for the purposes of religious worship and education. But since 1840, the population of Canada had more than doubled, and the condition of the colony was materially altered. The bill, therefore, which was now introduced into the commons by Mr F Peel, was for the purpose of giving the Canadian legislature the power, if it thought fit, of altering the existing arrangement, the matter being not of imperial, but wholly and exclusively of colonial concern

Leave being given to bring in this bill, an animated discussion followed, especially on the 4th of March, upon its second reading On this occasion it was argued by its opponents, that these reserves had from the beginning been set apart and dedicated to the service of religion—the Protestant religion in Canada, and could not now be diverted from the purpose even by parliament itself, without committing a mortal sin. And granting that Canada possessed the right of self-control, still the act of the imperial parliament was binding upon it. With regard to the policy of the measure, that too was condemned, for if the loyal Upper Canadians should renounce their allegiance, and annex their country to the United States, the original grant would nevertheless be rigidly enforced by the American law And would it be wise or prudent to show to loyal subjects of the British crown, who were attached to their church, that the monarchy of England disregarded obligations which a republic was willing to respect? Lastly, those pioneers of civilization, the Protestant missionaries of Canada, were supported by the fund which this bill would alienate from them, while the Canadian Roman Catholics themselves would deprecate the alienation, as such a measure would endanger their own endowments. To this it was answered, that the act of 1840 had not been received by the Canadians as a final measure, and that the words "Protestant clergy," in that of 1791, were not limited to the clergy of the Church of England All questions affecting religious endowments in a colony were essentially local, and, according to the rules of our colonial policy, should be dealt with by the local legislature. And when we had given self-government to Canada, were we not to respect that right?

The second reading passed by a large majority, and the third came on upon the 11th of April. On this occasion, when Mr. Walpole moved to defer the reading for six months, the Roman Catholic interest in the question was brought

into full discussion. The house had been told, he said, that the great object of the measure was to give the Canadian legislature the fullest power over all matters of purely local concern. But when the bill was examined in committee, it appeared not to be confined to these matters it extended to investments made in this country, and enabled the Canadian legislature to deal with these investments, although they affected no local interests,—and further, that endowments to Roman Catholics could not be touched without the authority of the imperial parliament, while endowments to Protestants in Canada could be dealt with and destroyed by a majority of the Canadian legislature alone. The third reading was carried by 288 to 208

In the House of Lords, the second reading of the bill was moved on the 22d of April The Bishop of Exeter moved an amendment "that the bill be not read for six months," upon the plea that the bill could only pass, if parliament would reserve a guarantee that the clergy reserves should not be secularized; and he adduced a long array of precedents to prove that the imperial parliament has power to control the colonial parliaments This amendment, however, was withdrawn in consequence of a proposal of the Earl of Derby, by which the mode of contest was altered. His lordship, instead of giving the bill a distinct negative, would content himself with moving in committee certain propositions that would give the Canadian legislature more extensive power than had been done by the act of 1791, but, at the same time, maintaining inviolate and for ever all the appropriations for the Church of Scotland or the Church of England On this understanding the bill being read a second time without a division, the House of Lords went into committee, and the earl produced his promised proposals; which having been adopted, the bill passed its third reading on the 28th of the same month.

The question of Jewish disabilities with respect to the admission of that proscribed race into parliament, had neither slept nor slumbered since the exclusion of Baron Rothschild. On the contrary, a still more determined Hebrew than the baron, who had been elected member for Greenwich in 1851, had presented himself at the bar of the House of Commons to take the oaths of membership, and had resolutely refused to swallow the unpalatable test "on the faith of a true Christian." This was Alderman Salomons, lord-mayor of London. But on being ordered to withdraw, he at first only retired below the bar; and on a future day, when the discussion was renewed, he boldly took his seat on the ministerial side of the house, from which it required the sergeant-at-arms to dislodge him He even voted twice upon the question of his own admission, and delivered a short speech before he was compelled to withdraw. It seemed impossible but that at some period, and that too not very remote, such increasing boldness and perseverance would achieve a full and free admission. This question of Jewish eligibility for membership was moved by Lord John Russell for the consideration of a committee of the whole house, on the 24th of February. In addition to his old arguments on the subject, his lordship pleaded, that although it was alleged that the Jews were meant to be divided from all other nations, yet it was not for us to carry out the decrees of the Almighty. There was no ground of objection but prejudice, and the plea that we were a Christian nation, and that ours was a Christian legislature. Should we not remain so in spite of the admission of a few Jews into that house? He therefore requested the honourable members to do away with the remaining disqualifications which attached to a class of British subjects upon whose loyalty they relied, and of whose co-operation they would be glad; and to remove them on the grounds of truth and justice alone His appeal prevailed · the house went into committee, and the resolution was passed, "That it is expedient to remove all the civil disabilities at present existing, affecting her majesty's subjects of the Jewish persuasion, in like manner, and with the exceptions as are provided with reference to her majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion," and a bill to this effect was ordered to be brought in.

The house was weary of this oft-repeated subject, in which nothing new could be adduced, and the debate went on languidly, and was listened to with impatience The second reading was carried, and the third, with a haste that was complained of, was hurried on for the 15th of April, when it was also carried The second reading was moved in the lords on the 29th by Lord Aberdeen, who gave a brief review of the whole ground of argument both religious and political, and he was answered by the Earl of Shaftesbury, who stated the principal objections that operated against the bill, and moved that it be read that day six months During the debate, the Jews found effectual advocates in the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of St David's, the former asserting that the removal of their disabilities would be the triumph rather than the defeat of Christianity, while the latter adverted to the liberality of Jewish tolerance in the cause of Christian missions, and the building of churches. But the bill was lost in the second reading by 164 to 115, and the removal of these disabilities was reserved to a more convenient season which was certain to occur at last.

On the 4th of April, the government plan of education was brought forward by Lord John Russell He commenced with a statement of the good that had been done by the establishment of public day-schools in opposition to those that were voluntary and secular. The total number of these day-schools, both public and private, now amounted to 44,898, at which 2,108,473 children of both sexes were educated. As for the voluntary and secular schools belonging to the different religious denominations, their number amounted to 19,856, with an attendance of 1,281,077 pupils The weekly pence payment of these schools might be estimated at 500,000, or nearly one-half of the amount expended in their maintenance Still the secular system of education was judged insufficient by government it was felt desirable that Christianity, hitherto excluded from these schools, should be taught there; but the religious divisions of the country would prevent the imposition of a national rate for this purpose It was thought, however, that corporate towns might obtain the means of supporting schools by rates, two-thirds of the town-council being agreed in imposing it The rate thus raised should be applied, also, not to establish schools in substitution of the former ones, but in aid of the voluntary efforts of individuals, and of the school pence of the pupils "We should propose," said his lordship, "some such scheme as this—that the rate might be applied to pay 2*d.* in the week for the scholars, provided 4*d* or 5*d.* were contributed from other sources We should propose, likewise, that the schools which should receive this assistance should be schools which, under the minutes of council, might receive assistance, and which consequently have for years received the sanction of parliament." This was a better plan than that which had lately failed at Manchester, of forming a plan for new schools, in which they had disagreed To combine the *sine qua non* of religious instruction with the utmost liberty of conscience, "we intend," said his lordship, "that in these schools, the parent shall have the power of withdrawing his child from the religious instruction to which he might object; for it is obvious that the parent, on the one hand, would not send his child to a school where the religious instruction was repugnant to his feelings, and, on the other hand, the school which had a strict rule that every child must receive religious instruction, would refuse to receive the child of a parent objecting." As it would be necessary to make additional grants for building schools in poor localities, the following statement was made on this head.—"I should say that the country generally may be divided into places of three different conditions—1. Where the education is already sufficient in quantity and quality; 2. Where it is not sufficient either in quantity or quality; and 3. Where the education is entirely deficient. The first class is already considerable, and is increasing; the third class is certainly not very large; but it is the second class which is the most important of the whole, and therefore requires the utmost aid and assistance."

These are but a few of the principal points which Lord John Russell detailed at length in the government plan of education. But the public charities in which education formed a part were also to be supervised, the schools of practical art assisted, and the system of the two universities improved This last, however, was dangerous ground, and was not to be entered until the matter should have reached a more advanced stage of consideration In the university of Oxford, it had been discovered by a commission of inquiry, that a material change was necessary in its government, and he stated that some such change had been determined. Having pointed out those time-honoured evils which needed reformation, Lord John thus concluded —"I trust I have made it clear to the house that we shall not at the present time, or without giving full opportunity to the universities to consider what they themselves ought to do, propose to parliament any measure on the subject. At the same time we shall keep closely in view those objects in this matter which we deem essential. If the universities adopt these objects, and carry them into effect as far as they can, applying to parliament for the powers they may find requisite to the full development of those objects, the government will gladly concur in that result If, on the other hand, the universities will not take this course—if prejudice shall prevent those having authority and influence there from making the alterations which are requisite—then it will be our duty as a government no longer to hesitate, but to bring in those measures which we deem called for by the necessities and expediencies of the case."

Having explained the government plan for the extension of education in England and Wales, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill to that effect. His details, which were luminous as well as long and complex, had arrested the attention of the house; and, in the debate that followed, the sentiments of the members were delivered for or against it in the most express terms. Of course it was thought by some not to meet all the requirements of the case—not to go far enough—while Mr. Hume and his party alleged that the object could not be accomplished until the system of secular education was adopted. One member advocated the necessity of *compulsory* education for the "savages" of society, while others deprecated the imposition

of a general rate, until the wish of corporate towns had been received. And why meddle with the universities? While the members who were connected with these venerable seats of learning stepped forward in their defence, there were others who thought that the schools of Eton, Westminster, and Winchester, and the university of Durham, of which no mention had been made, were fully as needful of reform as the colleges of Cambridge and Oxford. The more minute portions of this educational scheme were also the subjects of question and altercation, but, upon the whole, the necessity of a national plan was felt, while none better than the present could be proposed in its stead. Leave accordingly was given to bring in the bill, but, having accomplished thus much, government ventured no further into the measure. The plan waited, as even yet it must wait, for the succession of a wiser generation and the coming of a better day. It was not by an act of summary legislation that so vital a change could be accomplished.

During this session, the important operations of finance were commenced by Mr Gladstone, the chancellor of the exchequer, with a series of resolutions which he proposed on the subject of the national debt These, which were fifteen in number, were designed to effect, not only a present relief, but a permanent advantage, by an absolute saving of a quarter per cent. for ever upon the interest of public debt It is enough to state for the feasibility of the plan that it was approved of by Joseph Hume and ridiculed by Benjamin D'Israeli, and that the resolutions one by one were agreed to

The chancellor's financial exposition followed on the 18th of April, in a speech of remarkable power, that occupied five hours in the delivery From the difference between the estimate of last year and the real returns, there was a surplus of £2,460,000, but, from the increased expenses, arising chiefly from public education, the defences of the country, and the militia, this sum would be reduced to about £700,000 After this statement he proceeded to a consideration of the taxes; and first in the list was the income-tax, that "colossal engine of finance" which, during the late war, had been the salvation of the country After showing that from 1806 to 1815 it had raised £7,000,000 more than the charges occasioned by the government and war, he added those words, that may be regarded as a prophecy in stereotype, and which have now more weight than, perhaps, at that period he was able to surmise. "It affords to me the proof that if you do not destroy the efficacy of this engine—I do not now raise the question whether it is to be temporary or permanent, which I hold to be quite a different question, and I will go into that by and by—it affords you the means, should, unhappily, hostilities again break out, of at once raising your army to 300,000, and your fleet to 100,000, with all your establishments in proportion. And much as may be said of the importance—in which I

THE RIGHT HON W E GLADSTONE
From a photograph by Maull and Polyblank

concur—of an army reserve and navy reserve, and of having your dockyards and your arsenals well stored, I say this fiscal reserve is no less important, for, if it be used aright, it is an engine to which you may resort, and with which, judiciously employed, if unhappily necessity arise—which may God, in his mercy, avert—with it judiciously employed, you may again, if need be, defy the world" The intention of government, after having made certain mitigations in the inequalities with which it bore upon different persons and properties, was to renew the tax for two years from April, 1853, at the present rate of 7*d* in the pound, for two years more, from April, 1855, at 6*d*; and for three years more, from April, 1857, at 5*d*, so that the tax would expire on the 5th of April, 1860 Incomes between £100 and £150 were also to pay 5*d*. in the pound for the whole time the tax continued It was also resolved to extend the tax to Ireland, which would yield an increase of £460,000 a year Still further to equalize the burdens that pressed too heavily on intelligence and skill as compared with property, certain changes were to be made in the legacy duty, by introducing a duty into all successions whatever, which, by the year 1856–57, he calculated, would add £2,000,000 annually to the permanent revenue of the country. The changes contemplated upon other taxes were then announced. An addition of 1*s*. per gallon on Scotch spirits, and 8*d*. on Irish, was to be imposed, with a drawback for waste upon

spirits in bond. An increase was to be made on the licenses of brewers, dealers in tea and coffee, tobacco and soap, amounting in all to £113,000. And while Ireland was to be charged with the income-tax and the duty on spirits, it was to be relieved from the consolidated annuities, amounting to £4,500,000, which would cease from the date of the 29th of last September

Against these proposals of increase the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to show an offset of contemplated reductions There was to be an entire abolition of the duty on soap, that yielded to the revenue £1,111,000 The tax on life assurance was to be reduced from 2*s* 6*d* to 6*d* per £100. Receipt-stamps were to be reduced to the uniform rate of a "penny-head stamp" The duty on apprentice indentures was to fall from 20*s*. to 2*s* 6*d* The charge upon annual certificates of metropolitan solicitors was to be reduced from £12 to £8, and of country solicitors from £9 to £6. The duty on advertisements in newspapers was to be reduced from 1*s* 6*d* to 6*d*, with a repeal of the 1*d* and ½*d* stamps on supplements used for advertisements The duty on hackney carriages was to be reduced from 1*s* 5*d* to 1*s* Similar reductions were to be made on taxed servants, private carriages, post-chaises for hire, horses, and dogs Facilities were to be afforded for the redemption of the land-tax by a diminished percentage. Of the articles of food, including tea, 13 were to have their duties reduced immediately, 133 ultimately, and 123 to be freed from duty altogether The effect of these changes in the customs duties, Mr. Gladstone calculated, would be a loss to the revenue for the current year of £1,338,000, but this, from the increased consumption, would soon diminish to £658,000. The total remissions in taxation for the present year would be £2,568,000, but there still would remain a surplus of £493,000 Seldom had the budget been louder cheered by the house, or more gladly welcomed by the whole country at large, which still continues to rejoice in the financial arrangements of this memorable year.

On the 25th of April the debate on the budget commenced, and, as the continuation of the income-tax to the year 1860 composed the foundation of the long list of concessions that were demanded, it was upon this important point that the discussion was waged Could not those blessings be secured without the income-tax? was the question of one party. Could it not be further modified? was the demand of another. Could not its term be abbreviated? was queried by a third The agriculturists complained that their interests had been sacrificed, and the Irish party that their country would be oppressed by the proposed measure. This last cry rose into an absolute howl· Ireland would pay more than her share, if the income-tax should be imposed upon her at the last hour, it would drive her children into exile across the Atlantic, it was inconsistent with the act of union, it would injure her manufactures, which England had laboured to destroy from the time of "hook-nosed William" downwards. And what security had we, it was generally asked in the course of debate, that this income-tax would actually cease its existence in 1860? Such were the principal objections brought forward. The debate was continued during four nights, and the hottest opposition was from the Irish party, who made certain strange charges about bribery and corruption that for a time threw the house into an uproar. Still, the chief weight was on the ministerial side, and, after several amendments had been rejected, and five new clauses, proposed by Mr Gladstone, been adopted, the third reading was carried on the 6th of June by 126 against 55

On the 20th, the second reading of the bill was moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Aberdeen His lordship acknowledged the objectionable nature of the income-tax—of which, indeed, in the abstract, there could be no question—but it was impossible, he declared, to avoid its renewal without imposing other taxes still more objectionable Even in its most obnoxious parts—the taxing of precarious incomes and realized property—it was impossible so to legislate as to give general satisfaction The Earl of Derby declared the tax to be inevitable, but he objected to its principle, and he criticized the calculations of the budget as vague and fallacious Lord Brougham not only condemned its principle, but saw no prospect of the extinction of this "execrable tax," either one year or seven years hence. The second reading, however, passed without a division, and the third was moved on the 27th of June, when Lord Brougham repeated his objections, with several additional arguments he was constrained, however, to confess that, with all its evils, the tax was a matter of necessity, and could not be spared. The Irish claims to exemption were not lost sight of, and were brought forward by the Earl of Wicklow in favour of Irish landlords, who would have to pay tax on rents which they never received In Ireland, he said, rent was not lost from insolvent, bankrupt, or absconding tenants, but from tenants who would neither pay nor abscond These landlords, too, it was declared by the Marquis of Clanricarde, were not the disloyal agitators, but the very class who ought to be conciliated. The bill, however, was passed, and became law

The income-tax being thus established, the other prominent departments of the chancellor's plan were successively taken up and dis-

cussed. And first of these was the succession duty, which was moved in the House of Commons, on the 10th of June, to be read for the second time. It extended not only to individuals, but to corporate bodies, who were to pay an annual tax for seven years, at the rate of 3*d.* in the pound upon their corporate property, with certain specified exceptions. The second reading passed, and on its going into committee, the chief resistance it experienced was from Sir John Pakington, who complained of the injury it would inflict not only on landholders, but small traders, owners of small estates, younger children, and unmarried daughters. An uncle or a cousin, he exclaimed, "aged thirty-nine, succeeding to an income of £100 a year, would have to pay £45, and a man succeeding to an income of £1000, would have to pay £450; and this latter with the income-tax besides! Such a proposal would not have been submitted to the house, if the burden had fallen upon existing owners of property" The third reading was introduced on the 18th of July, but a question involving so many personal interests had been obliged to fight its way, step by step, through every form of argument, remonstrance, and cavil, before it reached this stage After numerous amendments had been rejected, it was finally carried in the commons by 176 to 102. In the lords, the second reading of the bill was moved on the 22d of July, by the Earl of Aberdeen, and the keenness of debate which it occasioned evinced the personal and vital importance which the aristocracy of Britain felt in it. It was called "absurd and cowardly," a "revival of the old Norman tax *in capite*," and "grossly unjust and unfair" There were many cases, it was alleged, in which persons had anticipated their successions to such an extent, as to have almost entirely squandered them, and in such cases, the government stepped in, because a man had been a spendthrift, and ruined him altogether. A person knowing that he was to succeed to property, might anticipate, and spend nine-tenths of its value; and when the remaining tenth would enable him to make a fair start in life, this new tax to be imposed would entirely swallow it up. As far as the right to spend in anticipation went, a perfect right to do so undoubtedly existed. The bishops were appealed to, and asked if they would be parties in these obnoxious regulations, while they were themselves exempt from their operation? It was replied, that this tax was neither a courting of popularity, nor the opposite: popularity for any tax was out of the question; all that could be done was to preserve it from dislike. As for the extreme cases of enormous hardship which had been quoted, the same might be said of any tax whatever. Opposite cases were also given to show that the payment of the duty would not be onerous either on large or small successions, as it would be spread over eight half-yearly instalments, which on an estate worth £1000 a year, would amount to £150, or £37, 10*s.* per annum for four years The tax, it was also alleged, was not aimed at a particular class, but at all classes; and the position of the owners of land would be strengthened by making them amenable to the same law as their fellow-subjects The great families of the country did not owe their position to exemptions from burdens. Did the Duke of Norfolk owe his high position to having escaped the legacy duty? Why, the great families and landed proprietors would gain, in the prosperity of the country, infinitely more than they would be called on to pay. In spite of an immense amount of opposition, the bill passed its third reading through the House of Lords on the 28th of July.

The taxes upon knowledge were taken into consideration on the 14th of April, in consequence of three resolutions moved by Mr. Milner Gibson. The first was, that the advertisement duty be repealed, the second, that the imposition of stamp duties and other restrictions on the cheap periodical press is inexpedient, and that the law relative to taxes on newspapers is in an unsatisfactory state, the third resolution was, that the excise duty on paper materially obstructs good cheap literature, and that the maintenance of this tax as a permanent source of revenue would be impolitic, and would impede the progress of education. These three taxes he thus combined together, because they had been imposed at the same time, and because he judged them all equally subversive of the liberty of the press. It was acknowledged by the chancellor of the exchequer, that, irrespective of any profit they could yield to the revenue, these taxes had indeed been imposed at first to prevent free discussion, but as the necessity no longer existed, government in due time would provide for their removal. But in the meantime, he deprecated such a step, until substitutes were provided for the £1,400,000 which they added to the revenue. He thought the march of economy was already going too fast. During the eight weeks he had been in office, propositions had been made in that house for the repeal of duties to the amount of £7,000,000. The first of the proposed resolutions was carried against the government by a majority of 200 to 169, the other two were negatived. On the first resolution going into committee, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that the advertisement duty be reduced to 6*d*; upon which Mr. Milner Gibson moved as an amendment, that "All duties now chargeable on advertisements be repealed, in accordance with

a resolution of this house on the 14th of April last." The amendment was negatived by 109 to 99, and the original resolution by 68 against 63. Mr. Crawford in the course of debate, moved that a cypher (0) should be substituted for 6*d.*, and in this odd and novel fashion the resolution was carried. Mr. Hume, whose ideas of financial etiquette it grievously startled, asked if the committee was justified in thus substituting 0 for 6, but was assured by the speaker that it was perfectly correct.

Along with the late portentous growth and boldness of Popery in England, the establishment of convents, so alien to every principle of British liberty, had excited the popular alarm. There were already seventy-five Roman Catholic nunneries in England and Wales, which were regarded as strongholds of Antichrist, places of illegal imprisonment, or an *imperium in imperio*, according to the mood of the onlooker, and from a certain individual case—that of Miss Talbot—which had been brought before parliament, a strong suspicion had arisen in the public mind, that these conventual seclusions had taken the place of the former mad-houses, in which people were immured unjustly, and against their will. It was necessary that the question should be set to rest, and, accordingly, on the 10th of May, Mr. Thomas Chambers moved for leave in the House of Commons to bring in a bill to facilitate the recovery of personal liberty in certain cases In a calm speech he went over those reasons which showed that the general suspicion was by no means groundless. The inmates of these establishments, he observed, being subjected to an irresponsible power exercised in secret, were less under the protection of the law than factory children, parish apprentices, or lunatics. These institutions, also, were so affiliated with others abroad, that any inmate of an English convent might be transported beyond sea, by which all means of tracing her could be eluded He therefore proposed that where any case of undue coercion was reasonably surmised, the secretary of state should be empowered to appoint one or more persons to repair, with a justice of the peace, to the convent, see the party, ascertain the facts, and, if necessary, put the ordinary law in force by a writ of *habeas corpus*. These statements, of course, were denied and ridiculed by the other party as atrocious libels, and Exeter Hall alarms. No convent, it was declared, could exist under such inspection, and therefore the proposal was tantamount to the question, whether convents should exist at all in this country? It was also alleged that the nuns were not prevented from seeing their friends; that conventual establishments were useful as dispensers of good education; and that if this proposal were passed, the Irish Roman Catholic females would throw themselves upon the protection of France. The motion, however, was carried by 138 to 115. The second reading was moved on the 22d of June by Sir Robert Inglis, but after much clamour and confusion was negatived by 207 to 178.

On the 31st of May, this attack upon the convents was retaliated by a counter-movement against the Protestant and Established Church of Ireland. This was commenced by a motion of Mr George Henry Moore for a select committee to inquire into the ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland, in order to ascertain how far they are made applicable to the benefit of the Irish people. He complained that these revenues, although set apart for the education of the people and the maintenance of religion, had been diverted from that purpose to the benefit of the Protestants, who were but as one to five in the population of Ireland. But the policy of England was even more evil in principle, he asserted, than destructive in practice; for it contained the evils both of the voluntary and the endowment principles—endowing the religion of the rich, and handing over the religion of the poor to the voluntary principle. The motion was regarded as a proposal for the total destruction of the Church of Ireland, and was met accordingly by appeals to the act of union, the oaths of the members of parliament, and the national faith, which were all at stake in the preservation of Irish Protestantism. The opposite measure which had been dealt to Scotland, in the full establishment and endowment of her Presbyterianism, while there Episcopacy was left to its shifts, an argument of which the supporters of the motion had made a very adroit use, was answered by Lord John Russell. After adverting to the fact that the Roman Catholic clergy were under the direction of a foreign head, and aimed at a political power at variance with a due attachment to the crown of this country, the general cause of liberty, and the duties of a faithful subject, he said —"I am convinced that if the Roman Catholic clergy had increased power given to them, and if they, as ecclesiastics, were to exercise greater control and greater political influence than they do now, that power would not be exercised in accordance with the general freedom that prevails in this country; and that neither in respect to political power nor upon other subjects would they favour that general freedom of discussion, and that activity and energy of the human mind, which belong to the spirit of the constitution of this country. I do not think that in that respect they are upon a par with the Presbyterians of Scotland. The Presbyterians of Scotland, the Wesleyans of this country, and the Established church of this country and of Scotland, all, no doubt, exercise a certain

influence over their congregations; but that influence which they thus exercise over their congregations must be compatible with a certain freedom of the mind—must be compatible with a certain spirit of inquiry, which the ministers of these churches do not dare to overstep, and if they did overstep it, that influence would be destroyed I am obliged, then, to conclude—most unwillingly to conclude, but most decidedly—that the endowment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, in the place of the endowment of the Protestant church in that country, in connection with the state, is not an object which the parliament of this country ought to adopt or to sanction." This was speaking boldly out, and the sentiments thus decidedly expressed were loudly cheered by the ministerial party. In full proportion, however, was the resentment they kindled in the opponents of the Irish church establishment, so that Mr Keogh, the solicitor-general of Ireland, and Messrs. Monsell and Sadleir resigned their offices, but were soon after induced to resume them. As for the motion itself, it was rejected by the large majority of 240 against 98, and the Irish Protestant church seemed more firmly established than ever

In the meantime, the affairs of the church at home were not overlooked, so that on the 26th of May, Dr R Phillimore moved for leave in the House of Commons to bring in a bill to alter and amend the laws of church-rates. By the law, as it now stood, it was made the bounden duty of every parishioner to contribute to the repair of the fabric of the parish church, and it could be enforced even by a minority of the rate-payers He proposed, on the other hand, that all dissenters should be exempted from the payment of church-rates, by the simple process of stating in writing that they are dissenters from the Church of England, and handing that statement to the churchwardens. He also proposed that all persons thus exempted should have no right to compel any clergyman to perform any religious service over him or in his behalf, and that he should have no place in church-vestries, or a right to church-votes. With regard to churchmen, he proposed that the law should remain as it was, except that in the consistorial court decisions should be given summarily *vivâ voce*, and that they should be appealed from only on a point of law. In anticipation of this movement, an amendment, which was in readiness, was moved by Sir W. Clay, that "this house do resolve itself into a committee, to consider whether church-rates should not be abolished, and provisions made for the charges to which such rates are at present applicable, from pew-rents, and from the increased value which inquiries instituted by authority of the crown have shown may be derived under better management from church lands and property." Both of these propositions were considered objectionable Without church-rates, it was alleged, the principle of a religious establishment could not be maintained, nor the nationality of the church prevented from dwindling into sectarianism; while with regard to the objections of conscientious dissenters to contribute to the church-rates, they had purchased their property subject to these imposts, and fully aware that it was thus encumbered Both were therefore negatived—the amendment by 207 to 185, and the original motion by 220 to 172

In the measures of law reform brought forward this session, was one which had been introduced into parliament nine times within twenty-three years, and as often had failed. In 1851 it had been carried unanimously in the House of Lords, but was dropped by the change of government. This unlucky measure, called the registration of assurances bill, was now brought before the lords on the 3d of March by the lord-chancellor for a second reading, and its object was the registration of titles and of incumbrances, the register being full proof of all the facts stated therein, and no claims to be recognized against the purchaser unless thus registered A plan so hostile to the "glorious uncertainty" of the law had hitherto found its chief antagonists in the solicitors It now had for its chief advocates Lords John Campbell, Beaumont, and Brougham, and it was passed through the second and third readings, but did not become law, being subsequently withdrawn in the House of Commons

The second reading of the charitable trusts bill was next moved in the lords on the 3d of May by the lord-chancellor, after a pause since 1851, during which several changes had been made in it. It was proposed that a board of superintendence, composed of the lord-president of the council, some other cabinet minister who should also be a member of the House of Commons, and two legal gentlemen of high attainments, should, as a branch of the government, superintend all the charities of the kingdom—and the multifarious duties of their high office were also specified with full legal precision. It passed the upper house, and in coming before the commons, Lord John Russell stated before the bill went into committee, a few alterations which had occurred in the course of previous discussions. These he now proposed, and the most important of them related to Roman Catholic charities, the placing of which under the management of that body without special provisions might affect their very existence. He therefore proposed their exclusion from the bill, but a separate provision to be made for them; and the exemption itself to be limited to the space of two years. He made this

proposal at the last hour, because he feared that the bill itself might be injurious to Roman Catholics in respect to their trusts, and he had been informed by a Roman Catholic barrister that many of their charities were void in law. His lordship's proposal was carried in the committee by eighty-seven to seventy-six, and after several new clauses added to the bill, it passed the third reading on the 8th of August, and soon after became law.

As Australia now repudiated the indignity of being a convict colony, and was too strong and wealthy to be threatened into obedience, the question of transportation and the disposal of our criminals had become one of the difficult political problems of the day It was urgent also for an immediate solution, and was accordingly brought before the House of Lords on the 10th of May The first motion on this subject, which was made by Earl Grey, and which still contemplated the idea of transportation being available for the uses of government as a means of punishment and riddance, was negatived, and a bill introduced for altering the punishment of transportation on the 11th of July by the lord-chancellor In consequence of the growing repugnance to convict labour through all our colonies, Western Australia was the only one still willing to tolerate the infliction of penal servitude In this case, consideration was called to the number of criminals that might still be transported, and the crimes that were to be so punished It was proposed, therefore, that a fourteen years' sentence should be the standard for the expatriated, and this only in the case of flagrant offenders, while of the remainder, those who should have been sentenced to seven years, were to be kept in penal servitude for four, those for ten years, to undergo a home bondage for six, &c. These secondary punishments, in lieu of transportation, were deplored as a grievous necessity, and it was anxiously asked if there was not still some odd nook in the vast Australian continent into which our ship-loads of crime might be conveniently emptied. None, however, could be discovered, and from sheer necessity the bill was passed a second and third time through the House of Lords. It was brought into the House of Commons in committee on the 9th of August, by Lord Palmerston, who advocated the proposed secondary punishment system as the only alternative that remained for us. He explained that after the specified number of years of home servitude had expired, the convict should obtain a ticket-of-leave that would return him to society, but liable to be revoked. Here a grave question must arise How were these enfranchised convicts to be employed? His lordship stated that means would be found of giving them employment upon the public works apart from the convicts, at suitable wages, from which occupation, without a stigma, they might glide into the ordinary avocations of honest industry. The charge of providing this additional accommodation would indeed be borne by the public; but this expense would be more than compensated by the annual saving of the former expenditure of transportation. Such were the palliatives of that most unwelcome ticket-of-leave system, without which no other remedy could be devised. The bill, therefore, met with no further opposition, and was passed through committee. On the order for the third reading, a puzzling question was put by Mr Keating The ticket-of-leave man would be *quasi* a free man, and capable of contracting obligations, and yet, he would be in the anomalous position of one liable to have his liberty abridged at the will of the secretary of state Here we should have a new class of persons introduced into society. To this, it was answered by Lord Palmerston, that the difficulty had already been foreseen, and easily surmounted. The element of hope was to be kept alive in the heart of the convict, while the liability of having his ticket-of-leave recalled, would teach him habits of self-control, and prevent him from lapsing into crime. The bill passed through all its readings, and became law.

The affairs of India every year becoming more important, as well as more complex and difficult, were introduced into the House of Commons by Sir Charles Wood on the 3d of June In a speech that lasted five hours (for long speeches had now become too much the order of the day), he went over the history of India for the last twenty years, and showed the evils of its government that still brooded unredressed over the large mass of our eastern kingdoms and principalities. These evils he comprised under three heads—viz, the maladministration of justice, the want of public works, and the tenures of lands Much had been already accomplished for India, but still it did not follow that it possessed the best government that could be devised As for that which now existed, it might be regarded under two different aspects—the home government and that of India; and the question which he brought forward was, whether this rule should continue in its double character, or be reduced to a single rule administered by a secretary of state. The ministerial measure which he proposed was to continue it in the latter character, but to abridge the patronage of the court of directors Their power of nomination to office was to be extinguished, so that civil and scientific appointments should depend upon merit alone. Having entered into ample detail of the contemplated changes by which the first head of his proposal —the administration of justice—was to be better adjusted, and which formed the chief subject of

his speech, he alluded to the others, but chiefly for the purpose of showing how much in these departments had been done already, and how reasonably we might be satisfied with its amount

The debate, which was adjourned to the 6th of June, was resumed by Mr J Phillimore, who made a fierce attack on the apologetic speech of Sir Charles Wood, and declared that our government in India could only be paralleled in the descriptions of that of Sicily under Verres in the orations of Cicero; and he condemned the power still left with the court of directors as being by far too great In the course of debate, heavy complaints were made of the loose statements that were brought forward respecting India by those who had gleaned their information from old newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines, when all they required was but a little industry and application to explore fifty-three large folio volumes in which Indian proceedings were registered Another adjournment of the debate to the 9th of June followed, and in the course of discussion, where so many personal feelings were at stake, our Indian government was alternately praised and reviled, and a change as keenly deprecated as it was earnestly urged In speaking upon the subject, which he could in some measure do from personal experience, in consequence of his early residence in India, Mr Joseph Hume protested against the bill as premature and unstatesmanlike, and that ought to be opposed at every stage. "No wise man," he exclaimed, "would propose such a measure, and if it be, as I believe it is, a mad act, then it is the act of a madman." This logical *sequitur* was received with peals of laughter, and leave was given to bring in the bill.

To enter into the debates that followed would far exceed our limits. There were so many opposite statements, so many assertions and contradictions, so many amendments and counter-amendments, that the head becomes giddy in their whirl, nothing, indeed, but a residence in India, or a deep personal interest in its bank-stock or snug appointments, could induce general readers to wade through the whole subject, or furnish them with a key to understand it The gist of the matter was thus given by Mr Macaulay —He said he should vote for the second reading of the bill. . . . What the country had a right to expect from the government was, not a bill that should make such a reform as would render all future reforms superfluous, but a bill that would introduce present improvements, and leave a scope for further improvements when required; and such a bill was that under discussion. All acknowledged that, in some shape or other, a double government was most suitable for India; and he thought that the changes proposed in the machinery at home—which absorbed too much attention—would impart to it a greater amount of vigour and ability. But India must be governed in India; whatever might be the instructions from home, the local authorities must exercise a discretion As to patronage, if the governor-general were allowed to nominate the civil servants, the most monstrous age of jobbing the world had ever seen would commence And because the plan proposed by the bill (he continued) would fill the service with fit and superior men by the plan of competition, he was earnestly desirous it should pass without delay Alluding to the opportunity it also gave of admitting such natives into office as could successfully compete with European candidates, he thus concluded with the exposure of a fallacy that had too long prevailed among our statesmen. "We shall not secure or prolong our dominion in India by attempting to exclude the natives of that country from a share in its government, or by attempting to discourage their study of western learning, and I will only say further, that however that may be, I will never consent to keep them ignorant in order to keep them manageable, or to govern them in ignorance in order to govern them long"

On the 28th of July, the bill, after having undergone several amendments, was brought before the house for the third reading On this occasion an important debate originated in a motion of Sir J Pakington, for a clause prohibiting the manufacture of salt by the East India Company from and after the 1st of May, 1856, and providing that the manufacture and sale of that article in India should be absolutely free, subject only to such excise or other duties as might then, or from time to time, be levied upon it This article, it was stated, so important a necessary of life in other countries, was essentially so in India. as the chief food of the natives consisted of rice, but as matters now stood, the Hindoo had scarcely half the quantity of salt used by an European; that it was an inferior article, mixed with sand, dirt, and ashes, and cost one-sixth of the consumer's time and labour to get money to purchase it This important motion, after an earnest debate, was carried against the government by 117 to 107. Several other amendments were also agreed to, and the bill was finally passed amidst the loud cheering of the ministerial party. In the lords, the bill also passed through the usual stages without alteration, except in the case of Sir J. Pakington's salt clause, which was struck out In this form the bill was agreed to by the House of Commons, and afterwards became law.

CHAPTER XVI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1853—1854.

VICTORIA.

Apprehensions of war from the aggressions of Russia in the East—Affairs in India—A fresh war commenced with the Burmese—Capture of Martaban by the British—Difficulties of the campaign—Rangoon unsuccessfully assailed by the British—They capture Prome—Their successful expedition against Pegu—The province of Pegu annexed to the British empire—Defeat of Mea-Toon, the Dacoit chief—Discontent of the natives of South Africa with the British government—Sir Harry Smith sent as governor to the Cape of Good Hope—His proceedings on assuming the government—His address to the Caffre chiefs—Commencement of war—Defeat of the British by the Caffres at Keiskamma—Unfavourable and destructive character of the war—The Caffres solicit peace—Terms on which it is granted—Shipwreck of the *Birkenhead* steamer on its way to the Caffre war—Fresh European war originating from Russia—Early designs of Russia on Turkey—Ground of quarrel in the claim of Russia to the guardianship of the holy sepulchre—Counter-claim of France—Inability of the Turkish sultan to satisfy the claimants—Hostile movements on the part of Russia and France—Unreasonable demands of Russia on the Porte—War commenced by Russia against Turkey—Unsuccessful attempt of the great powers to reconcile them—Turkish declaration of war against Russia—Interests of Britain in the quarrel—Discussions on the subject in the House of Lords—Precautions of the ministry to avoid hostilities and preserve peace—Lord John Russell's statement of the whole history of the controversy—Military preparations—Naval coast volunteers bill brought into parliament—Its terms—It is passed—Opening of parliament in January, 1854—General impatience for war—Discussion in the lords upon our long forbearance and the backwardness of ministers—Hume's approval of our expenditure for warlike operations—Question in parliament on the propriety of aiding Mahometan Turkey against Christian Russia—The subject explained and justified in the House of Lords—The combined fleets of Britain and France move forward to protect Constantinople—Movements of the Russian and Turkish armies—Early successes of the Turks—Attempts of the conference at Vienna to mediate—Russia rejects the mediation—Attack of the Russian upon the Turkish fleet at Sinope—The Turks overpowered and massacred—Indignation excited by the affair at Sinope—Letter of the Emperor Napoleon on the subject—The Emperor of Russia's justification of his proceedings—Proclamation of war against Russia by France—Similar proclamation of the British government.

AMIDST those great measures affecting the internal welfare of the country with which the British parliament was employed during a session of unwonted stir and occupation, one subject of apprehension not only overclouded the members, but the public mind at large. It was, that the forty years of international peace which Europe had enjoyed—an unprecedented duration in the history of the world—was drawing to a close at last; and that, true to their nature, men would resume their spirit of rivalry and contention, and war be renewed with a vigour all the more intense in consequence of so long a repose. These apprehensions arose from the East, where the movements of Russia seemed but the prelude of a fresh northern inundation by which Europe would ultimately be desolated, and compelled to commence her career anew. The demand on the part of the czar for the protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey, and subsequently his hostile advance upon the Turkish provinces to substantiate his claim, were each and all made the subject of parliamentary inquiry and discussion. Many, indeed, persevered in hoping to the last that peace would be maintained, and therefore the walls of both houses echoed repeatedly to the assurance that there was no danger; many declared that Russia would stop short in her aggressions upon the worn-out Porte at the first note of an European remonstrance But the czar persisted in spite of remonstrance; and Britain, from a friendly mediator, soon found herself converted into a principal in a contest as trying as any she has ever yet waged for her own personal liberties. This change, however, comes more properly under the history of the following year, from which the conflict dates its actual commencement.

It was perhaps as well for Britain, when such a war broke out so unexpectedly, that recent military events in the colonies had trained and furnished her for a conflict nearer home; and that these colonial campaigns having served such a purpose, had now been happily terminated, so that she might avail herself of her full resources.

The chief of these disturbances was a second Burmese war. The humiliation which Burmah had sustained in her first trial of strength with the Anglo-Indian government had lasted its day; and the treaty of Yandaboo, by which she engaged to respect British rights and property, was becoming a dead letter. This was evident from the oppressions exercised by the native government upon our merchants at Rangoon, as well

as upon the British vessels that entered the port. On complaints of these injuries being transmitted to the governor-general, Commodore Lambert, with a war ship and two steamers, was sent to demand reparation; but although this was apparently given by displacing the offending governor of Rangoon and appointing a successor, the conduct of the new ruler to the British commodore was so unsatisfactory and insulting, that the latter proclaimed the mouths of the river in a state of blockade. This provoked shots from a Burmese battery, which, however, was quickly silenced, and on negotiations being renewed, the King of Ava refused the demands made upon him, which were, an apology for the insults offered to the British messengers, compensation to the merchants for their losses, and an accredited agent of the British government to be permitted to reside at Rangoon, according to the terms of the treaty of Yandaboo Harder terms were to be enforced by the cannon, and an armament of troops from the presidencies of Bengal and Madras under the command of Major-general Godwin, a veteran of the first Burmese war, were sent to Rangoon, who reached the mouth of the Irrawadi river, on which that city stands, on the 2d of April, 1852. As the Madras division had not yet arrived, General Godwin resolved to commence with the siege of Martaban, and on the 5th a tremendous cannonade was opened upon the town from the British ships, the troops were landed under its cover, and in a few minutes the walls, though defended by 5000 men, were scaled with but a trivial loss to the captors.

Temporary Stockade, Martaban —From a sketch by an Officer of the Indian Army

An eastern campaign had commenced once more in earnest, and one where the invaders had not merely to contend with want of roads and means for the transport of artillery, with thick jungles, a hot tropical sun, and long periods of incessant rain, but an intelligent, brave, high-spirited enemy, fully aware of British superiority, and yet ready to risk the encounter. On these accounts the progress of our troops, notwithstanding their bravery and the skill of their old commander, was so slow and precarious, that not a little discontent was expressed at head-quarters. On the 11th, the attack on Rangoon was commenced from the shipping; but although the whole line of defences on the side of the river was destroyed, the fire of the Burmese inflicted a severe requital upon our sailors and marines. Matters were not greatly amended when the troops were landed; for they had not moved far when, to their astonishment, the enemy, instead of ensconcing themselves behind their stockades as they had been wont, poured their skirmishers through the jungle upon the British flanks, and having become good shots, they rapidly picked off our men, whose dress exposed them to notice, while their own was obscured by the brushwood The stockade from which these skirmishers issued was at length stormed, although with severe loss, but on advancing to Rangoon, our troops experienced a very different defence from that they had encountered at Martaban, and although, on the 27th of July, the governor-general himself, impatient at the length of the siege, arrived at Rangoon, hoping that his presence would accelerate the capture, the city still continued to hold out. The only counterpoise to this unsatisfactory progress was the capture of Prome, for which service a besieging force from the main army was embarked on the 25th of September On the 10th of October the Burmese abandoned its defence, "leaving in our possession (writes General Godwin in his despatch) an entirely evacuated town overrun with thick and rank vegetation, and, I regret to add, abounding in swamps."

This was but a poor recompense for so much labour and loss; but in November, a successful expedition against Pegu was attended with more profitable results. The Burmese having taken forcible possession of the city against the will of the inhabitants, the British commander resolved to dislodge them; and for this purpose a flotilla under his command cast anchor, on the 20th, about two miles below Pegu. The landing was

made, the attack was commenced in gallant style, and 1000 British assailants succeeded in completely driving out the Burmese, who mustered from 4000 to 5000 men, strongly entrenched behind their ramparts. After the British force had been withdrawn, the Burmese endeavoured to recover the city, which necessitated the return of the captors; and on this occasion, after a single attack, the enemy, although very numerous and strongly posted, fled in all directions, and abandoned their purpose. The whole province of Pegu was thenceforth annexed, by a proclamation of the governor-general, to the British dominions in India.

After the capture of Prome and the annexation of Pegu, the war with Burmah may be said to have been closed. But the victors had still the task of suppressing those Dacoit chiefs who had appeared on the field during the disturbed state of the kingdom, and who plundered friend and enemy alike. The most conspicuous of these marauding chiefs, called Mea-Toon, was first assailed in his stronghold, about fifteen miles inland from Donnabew, but the small force of British who were sent on this expedition were repulsed with considerable loss A still larger was then sent, consisting of sailors and marines and 350 sepoys, but they, too, fared as their predecessors had done, being utterly defeated, with the loss of their principal officers. As such an enemy could not be despised, that course was

CAFFRE CHIEF OF THE ZULU TRIBE.
From Angas' Illustrations of the Caffres

finally taken which should have been adopted at first; a large detachment, numbering about 1300, under the command of Sir John Cheape, was sent against the marauder, who was driven from his defences after a gallant resistance. On the defeat of Mea-Toon hostilities ceased, the King of Ava having agreed to those concessions which the governor-general demanded

During this Burmese war, the British arms had been employed against an enemy in South Africa of a still more formidable description, as far as personal bulk, strength, and endurance were concerned, than the warriors of the East. These were the Caffres of the Cape of Good Hope, whose limits had been successively lessened by the increase of the British colonists, and by their own unsuccessful aggressions when the formidable growth of the settlement had provoked them into open warfare Their boundary for many years had been the Great Fish River, but this had been afterwards carried backward to the river Kei, while the territory between it and the former limit, under the name of British Caffraria, but considered as a neutral ground, became a bone of contention between the Caffres and the colonists. These hostile demonstrations on the part of the former had become so formidable, that a governor of military talents was judged necessary for the Cape, and in 1850, Sir Harry Smith, the hero of Aliwal, was appointed to this office One of his first proceedings was to repair to King William's Town, in the centre of British Caffraria, and summon a meeting of the Caffre chiefs, who repaired to him at the call. But Sandilli, the principal of these not only in power but in talent—a sort of Caffre Machiavelli, who, though young and lame, was regarded as an oracle by his countrymen—refused to comply with the summons At this singular meeting, the proceedings of Sir Harry, if the colonial journals may be believed, were sufficiently *outré*. He carried a long stick surmounted by a brass knob, called the stick of peace, with which he illustrated his oratory, while his speech was a singular medley of Caffre and oriental eloquence He railed at the chiefs for being such fools as to believe in a fool (Sandilli)—a boy-prophet, who "was all over grease, and as black as a coal." Then flourishing his staff of peace, he exclaimed, "If you are not happy and want war, I will make war, and bring my troops from Cape Town in four days, as I came myself, and I will drive you all over the Kei, and get Krili to drive you to the Umzimvoobo, and I will be there too—I was there once; you know it—and then get Faku to drive you farther; and then you will be scattered over the earth, as beasts of the field and vagabonds. But the good I will protect and assist, and be their father. I will kill every one that will not fight on my side. There is a God above, he knows all things." This speech, which might have produced marvellous effects upon a Hindoo audience, was utterly thrown away upon these stalwart

and cunning Caffres, who, while they listened with demure countenances, were no doubt laughing in the folds of their karosses at the governor's speech, so unlike the addresses of all former British rulers. They however shook hands with him in token of obedience, and then returned to their homes to mature the intended insurrection.

The train thus laid was kindled by the deposition of Sandilli; and Sir Harry had scarcely reached the seat of government when he was obliged once more to hurry to King William's Town. Finding that the Caffre chiefs would not undertake to capture Sandilli, the governor resolved to accomplish the feat by a surprisal; and for this purpose Colonel Mackinnon was sent from Fort Cox, on the 24th of December, 1850, at the head of 600 men With this formidable force the colonel proceeded up the valley of the Keiskamma, and through rugged defiles, until he entered a narrow rocky gorge, that seemed expressly made for the destruction of an invader, while his guides and advanced guard were ninety-two of the Caffre police armed and trained in British fashion, and whose fidelity under such tempting circumstances was implicitly trusted It was not to be wondered at, therefore, when the British infantry had fully entered within the gorge, that an unexpected volley from an ambushed enemy came down thick upon them, and with deadly effect To retreat in such a case was destruction, and the troops rushed forward under this dangerous fire until they cleared the gorge, and reached a missionary station three miles distant. Here, however, they were not safe, as the whole country round was in a state of insurrection; and Colonel Mackinnon was obliged to commence his retreat to Fort Cox by a circuitous route. But there also Sir Harry Smith himself was shut up without means of egress, the fort being closely blockaded by thousands of armed Caffres; and when Colonel Somerset advanced from Fort Hare to his relief, his troops were defeated and driven back by the Caffres, who now fought with muskets as well as assegais, and could wage a close hand-to-hand encounter with British soldiers as well as one of missiles In this manner the war went on during the following year, with a succession of desperate skirmishes, by which our troops were thinned and exhausted, whatever party prevailed; while the work of massacre, conflagration, and plunder, which the Caffre tribes carried on with equal cunning and daring, swept the whole range of

CAFFRES ATTACKING INFANTRY IN KEISKAMMA GORGE
From the Illustrated London News, 1851

frontier, and drove the British settlers across the boundary rivers, and into the settlements below, although these were scarcely places of safety any longer To deepen the confusion, large bodies of Hottentots, under the leading of some deserters from the Cape corps, forsook their old allegiance to the British government, and made common cause with the now successful Caffres. In September, the following summary, published in a Cape journal, gives a melancholy account of the nature and effects of this war —

"The ravages of the enemy continue to be most distressing Having dispersed themselves over an intra-colonial zone, of a breadth varying from thirty to eighty miles, very little of farm stock or produce has escaped destruction Beginning at Turka, where the Cradock district approaches British Caffraria, we may enumerate the various places as we proceed southward, by Somerset, Uitenhage, and eastward through Albany, till we arrive at Victoria, adjoining the posts maintained by his excellency in Caffraria, and everywhere the same melancholy tale of woe has to be repeated Flocks carried off, homesteads burned to ashes, the most vigilant of the colonists barely escaping with their lives, the incautious everywhere shot down by parties in ambush—are, we regret to say, the general features of the narrative"

In this manner, a desultory but most harassing warfare of skirmishes and surprises was continued throughout the following year (1852), by

which not only the present prosperity of the Cape of Good Hope as a British colony was sorely diminished, but our future tenure made a matter of doubt and misgiving. We might slay the Caffres in hundreds, but when they requited the loss by tens or fives of British troops who perished in the struggle, the advantage was clearly on the side of the savages, whose numbers would have wasted us out in such a protracted campaigning. Besides, it was evident that the longer the contest was continued the enemy was daily becoming more skilful and daring, and therefore the better fitted for future resistance, even though the present insurrection should be put down These considerations weighed with the reflective, and induced a desire for the pacification of South Africa, a measure which could now be accomplished with honour, in consequence of the able and successful administration of General Cathcart, who had succeeded Sir Harry Smith as governor and commander in-chief. The overture came from Sandilli himself, the prime mover and chief support of the Caffre rebellion, who now humbly sued for peace and pardon, declaring that he had "no more strength to fight the English," that he had been driven from his country, and that he had complied with the governor's command by re-crossing the Kei He now particularly wished to know what district would be assigned for the occupation of himself and his people. As the Amatolas and other districts formerly occupied by the principal insurgents were declared forfeited to the crown, it was necessary to drive Sandilli and his people farther back into the interior, and the country between the Kei and the great north road leading to the Windvogelberg, and bounded on the north by the Thomas river, and the south by the country of the chief Umhala, was assigned to him, this grace, however, was fettered by the conditions that he should surrender the muskets he had taken from the British, remain in allegiance to the Queen of England, and not trespass within the Amatolas, on pain of being dealt with by martial law. These hard terms were reluctantly accepted, and Sandilli and his numerous tribe retired to their new home, about 200 miles to the north of the old. How long this peace will continue, or under what plea or pretext it will be broken, no one can foresee; but that it will not long endure, seems an absolute certainty. A fearless, high-spirited, pastoral people like the Caffres, cannot be content with such narrow limits in the territory that was once their own, and even already they manifest rebellious symptoms, that only wait a fit opportunity for the outbreak. Should this occur, a fresh Caffre war will more than renew the difficulties and dangers of our South African colonists.

In a war that was otherwise so trivial and uneventful, one instance of heroism occurred which even the proud ages of chivalry could not parallel. It was exhibited in the shipwreck of the *Birkenhead*, a government iron steamer, on the 26th of February, 1852. This vessel was conveying detachments from several of our regiments to the seat of war, under Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Seton, of the 74th regiment of Highlanders (who had succeeded to the command on the death of Colonel Fordyce), and had proceeded on her voyage from Simon's Bay, when she suddenly struck upon a sunken rock near the shore, off Point Danger. The shock was so tremendous that the iron plates of the ship's bottom gave way, the cabin was quickly filled with water, and it was evident that in a few minutes more the vessel would be engulfed among the breakers It was as yet only two o'clock in the morning, with no light but that of the stars, but in an instant the deck was crowded with the alarmed passengers, and, while death was imminent, only two of the ship's boats were available for service To rush into the boats, at the risk of swamping them, would have been the impulse of the selfish; to fling themselves into the sea, in the hope of reaching the shore, but only to sink each other by their overcrowding, or perish among the breakers, and by the sharks that were on the alert, would have been the headlong attempt even of the bravest But nothing of the kind in either way was done; and never was the power of military discipline, or the worth of fearless, unflinching courage, or the moral grandeur of self-sacrificing devotedness more conspicuously displayed than in this moment of terrible trial. At the word of Colonel Seton the soldiers drew up upon the reeling and loosening deck as if they had been upon parade, they obeyed his orders as calmly as if they had been executing the usual movements of the drill. The brave humane heart of the colonel was first directed to the safety of those who could least help themselves, and whose fate would otherwise have been certain—to the women, the children, and the sick on board—and they were carefully conveyed into the boats, which, in the first instance, were given up for their especial service; and, by this arrangement, all the helpless were saved without a single exception. And now only were the strong and vigorous to look to their own safety, after they had so nobly discharged their duty to others; and while several betook themselves to swimming, or committed themselves to pieces of floating timber, the vessel parted amid-ships, and went down with the greater part of the officers and soldiers, with whom self-preservation had been only the latest subject of anxiety. In this fatal catastrophe 357 officers and soldiers, and

60 seamen perished, while nearly 200 lives were saved—and this, too, in a crisis where, but for these arrangements, and the fidelity with which they were executed, nearly all might have been lost. These soldiers, also, be it observed, were not veterans, but for the most part young recruits, who had never been under fire, and yet they calmly stood in a breach more dismaying than that of Badajoz or St Sebastian, and saw the boats, their last hope of safety, depart from them without a murmur. But what shall we say of the controlling might of that noble leader who directed their movements, and whom, even to the death, they were proud to obey? It was his last as well as his first field of action, if such it might be termed, but the event which bereaved the service of such an officer showed how much it had lost, and what a name he might have achieved for himself in the annals of modern warfare. We have been thus particular in the catastrophe of the *Birkenhead*, as it was a unique specimen of heroism, in which the coolest courage and intrepid daring were combined with the purest humanity and disinterestedness; and as such, it roused the emulation of our soldiers, and was the parent of similar achievements in the subsequent campaigns of the Crimea and India As long as the British army nurses such a spirit as that which was shown upon the deck of the *Birkenhead*, and possesses such officers as Colonel Seton, our country, let the enemy be who they may, has nothing to fear.[1]

We now turn our record to that momentous European war in which we were subsequently involved. In this case it came, not from France, whose revolutionary spirit in 1848 had filled us with apprehension, and against whose anticipated attacks we had been carefully arming, but from Russia, a country with which we had lived in friendship, and whose growing power we had fostered as a counterpoise to that of France Little did our politicians foresee, even till the last hour, how diligently they would toil to undo their own work, and how cordially France and England would unite their banners in a common cause. But a new era in the history of human progress seems to have commenced, and to proceed by steps upon which the statesmanship derived from the experience of the past is unable to calculate.

Since the days of Peter the Great, Russia had never ceased to turn a covetous eye towards Turkey: the possession of that country seemed to her nothing more than her birthright, as she was the great metropolitan head and representative of the Greek church, and, from the gradual decay of the Turkish power, it was thought only a question of time for the Russian dominion to be established upon the banks of the Hellespont, and the cross replaced upon the dome of Santa Sophia. When the opportunity had arrived, a cause of quarrel was not difficult to find, and Russia established her claim upon monks, relics, and shrines. Such pretensions are strange to the politicians of the nineteenth century, but the cause of quarrel was precisely fitted to the semi-barbarism of the Russian intellect, while it imparted to such an unjust aggression the sanctions of a holy war

From the beginning of the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, the guardianship of the holy places in Palestine had been a ground of contention between the Greek and Latin churches, the former represented by the Czars of Russia, and the latter by the sovereigns of France Independently of anything like religious feeling, a point of honour was at issue, in which neither party would yield to his rival, and, to complicate this singular debate, which was waged with a full amount of the *odium theologicum*, the umpire of the quarrel was necessarily a Mahometan—even the Sultan of Turkey, and august representative of the caliphs, in whose territories the places in question were situated, and without whose imperial *hatti-scheriff*, or imperial ordinance, the decrees of the contending sovereigns could have no effect. In 1850 this controversy had become so keen, especially about the possession of certain nooks and portions of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, that the bewildered Turkish government knew not how to arbitrate, and endeavoured to preach peace to both parties, but in vain When a joint commission from France and Russia had been unable to decide, the case was transferred to a Turkish special council of state, and the result was a *firman* of the sultan, in March, 1852, by which the different pieces of the church were apportioned among the rivals according to old treaty or tradition Even this, however, was not enough; for, while a key to the church was granted to both parties, the Greek (or Russian) monks were offended, and claimed the sole possession of this precious key. And thus wrote the Russian ambassador, Count Nesselrode, upon this most momentous decision.—"The efforts of the French embassy have triumphed at Constan-

[1] A mural tablet was lately erected by government at Chelsea Hospital, bearing the following inscription—"This monument is erected, by command of her Majesty Queen Victoria, to record the heroic constancy and unbroken discipline shown by Lieutenant-colonel Seton, 74th Highlanders, and the troops embarked under his command, on board the *Birkenhead*, when that vessel was wrecked off the Cape of Good Hope, on the 26th of February, 1852, and to preserve the memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, who perished on that occasion Their names were as follows—(here the names of the officers, and the regiments to which the privates belonged, are given), in all, 357 officers and men The names of the privates will be found on brass plates adjoining"

tinople. Not only has the firman, sanctioned by the sultan's hatti-scheriff, not been executed at Jerusalem, but it has been treated with derision by the sultan's ministers. To the indignation of the whole Greek population, the key of the church of Bethlehem has been made over to the Latins, so as publicly to demonstrate their religious supremacy in the East."

It is sufficiently evident that when the same privilege was conceded to both parties indifferently, no supremacy to either was conceded. But Nesselrode and his court thought differently; and with them less than all was nothing. To enforce the correctness of this conclusion, a Russian force was marched towards the frontier of Moldavia; while, on the other hand, the entrance of a French fleet into the Dardanelles was threatened, unless the Latin monks obtained the possession of the tomb of the Virgin one day exclusively for themselves. While the Turkish government was thus about to be crushed in the collision of two such powers, Prince Menschikoff arrived as Russian ambassador at Constantinople, and, from his arrogant tone, as well as secret proposals, it was evident that his mission aimed at something more than the possession of keys and holy sepulchres. It was nothing less than the full independence of the Greek church in Turkey—the establishment of an *imperium in imperio*, of which his imperial master would necessarily be the sovereign. Such a demand was inadmissible, and rejected accordingly, upon which Menschikoff left Constantinople in high dudgeon. To right itself in the estimation of Europe, which with Turkey was now a matter of some importance, an official note from its government to the different embassies announced the terms that had been proposed, and their decided refusal, and, in full apprehension of the consequences, notwithstanding the pacific assurances of the Emperor of Russia, the note thus concluded —"Nevertheless, no direct assurance having been given to the Porte to the effect that there will be no war, and preparations going forward on a large scale, in the localities bordering on the Ottoman empire, the Porte, animated by no hostile intention, and as a simple measure of prudence, feels compelled to take measures of self-defence." To remove also every substantial ground of complaint from his Christian subjects, and their fellow-religionists of Europe, the sultan issued a firman at the end of May, 1853, by which the privileges of the Greek church in Turkey, so imperilled by late events as well as old abuses, were ratified and confirmed in the most express terms. Having performed this act of justice, the Turkish government prepared for war, which now seemed to be inevitable.

This event commenced in earnest on the 2d and 3d of July, 1853, when two divisions of Russian troops crossed the Pruth, under the command of Prince Gortschakoff. In this way the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were occupied by the enemy, and Turkey in self-defence provoked to resistance. In consequence of this Russian movement, a combined English and French fleet were sent to Besika Bay, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, for the purpose of watching those further movements in which both powers had so deep an interest; while, to put a stop to the war at the commencement, the representatives of the four great powers held a conference at Vienna, and drew up terms of agreement, which were submitted to both parties, but, while Russia offered to accede to them, the Turkish government refused, unless some alterations were made in the language in which its provisions were expressed Although the negotiating powers were offended at the refusal, yet they were soon compelled to acknowledge that the Ottoman Porte was in the right These terms were therefore modified according to the wish of the latter, but it was now the turn of the czar to reject them, which he accordingly did. It was evident that matters had gone too far to be settled by diplomatic arbitration Besides, the arbitrators had already committed a diplomatic blunder, by producing a note which required such amendment, and thus affording to both rival parties a loophole of escape.

During this period of mingled negotiation and aggression, a peace party in Turkey, headed by Redschid Pacha, conscious of the now decayed state of their empire, and devout believers in the old prophecy that they were to be finally driven out of Constantinople, and sent back to the interior of Asia, were chiefly anxious to procrastinate the coming of the evil hour, and with this view, they were ready to purchase a continuance of peace, even at the price of submission. But the war party, which was now the popular cause, clamoured for hostilities with a vehemence that threatened to garnish the walls of the seraglio with the heads of all who gainsaid them. "You are now listening," they menacingly exclaimed in the council chamber, where they sought and compelled an audience,—"you are now listening to foreign and infidel ambassadors, who are the enemies of the faith we are the children of the Prophet; we have an army, and that army cries out with us for war, to avenge the insults which the Giaours have heaped upon us." Thus it was that the fanaticism of Christian Russia was to be met with the equal fervour of Moslem pride and intolerance, and on both sides the conflict was to be distinguished by the revolting characteristics of a religious warfare. The popular outcry bore down all opposition, and on the 5th of October,

1853, the Ottoman Porte published a formal declaration of war against Russia. In this note the real and political motive of the Russian invasion was stripped of its religious pretensions, and exposed throughout with Turkish brevity and simplicity. "Even supposing," it said, "that Russia had a subject of complaint in relation to the holy places, she ought to have circumscribed her actions and solicitations within the limits of this question alone, and ought not to have raised pretensions which the object of her complaints could not sustain. She ought not, moreover, to have taken measures of intimidation, such as sending her troops to the frontiers, and making naval preparations at Sebastopol, on the subject of a question which might have been settled amicably between the two powers But it is evident that what has taken place is totally contrary to an intention of amicable settlement"

In the meantime, how had Britain been employed in an event upon which she had so much at stake? On the 25th of April, when the movements of the Emperor of Russia had excited public alarm, and occasioned an anxious inquiry, the Earl of Clarendon assured the lords in the upper house that Turkey had nothing to fear, that the mission of Prince Menschikoff was for the purpose of placing the matter of the holy shrines on a permanent footing, that the naval and military preparations of Russia had been greatly exaggerated, and that our government had full reliance on the pacific declarations of the czar. Finally, he assured the house that in relation to Turkey there was no danger of the peace of Europe being disturbed On the 27th of May, when the mission of Menschikoff was better understood, and the designs of Russia were more clearly manifested, the question was again brought before both Houses of Parliament But in reply, Lord Clarendon in the lords alluded to the reserve he must maintain while negotiations were actually pending, stated that Menschikoff's mission was not ended as yet, and declared that the ambassadors of France and England now at the Porte were completely at one in maintaining the tranquillity of Europe, by upholding the independence of the Turkish empire A similar reply was given in the commons by Lord John Russell. Only three days later, when Menschikoff's hostile departure from Constantinople was known, and when war was almost certain to follow, the question in parliament now was as to the probability of the British fleet reaching the Dardanelles before that of Russia could arrive, and the apprehension of the members was quieted with the assurance that our ships would be at their station two days earlier than the Russian armament.

Events now crowded thick and fast; the electric wires of the telegraph were kept in incessant action, and the public mind of England in a state of constant excitement. But the march of the Russian troops across the Pruth, and the occupation of the Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, with the manifesto of the czar announcing and justifying the measure, seemed to make all further hopes of peace a delusion; and on the 27th of June and 11th of July, ministers were urgently asked if these reports were true, and if government had been officially informed of them. But to these the answers were so vague and unsatisfactory, although the subject was repeatedly brought before both houses, that the general impatience could be restrained no longer, and an attempt was made to break the spell in which the government had enveloped the subject, by a demand for the documents in their possession, but to this stern ultimatum it was answered on the part of the ministers, that the production of these would be detrimental to the public service As long indeed as the last lingering shadow of a hope of peace remained, every care had been taken to avoid hostilities, either by the production of a diplomatic note or verbal expression of feeling, for it was felt that if hostilities commenced, they would be nothing less than the beginning of a great European war. But in Britain such silence has its limits, and there are emergencies in which the most taciturn reserve in high places is compelled to speak out. A full revelation was therefore made on the 16th of August, in the House of Commons, according to his previous promise, by Lord John Russell. On entering office his attention had been called to the controversy respecting the holy places; and from the starting-point of Menschikoff's embassy, his lordship proceeded to recapitulate the negotiations upon the subject, until both the French and English government had been startled by the czar's new and extravagant demands. This alarm had been increased by the Russian preparations, both naval and military, for the invasion of the Danubian provinces, and therefore the French and British fleets had simultaneously entered the Dardanelles, for the protection of Turkey Even at this stage, however, every effort had been made to prevent a declaration of war; and for this purpose, the note of Vienna had been drawn up, and subscribed by the four powers. That note had already been accepted by the czar; but even if it should be agreed to by the sultan also, there would still remain the question of the evacuation of the provinces, and unless Russia consented to abandon them, no settlement could be satisfactory. As to the means by which this object is to be obtained, and the mode of operation, these, his lordship said, must be left to our executive government.

As for the French and English fleets in Besika Bay, there they might be allowed to remain, without being considered as an equivalent to the military occupation of the provinces, until peace should be secured, and the Russian troops withdrawn. "I will only say further," he added in conclusion, "that this question of the maintenance of Turkey is one that must always require the attention—and I may say the vigilant attention—of any person holding in his hands the foreign affairs of this country. This, however, can only be secured by a constant union between England and France—by a thorough concert and constant communication between those two great powers." At the close of the long discussion which followed, Lord Palmerston expressed his conviction that Turkey had still within itself the elements of life and prosperity; and he believed that the course adopted by her majesty's government was a sound policy, deserving the approbation of the country, and which it would be the duty of every British government to pursue.

As it was now full time to be intent on military preparation, a government plan connected with this was brought before the House of Commons previous to the close of the session, by Sir James Graham, entitled "the naval coast volunteers bill." It was based upon the voluntary enlistment principle, instead of the compulsion practised in the sea-service, and calculated for the fishermen, bargemen, lightermen, and persons employed in the coasting service, who lived upon our shores These men, Sir James stated, would not be unwilling in a time of peace to be trained for a short period in each year to the use of great guns—a service for which their nautical habits had in some measure already fitted them These volunteer marines were to be enlisted on the same terms as were held out to landsmen for the militia service, by a bounty of £6, the payment to be extended over such a period as the admiralty might think fit; and their pay while on duty was to be equal to that of an able seaman in the royal navy Their period of enlistment was not to exceed five years; that of their training was to be twenty-eight days, to be conducted either ashore or afloat; and when at sea, they were not to be taken more than fifty leagues from the coast of Great Britain or Ireland, or one hundred in the case of actual service. Such were the principal features of the bill, by which, in a season of war or invasion, Sir James hoped that 18,000 or 20,000 men could be mustered for the defence of our shores—men in the prime of life, inspired with the national character of British seamen, and trained to the use of arms, who would prove a powerful auxiliary to our advantages of steam navigation. The bill passed without opposition through both Houses of Parliament On the 20th of August, the prorogation of parliament was performed by commission, and with the usual ceremonies. After an amount and variety of labour that was altogether unusual, in which 104 bills had passed into law, and only two been rejected, the close was in gloomy anticipations, not only of a deficient harvest over the whole of Europe, but a general war, of which the advancing shadows were at hand

Under these melancholy auspices, the parliament was opened by her majesty in person on the 30th of January, 1854. In the royal speech much importance was attached to the efforts which government had made for the preservation of peace; but the necessary secrecy with which these had been accompanied, as well as the shifting uncertainty that still continued to attend them, had been productive of no small amount of public impatience and resentment. Since war appeared inevitable, the nation was eager to plunge into it at once, and learn the best or the worst that might follow. And this impatience found ample utterance in the House of Lords, when her majesty's address was under consideration The Marquis of Clanricarde declared that he was sorry he could not agree in the expressions used in the speech with regard to the efforts of the government to preserve peace. These efforts, it seemed to him, had been so characterized by vacillation and inconsistency, that, in point of fact, neither parliament nor the world knew what the determination of the government really was. Warfare was talked of, but no one knew with whom we were at war. Nay, no one could say whether we were at war or not. But if public rumours were true, we were at war, and if so, why was the government afraid to state the fact? Another point of complaint, his lordship added, was, that no information on the eastern question had been afforded to the public, so that the inhabitants of other and unconstitutional countries were in a better position to form an opinion of the state of affairs than the people of constitutional England. It was impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that all this uncertainty was owing to the difference of opinion on the eastern question which prevailed in the cabinet, the result of which division was, that every step taken in the matter bore evidence of a compromise between the conflicting parties. The character of England had sank immeasurably among continental nations through the conduct of the government in this affair. The "sneer" went round that we were afraid. This expression by the noble marquis of the popular feeling, called forth on the part of the Earl of Clarendon as full a justification of the ministers in the course of policy they had

hitherto seen fit to pursue. As they were responsible to parliament, they were not called upon to publish their acts before the legislature met, in imitation of those governments who had no parliament to which they owned responsibility. Revelations also might, on certain contingencies, have been inconvenient and damaging to the cause of peace. With regard to the taunt of cowardice which had been thrown out against the administration, this Lord Clarendon indignantly denied. What they had done was under a deep conviction of the value of peace, which they deemed worth any sacrifice except that of national honour. He illustrated this by a minute detail of the diplomatic tergiversations of Russia, through which our ministers, still hoping for a peaceful adjustment, had avoided committing this country to the perils and uncertainties of war, and by this pacific conduct they had placed the Emperor of Russia in an evil position, by making him the cause of aggression and sole author of the war. Moreover, this very delay had been serviceable to the Turks, who had thus obtained much valuable time for completing their warlike preparations, while it would justify the cause to the British public, should our going to war be inevitable. In the course of discussion in the lords, Earl Grey delivered a pertinent remark, which, had it been attended to at the time, and laid up for prompt accomplishment, might have averted much future disappointment and disaster. He was not quite satisfied that we should have interfered at all in the dispute between Russia and Turkey. If, however, as he feared, war was inevitable, it should be carried on with vigour and unanimity, and he trusted to find the defect in the naval and military services which long peace might have fostered, promptly removed, and young and intelligent officers appointed to the command.

The discussions both in the lords and the commons upon the approaching crisis, which every day appeared more inevitable, were both keen and frequent, but at each debate the asperity with which the delay of the ministers had been blamed, became more temperate, until it settled into a general conviction that they could scarcely have acted otherwise than they did, that, in fact, they had acted well and wisely, both for the honour and interests of the country. The strength of this conviction was remarkably manifested on the 22d of February, when the report from the committee of supply, communicating their votes of men and money, was brought before the House of Commons. On this occasion Mr Joseph Hume, the keenest guardian of the public purse that ever kept watch upon the national treasury, opened the discussion, by observing that this was the first time since he had been in parliament that he had not taken part in the question of voting the number of men for the public service. He deprecated the manner in which the government, and especially Lord Aberdeen, had been attacked, and expressed it as his opinion, that they had deserved the thanks of the country for having exhausted every effort for the preservation of peace. The official papers, he declared, as far as they went, showed that the past and the present administration had done everything in their power to keep aloof from the quarrel between the Latin and Greek churches, and to terminate the dispute between Russia and Turkey They had been deceived by over-confidence. The shame, however, was not upon them, but upon the deceiver. Under the circumstances, he approved the increase of the navy, which he thought moderate, and considered that the measures taken by the government were fit and proper to protect the liberties of mankind against the encroachments of a barbarian power Thus testified the venerable octogenarian, whose cautious understanding so many years had only ripened into fuller maturity, and whose feelings had been mellowed when those of others are so often soured or dried up After this, who could cry out against the expensiveness of warlike preparations, or preach peace upon the plea of economy?

Another important feature in the approaching contest, was a consideration of the question how far such countries as France and England could be justified in waging a war against Christian Russia, in support of Turkey and Mahometanism? The question thus stated had often been urged already, and it was necessary, both for the vindication of England and the satisfaction of the public mind, that it should be fairly met and dealt with. On this account, a motion was made in the House of Lords on the 10th of March, by the Earl of Shaftesbury, for papers respecting the condition of Christianity in Turkey. In common with the general desire of Christendom, he wished that both parties had been removed from their actual positions, yet still, being compelled to choose, he infinitely preferred the Turkish to the Russian civilization. He quoted authorities to show that while Protestantism was largely on the increase among the Turkish Christians, no difficulties were interposed by the Ottoman government to religious instruction; full permission was given to teach, and to print religious books, many of which were issued in the Turkish language. In Russia, on the contrary, his lordship showed that no religious movement was permitted; the Bible in the Russian tongue was prohibited, and even the importation of Hebrew Bibles; while as to Christian missions, these were also forbid by the Russian

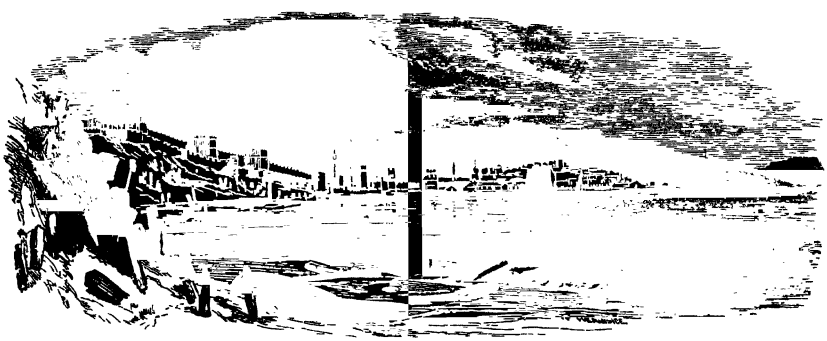
government, even to the heathen who were under its dominion. With all this, the Greek priesthood were continually intriguing for the supremacy of their own church; the Russian consuls were employed in the same object, and while the result was tyranny and coercion, the British government was repeatedly compelled to interfere against the arrogant proceedings of these consular apostles. This, indeed, was the secret of the czar's proceedings; and the true meaning of Prince Menschikoff's note was, the exclusive aggrandizement of the Greek church in the Turkish dominions, by the extinction of every act in favour of Protestantism for the last twenty years; and during these twenty years Turkey had permitted more for the advancement of civilization than Russia during four hundred. These statements were cordially received by the house, and the motion was agreed to.

But even while these peaceful negotiations were pending, the war had already been commenced on the part of Russia, by her occupation of the Danubian provinces—an aggression which, in connection with the military events to which it led, will be detailed in the history of the Crimean campaign, of which it forms an important episode And yet, even although hostilities had thus commenced in earnest, and such heavy blows been struck, the conference at Vienna had not ceased to mediate; and on the 5th of December, the following collective note was addressed to the Turkish government —"The undersigned representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, assembled at a conference at Vienna, have received instructions to declare that their respective governments behold with profound regret the commencement of hostilities between Russia and the Porte, and desire exceedingly, by interposing between the belligerent powers, to prevent any fresh effusion of blood, and to put an end to a state of things which menaces seriously the peace of Europe. Russia having given an assurance that she was disposed to treat, and the undersigned not doubting that the Porte is animated by the same spirit, they request, in the name of their respective governments, to be informed on what conditions the Ottoman empire would consent to negotiate a treaty of peace."

The application, though so late, did not seem in vain Turkey, as the power in greatest jeopardy, and that had most to lose, was willing to negotiate anew upon the *status quo*, when an event occurred which gave all further hope of peace to the winds. Irritated at the successes of the Turks on the Danube, and eager to recover her military *prestige*, Russia resolved to abandon her professions of a defensive warfare, for a blow that should recover her lost reputation, even though it might bring the whole allied powers to her gates. The Asiatic coast of the Black Sea, to which the Turks had been sending reinforcements, was selected for the feat; and the harbour of Sinope, a town half-way between Trebizond and Constantinople, and about a hundred leagues from either, was the place where the storm was to burst. There the Turkish fleet, to the number of seven frigates, three corvettes, and two smaller vessels, were anchored, but in very unskilful order, in the harbour, when on the 30th of November the Russian fleet, consisting of six sail of the line, two sailing frigates, and three steamers, unexpectedly bore down upon them. An action immediately commenced; but although the Turks fought with their wonted obstinacy, their inferiority, not only in ships, men, and cannon, but also in position and nautical skill, made resistance so hopeless, that in an action which lasted two hours and a half, they lost 4000 men, while all their ships were destroyed or rendered useless except a Turkish steamer, which escaped under a heavy fire of broadsides, and carried the tidings to Constantinople.

By this horrible deed, which resembled a massacre and a butchery, rather than a battle, the Czar of Russia belied his professions, upon the strength of which the allied powers had continued in treaty he had also grossly insulted England and France, whose combined fleets at that time were lying at anchor in the Bosphorus. A day's sail would have brought them to the scene of outrage, either to prevent or avenge it; but in the present state of affairs such a movement was impossible "The object (wrote Lord Clarendon to the British minister at St. Petersburg) with which the combined fleets were sent to Constantinople was not to attack Russia, but to defend Turkey, and the English and French ambassadors were informed that the fleets were not to assume an aggressive position, but that they were to protect the Turkish territory from attack." This was on the understanding that whatever naval operations were undertaken would be confined to the Russian coasts of Asia, and a defensive warfare on the part of Russia; "but the sultan's squadron (Lord Clarendon continued) was destroyed while at anchor in a Turkish harbour, and where, consequently, the English and French fleets, if they had been present, would have protected it, and would have repelled the attack." After the battle, indeed, the suddenness of which took all by surprise, the allied fleet sent two frigates to report the motions of the enemy; but not a Russian ship was to be seen: at the close of the engagement they had hastily withdrawn and taken shelter in Sebastopol.

The event at Sinope, which excited equal indignation in France and England, drew those countries more closely together against their common enemy, and inspired them with a more ardent spirit of resistance. The first result of this was the entrance of their combined fleet into the Black Sea, for the purpose of active interference in any attack that might be made upon the ports and coasts of Turkey—a movement against which Russia absurdly cried out as an iniquitous interposition. It was justified, however, and that too by no less a diplomatist than Louis Napoleon himself, in an autograph letter to the czar. "The affair at Sinope (he wrote) was for us as painful as it was unexpected; for it matters little to us whether or not the Turks wished to convey munitions of war to the Russian territory In fact, Russian ships attacked Turkish vessels in the waters of Turkey, while those vessels were riding quietly at anchor in a Turkish port The Turkish vessels were destroyed, in spite of the assurance that there was no wish to commence an aggressive war, and in spite of the vicinity of our squadrons. It was no longer our policy which received a check, it was our military honour. . . . . Out of this feeling arose the order given to our squadrons to enter the Black Sea, and to prevent by force, if necessary, the recurrence of a similar event" The answer which the Emperor of Russia returned on the 9th of February was still unctuous with peaceful professions, and held out hopes of an amicable negotiation, while he was making arrangements for a war at *outrance*. This was manifested by the fact, that only a day after his letter had been written, he issued a ukase for a military levy throughout his dominions, of nine men in every thousand of the adult male population. This order was speedily followed by a proclamation, in which the blame of all that was to follow was transferred to those who were thenceforth to be regarded as the chief enemies of Russia. After declaiming upon the moderation and justice of his demands, and his hopes that Turkey, if left to herself, would have acquiesced in them, the czar's manifesto thus continued.—"His imperial majesty's expectations have been disappointed. The English and French governments have sided with Turkey, and the appearance of the combined fleets off Constantinople has served as a further incentive to its obstinacy; and now both the western powers, without previously declaring war, have sent their fleets into the Black Sea, proclaiming their intention to protect the Turks, and to impede the free navigation of our vessels of war employed for the defence of our own coasts After a course of proceeding so unheard-of amongst civilized nations, we recalled our embassies from England and France, and have now broken off all political intercourse with these powers." The proclamation then appealing to the superstition of the people, proceeded to invest the approaching contest to which they were summoned with the character of a war in behalf of

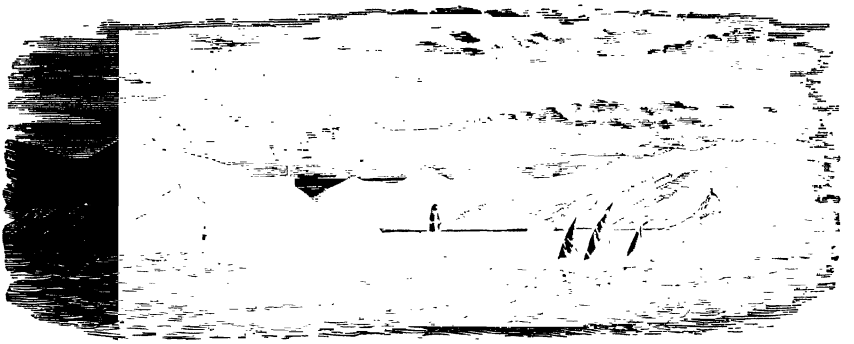


State of the Port of Sinope after the Bombardment by the Russians.—From a sketch by M. A. Durand Berger, engraved in L'Illustration, 1854.

Christianity itself, against those godless infidels by whom it was assailed. "England and France," it said, "have sided with the enemies of Christianity against Russia, combating for the orthodox faith. But Russia will not betray her holy mission. . . . . With this hope, combating for our persecuted brethren, followers of the faith of Christ, with one accord let all Russia exclaim:—'O Lord, our Redeemer, whom shall we fear? may God be glorified, and his enemies be scattered.'"

Matters had now arrived at that point where a proclamation of war is inevitable: the hostile parties were already in full array, and standing front to front, so that nothing was needed but the signal of onset. It was first given by France, as the stronger and more interested party, on the

27th of March. On that day, a message from the emperor was conveyed to the *corps legislatif*, announcing that as Russia had refused an answer to the summons of France and England, she was thereby placed, with respect to France, in a state of war, and that the whole responsibility of it rested on Russia alone. This message was welcomed with enthusiastic cheers and cries of approbation. A similar communication was made to the French senate, and it received an equally



ENTRANCE TO THE BOSPHORUS FROM THE BLACK SEA.—From a sketch by James Newlands, C E

cordial welcome. France was now as eager for a war with Russia as ever she had been for the invasion of England, while of all the coadjutors she could have found, none was so welcome as her ancient enemy, whose valour she had so often tried, and upon whose steady co-operation she could place unhesitating reliance. In Paris, and over the whole empire, the military spirit of the people, so long suspended, was awakened into full life, and while they recognized in this union of the power of France and England the full realization of their great Napoleon's fondest wish, an additional promise of success seemed to be imparted by the fact that it was under Napoleon's nephew that this combination had been formed, and by whom its efforts would be mainly directed.

It was only the day after, that a similar proclamation of war against Russia was issued on the part of Great Britain. It was felt and acknowledged among us that forbearance had been exercised to the last, that delay had reached its utmost limit, and that fruitless negotiation must now be exchanged for decisive action. So eager indeed, for some time, had been the national feeling, that the caution and reluctance of our ministers had been blamed as lukewarmness, and sometimes reproached as cowardice or even something worse. It was therefore with no ordinary stir and excitement that the royal message to parliament was delivered by the lord-chancellor in the following words. It will be observed that the chief purport of such a proclamation, conveyed in the expressive word *war*, is not once mentioned throughout—and yet how thoroughly all its stern realities are implied!—

"VICTORIA R.

"Her majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house that the negotiations in which her majesty, in concert with her allies, has for some time past been engaged with his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, have terminated, and that her majesty feels bound to afford active assistance to her ally the sultan against unprovoked aggression.

"Her majesty has given directions for laying before the house copies of such papers, in addition to those already communicated to parliament, as will afford the fullest information with regard to the subject of these negotiations. It is a consolation to her majesty to reflect that no endeavours have been wanting on her part to preserve to her subjects the blessings of peace.

"Her majesty's just expectations have been disappointed, and her majesty relies with confidence on the zeal and devotion of the House of Lords, and on the exertions of her brave and loyal subjects, to support her in her determination to employ the power and resources of the nation for protecting the dominions of the sultan against the encroachments of Russia."

CHAPTER XVII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1854.

VICTORIA.

Origin and causes of the Crimean war—The czar's assumption of the protectorship of the Greek church in the Turkish empire—Dangerous character of this claim to Turkish independence—Insufficient grounds of the claim—Hostile manner in which it was adduced—The Russian army crosses the Pruth—It occupies Moldavia and Wallachia—The Vienna note refused by Turkey—The sultan proclaims war against Russia—First hostile movements of Omar Pacha in the principalities—He crosses the Danube—Reluctance of France and Britain to commence hostilities—Their decision confirmed by the massacre of Sinope—The French and English armies embarked for the contest—They are encamped at Gallipoli—Causes for the selection of this station—Opening of the campaign on the Danube—Victory of the Turks over the Russians at Citate—The Russians resolve to cross the Balkan—Their purpose frustrated—The allied army encamps at Varna—The allied fleet bombards Odessa—Destructive character of the bombardment—Attempt of the Russians to bombard Silistria—Gallant defence by the Turks—The British officers by whom they are headed—Unsuccessful attack of the Russians on Silistria—They are compelled to raise the siege—The Russians evacuate the principalities, and are replaced by an Austrian army—Sufferings of the allied army at Varna—Havoc produced among the troops by cholera—Destructive fire at Varna—Desolation of the surrounding country—The allied army passes over to the Crimea—Its landing—Its new encampment before Sebastopol—Symptoms of an approaching conflict between the allies and the Russians.

NOTWITHSTANDING the apparently frivolous character of the origin of this war, by which all Europe was kindled, there was a deeper significance in it than was implied by the mere possession of the keys of the holy sepulchre. This was evident to the statesmen of the different powers who either were engaged in the complex negotiations it occasioned, or who watched their character and bearings. The guardianship of the sepulchre, which the possession of these keys conferred, was something very different from a mere religious punctilio It was supposed to invest with the rights of a protector over the Christians of his own church in the East the sovereign who held it; and this claim, if once allowed, would establish the Russian czar in the virtual sovereignty of European Turkey This is apparent from a census that was taken in 1844. From this it appeared, that while the population of European Turkey amounted to 15,000,000, only 2,100,000 of these were of Turkish race, and not more than 4,550,000 in all were Mussulmans. Of the Christian part of the population, only 640,000 were Roman Catholics, while there were 10,000,000 belonging to the Greek church, who recognized the czar as their head, and regarded the sultan as little better than Antichrist. In Asiatic Turkey, indeed, the proportions were very different, there being 16,000,000 Mahometans to only 3,000,000 Christians of the Greek church, but the latter could be dangerous subjects, more especially when countenanced by the neighbourhood of a Russian army. It was therefore no trivial matter to Turkey whether these keys were given to the custody of the Greek or the Latin church, whether they were held by the Emperor of France or of Russia. As yet, indeed, the *rayahs*, or Greek Christians of the Turkish empire, had shown no outward tokens of their sympathy with the designs of Russia; but in the midst of Mahometan intolerance and provocation, who could tell how long this forbearance might last? When the war broke out, the underhand proceedings of these rayahs against the allied armies, showed how completely their sympathies were enlisted on the side of the Russian sovereign.

As this claim of the czar to a protectorship in the empire of another power created an *imperium in imperio* which had a startling appearance to the rest of Europe, and was certain, on being put forth, to create much cavil and debate, some show of political right was necessary to fortify his assumption. For this purpose, therefore, he adduced the treaty of Kainardji, established between Russia and Turkey in 1774, by the 7th and 14th articles of which he laid claim to this unreasonable protectorship. But these articles, when examined, could bear no such interpretation. By the 7th article, nothing more is conceded than the following:—"The Sublime Porte promises to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches; and also it allows the ministers of the imperial court of Russia to make, on all occasions, representations as well in favour of the new church at Constantinople, of which mention will be made in the 14th article, as in favour of those who officiate therein." And turning to this last-mentioned article, we find nothing more stated than this:—"It is per-

mitted to the high court of Russia, in addition to the chapel built in the house of the minister, to construct in the Galata quarter, in the street called Bey Oglu, a public church of the Greek rite, which shall be always under the protection of the ministers of that empire, and shielded from all obstruction and all damage." Here the Porte distinctly assumes for itself the protection of its Christian subjects, and allows to Russia nothing more than the right of having a chapel in the ambassador's house, and another in the city of Constantinople

It was so early as the close of 1852, that the czar distinctly asserted his claim to the protectorate of the Turco-Christian eastern church, and to establish his assumption, he ordered at the same time a large body of troops to advance towards the frontier of Moldavia, which is separated from the Russian province of Bessarabia by the river Pruth. This movement of Russia to settle the question by force, occasioned a rival and counter-movement on the part of France by sea, and the Toulon squadron was ordered at an early period of the following year to set sail for the Greek waters. Hot and hotter waxed the negotiation of the representatives of Russia and France at the court of Constantinople, while Britain vainly attempted the office of umpire and pacificator, and the unfortunate sultan, swayed by either party alternately and feeling his danger, was unable to pronounce a conclusive verdict. This question of the contested sepulchre, from which the whole strife had originated, and under which it seemed as if Turkey must be finally crushed to death, was little fitted to recommend Christianity itself either to him or to his subjects! But the czar had advanced too far to recede, and it was not in his nature to yield, he also had calculated upon the impossibility of a union between France and England for a war in behalf of Turkish interests, and upon the sympathy with which his advance would be regarded as a crusade in behalf of Christianity at large. He therefore continued his forward movement. On the 31st of May, 1853, Count Nesselrode announced to Redschid Pacha, the Turkish minister, that in a few weeks the Russian troops would receive orders to cross the frontier and occupy the principalities, not, as he added, to wage war, but to obtain those material guarantees which had been demanded from the Porte; and on the 2d and 3d of July, two divisions of the Russian forces crossed the Pruth. If anything could add to the insult of this aggression, it was the professions of peace with which the act was followed, in the proclamation of Prince Gortschakoff, the commander-in-chief of the army of occupation, to the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia. He assured its Christian and conquered, but now acquiescent and contented vassals of the Porte, that his august master had commanded him to occupy their country, not however with projects of conquest, or to modify their institutions or political position, but to give an immediate and effectual protection to the principalities under certain grave and suspicious circumstances, originating in the Ottoman government. The czar, he added, had no design of an aggressive war upon Turkey, but only to obtain assent to his equitable proposals; and this being obtained, that the army of occupation would immediately return to the frontiers of Russia. But by what right, or semblance of right, had these forces crossed the Pruth at all? The provinces were under the sovereignty of the sultan, and ruled by hospodars of his election, and were not to be entered by the troops either of Russia or Turkey, which were to be stationed beyond their frontier, except for the repression of internal disturbance. Such had been the latest guarantee between the two powers upon the subject, but although there was no pretext of disturbances to be quelled either in Moldavia or Wallachia, the Emperor Nicholas filled these principalities with his troops, without proclamation of war, as if they were his by right of conquest, or had formed a part of his own dominions

Notwithstanding these provocations, the allied powers were unwilling that Turkey should commit herself by immediately proclaiming war against Russia, for the maintenance of which she was unfit, and the burden of which, they knew, would ultimately fall upon themselves. Overruled accordingly by their advices, the Ottoman government confined itself to remonstrances, and a new series of negotiations was opened up with Russia for the withdrawing of her troops from the Danubian provinces But matters had now advanced so far that every step of remonstrance or overture only complicated the question. Such was especially the case with the famous Vienna note, which, after a conference of the four great powers held at Vienna, was finally adopted, and presented for the acceptance of Russia and Turkey This the czar was ready to subscribe, as it was unfortunately so expressed, that several parts of it might be interpreted in favour of his claims; but the Porte was fortunately awake to these equivocations, and refused to receive the note without certain explanations and restrictions. The allied powers were afterwards obliged to approve of this caution and scrupulosity, but in the meantime it formed a triumphant apology to the czar that he had accepted the conditions of the note, by which the blame of further proceedings was thrown on his antagonists. But the war party of Turkey was weary of these proceedings, and at Constantinople the popular in-

dignation could no longer be restrained. War was therefore declared against Russia on the 5th of October (1853), and in the declaration, a temperate statement was given of the concessions the Ottoman government had made, and the injuries by which it had been provoked. The question about the holy places had been settled to the satisfaction of all parties; but Russia was still arming and still advancing. "Is it not, then, seeking a pretext for quarrel," the manifesto added, "to insist, as Russia has done, upon the question of the privileges of the Greek church granted by the Ottoman government—privileges which the government believes its honour, its dignity, and its sovereign power are concerned in maintaining, and on the subject of which it can neither admit the interference nor the *surveillance* of any government? Is it not Russia which has occupied with considerable forces the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, declaring at the same time that these provinces should serve as a guarantee until she had obtained what she desired? Has not this act been considered justly by the Sublime Porte as a violation of treaties, and consequently as a cause of war? Have the other powers themselves been able to come to any other decision? Who then will doubt that Russia has been the aggressor?"

The commander-in-chief of the Turkish army for the Danubian provinces was Omar Pacha. This remarkable man, originally an Austrian subject, and born in Croatia in 1801, had entered the Turkish service in 1830, where his high talents and brilliant military career in Syria, Albania, Koordistan, and Bosnia, secured him the confidence of a government always jealous of foreigners But as a soldier of fortune and a renegade from the Christian faith, he found it not so easy to obviate the religious scruples or aristocratic pride of those allied commanders with whom he was afterwards to act, and to most of whom he was superior in military skill and experience. On receiving the war manifesto of the Porte, he addressed Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian commander-in-chief, demanding the meaning of his entrance into the provinces, and granting him the space of fifteen days to quit them; but to this the prince answered, "that he had no orders to commence hostilities, nor to conclude peace, nor to evacuate the principalities." It was a ridiculous attempt to assume an aspect of neutrality after a hostile invasion had been committed. But this neutrality could not last, for on the 1st of November, the Russian emperor proclaimed war against Turkey in answer to the manifesto of the Porte. He was aware that, in so doing, he also proclaimed war against the allied powers who had become parties in the question; but he had gone too far to recede. On the day that his troops had passed the Pruth, the Rubicon was crossed—the die was cast—retreat was impossible without dishonour and shame!

Even yet, however, the western powers would fain have delayed the deadly arbitration; and in the hope that it might yet be in time, they sent to Omar Pacha, desiring him not to cross the Danube, or give battle to the enemy. But the warning came too late. The pacha was already in motion, and between the 28th of October and the 4th of November, his army crossed the river at four places, and established themselves on the opposite side, in spite of the resistance of the Russians. The chief struggle was at Oltenitza, where the Turks, to the number of 9000, had established themselves on a triangle formed by the village of that name, the Argis, and the Danube. Here, after several skirmishes in which the Russians were unsuccessful, they made a final attempt on the 4th of November, but were met with such spirit that they were repulsed with a loss of 1200 in killed and wounded. Several sharp encounters also ensued at Kalafat and its neighbourhood, where the Turks made good their position, but although thus far successful, and in possession of the left bank of the Danube, Omar Pacha did not judge it prudent to keep his whole army there, exposed to attacks at various points during the winter. He therefore blew up the works he had constructed at Oltenitza, and recrossed the river, keeping, however, possession of Kalafat, by which he retained his hold of the left bank of the Danube until the return of spring. But even yet, though matters had proceeded thus far, the hope of peace was not utterly abandoned by the four great powers of Britain, France, Austria, and Prussia, and negotiations were still continued at Vienna for the purpose, when the fearful event at Sinope, like the sudden explosion of a mine, scattered protocols and remonstrances into the air, or shrivelled them into dust. France and Britain were defied, and they must answer the defiance with cannon-balls.

Even before war was declared in form by France and Britain against Russia, each had sent an army to the East in behalf of Turkey, to act as circumstances might require. This simple movement was confounding to Russian calculations, which had hitherto believed in the impossibility of military co-operation between two such rivals as France and England, and in this confidence, the Emperor Nicholas had persevered in his aggression upon Turkey until it was too late to arrest its progress. The British army consisted of four divisions, commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown, and Major-generals the Duke of Cambridge, Sir de Lacy

Evans, and Sir Richard England, and a division of cavalry under the command of the Earl of Lucan. It was a new and spirit-stirring spectacle for London, after so many years of peace, when the guards were marched through its streets for embarkation; and the huzzaing crowds who admired the stalwart forms and bold soldierly demeanour of this large body of troops, imagined that nothing could resist such a force, and already saw victories swarming in clusters around their standards. Even those whose fancies were more sober, imagined that the hostile demonstration of the two western powers would be enough, and that Russia would desist from her enterprise as soon as the allied armies had landed. The troops set sail from England on the 28th of February, 1854, and disembarking at Malta, where they remained till the 31st of March, they then proceeded to Gallipoli, in European Turkey, at which place they already found the French army arriving by successive detachments. The French force had for its commander-in-chief, the Marshal St. Arnaud, previously minister at war, and under him were Generals Canrobert and Bosquet, commanders of the first and second divisions. The brigade of cavalry was under General d'Allonville, and the first corps of reserve under Prince Napoleon Bonaparte. A second corps of infantry, as a body of reserve, was commanded by General Forey, and a reserve brigade of cavalry by General Cassargnalles. On the 2d of May, Lord Raglan, the British commander-in-chief, distinguished in the war of the Peninsula under the Duke of Wellington as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, arrived at Gallipoli.

LORD RAGLAN.—From a portrait by Andrew Morton

This locality, upon which the allied armies were for the present encamped, was not only uncomfortable as a place of military occupation, but apparently useless for the purposes of the campaign. It was too remote from the Turkish armies to give them aid, and from Constantinople itself to prevent a Russian march upon the capital. But the fortification of this remote peninsula had been the plan of the French emperor, and upon this post the two armies would be on the right flank of the Russians if they attempted, as they had formerly done, to cross the Balkan. "The peninsula of Gallipoli," the emperor wrote in his instructions to General St. Arnaud, "is selected as the principal site of disembarkation, because it should be, as a strategetical point, the basis of our operations—that is to say, the place of arms for our depôts, our ambulances, and our provisions—and from whence we may with facility march forward or re-embark. That will not hinder you on your arrival, should you consider it advisable, from lodging one or two divisions in the barracks, to be found either at the west of Constantinople or at Scutari. So long as you are not in front of the enemy, the dispersion of your forces will cause no inconvenience, and the presence of your troops at Constantinople may produce a good moral effect; but if by chance, after having advanced towards the Balkans, you are constrained to make a movement in retreat, it will be of much more advantage to regain the coast of Gallipoli than that of Constantinople, for the Russians will never venture from Adrianople to Constantinople, with an army of 60,000 good troops on their right flank." To work then went the two armies to entrench themselves upon this specified territory, each in a spirit of generous emulation, and both labouring together in perfect cordiality and good humour. The lines were about seven miles long, running along the crest of a natural ridge from the Gulf of Saros to the Sea of Marmora. When these works were nearly finished, the allied forces were removed to the Bosphorus, the British landing at Scutari on the east side of that narrow strait, and the French occupying the European side of the Bosphorus, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Thus the Turkish capital was protected by the neighbourhood of 20,000 French and 10,000 British bayonets. Here, however, they had not long to wait, for the course of events demanded their presence elsewhere. To those causes by which they were summoned to the real seat of war, we shall now briefly advert.

The campaign between the Turks and Russians on the Danube had opened at the commencement of this year by a victory of the former at the village of Citate over the troops of the czar. The Russians were anxious to commence their

operations against Kalafat, upon the banks of the Danube, but for this purpose it was necessary to dislodge the Turks from several villages between Cioroine and Radovan. Skirmishes to this effect had been frequent between the Cossacks and the Turkish cavalry, until the 6th of January, when a considerable body of the Turkish cavalry boldly attacked the Russian lines at Citate, and the skirmish deepened into a general engagement, in which horse, foot, and artillery all came into full play. The battle lasted till night, and after desperate efforts of the Russians to maintain their slight fortifications, they were dislodged from them by the Turks, who remained masters of the field The Russians, on being reinforced, made strenuous attempts during the four following days to recover their position, but were met, and in almost every instance foiled, by Omar Pacha and his gallant Osmanlis

These indecisive operations on the Danube, which tended to raise the courage and confidence of the Turks, were to be exchanged for war upon a grander scale as soon as France and England were known to have combined for the defence of Turkey. Russia felt that she must now have recourse to more decisive measures—that she must once more force the passages of the Balkan, and strike a blow at the head of her enemy before this foreign aid could be available to ward it off For this purpose, Kalafat, which was well protected by earthworks, and garrisoned by 30,000 Turks, must be watched by at least one-half of the Russian army, the small Turkish forts between the Dobrudscha and Silistria must be stormed and occupied, and a force left to keep the Turkish garrisons on the right bank of the Danube in check These preliminaries to the important attempt upon the Balkan were commenced with such spirit as promised to be successful: the Russian right was placed so effectually as to keep Kalafat in check, while the left was skilfully conveyed across the Danube at three points, notwithstanding a keen opposition both from the Turks and the weather. The small forts in the Dobrudscha and other places fell into their hands, and nothing apparently remained for them to do but to advance upon Silistria, Varna, and Schumla, as they had done in 1828. But this march through the bleak barren Dobrudscha would, even if uninterrupted, have been a difficult one; every hour increased the chances of interruption from the armies of France and England, which were now entering upon the Turkish soil; and the designs of Austria and Prussia, at present in treaty respecting the part they should take in Turkish affairs, were a subject of doubt and anxiety to Czar Nicholas. These causes for hesitation continued until the French and English armies were encamped in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and in readiness to act wherever circumstances might require. And these allies of the Turks had not long to remain in uncertainty, in consequence of the arrival of Omar Pacha, and a war council which he held with the Turkish ministers and the commanders of both armies at Varna, on the 18th of May. His earnest advice was that an Anglo-French army should occupy the country between Varna and Schumla, so as to keep the Russians in check from Chernavoda to Kostendje, while he was prosecuting the war in Wallachia. The occupation of Varna was of especial importance, as a movement from this point could be made upon Schumla and the passes of the Balkan with equal facility, and the whole Russian plan of invasion frustrated. With similar ease, troops could be sent from Varna to the Crimea, to make an attack upon Sebastopol. His representations and arguments prevailed, seconded as they were by a visit which Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud made to Pravadi and Schumla, and an inspection of the Turkish army, and accordingly the armies of France and England, now considerably reinforced, were transported from Scutari by the Black Sea on the 28th of May.

OMAR PACHA —From a French lithograph

From these land operations we must turn our attention to those which were going on at sea, of which the French and English navies now held possession, the Russian ships of war being shut up in Sebastopol. It was upon this element that active hostilities were commenced by the British, and the event was nothing less than the bombardment of Odessa. The moving cause of action was also as trivial and obscure as ever awoke the first echoes of a great war; for it consisted in a British ship carrying a flag of truce

having been fired at, as was alleged, while the governor of Odessa denied the fact of such a violation. But in spite of his denial, the British felt that the insult had been committed, and were resolved that it should not pass with impunity. This great commercial city, of nearly 80,000 inhabitants, was defended by a garrison of 30,000 soldiers, while her harbour was filled with the merchant ships of several nations, so that the destruction of such a place was certain to aggravate

ODESSA, from the Commercial Quay —From L'Illustration.

the resentments of the impending war On the 22d of April, a combined fleet of eleven French and English ships, and a detachment of rocket-boats, advanced upon the town, and opened their terrible cannonade upon its forts, batteries, and military store-houses, carefully avoiding the Quarantine Mole, in which were trading ships of all nations, with their flags hoisted at the mast-head for protection, and also the civic public buildings and churches The numerous defences of Odessa returned the fire with equal spirit, and for ten hours land and water seemed to be enveloped in an atmosphere of living flame, that was continued until every battery was silenced or destroyed. On this occasion, the terrible effects of steam-ships in a bombardment were distinctly manifested. The chief attack was upon the Imperial Mole, containing strong fortifications and some large barracks, and sheltering numerous Russian ships of every description, and the steamers in assailing it, wheeled in a circle of half a mile within that shallow bay, each pouring in its heavy fire in succession—forming by their movements such a fantastic waltz of death as Holbein could never have imagined. In such a *mêlée* of destructive fire, it was impossible to avoid the buildings which the assailants were desirous of sparing, and the obstinacy or confusion of the Russian authorities, who, during the whole cannonade, exhibited no flag upon their public edifices and defences, so as to distinguish them from those of a pacific character, only served to involve all in one remorseless destruction. Thus, when the cannonade ended, church and palace had fallen as well as the fort or battery, and half of the inhabitants had their homes destroyed. But the greatest wonder of all, and signally illustrating the advantages of an attack by steam-ships and their heavy artillery, was exhibited in the trivial loss sustained by the victors, notwithstanding the resistance of the Russians Of the English, not more than one man was killed, and eight or nine men wounded. The French had only two men killed, and two wounded, and that, also, not by the fire of the enemy, but a mischance from one of their own guns Of the loss of the Russians in killed and wounded, no reckoning could be obtained, but from the havoc of shot and fire, and the explosion of powder magazines, it must have been of a fearful amount. When this affair was ended, the czar endeavoured to make the most of it by exciting the fanaticism of his subjects against the French and English, and accordingly, he published a proclamation, setting forth the impiety of the allies in having attacked Odessa upon a Sunday, when the inhabitants "were assembled in the orthodox temples to celebrate the death of the Son of God crucified for the redemption of humanity." He then represented in the same manifesto, that these profane invaders had been gloriously repulsed by his valorous troops, and finally, to signalize this defence, he allowed the public works that had been destroyed to be rebuilt at the expense of the inhabitants of Odessa, while he rewarded Baron Osten-Sacken, its governor, with the order of St Andrew. As for the allied fleets, they repaired after this bombardment to Sebastopol, and challenged the Russian ships of war to come forth to a fair encounter, an invitation which the enemy, being of inferior force, judged fit to decline

The scene of interest now shifted to Silistria,

the bombardment of which had been commenced by the Russians, to the number of 70,000, under the command of Prince Paskiewitsch. It was begun at the time that Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud had visited Pravadi and Schumla, previous to the embarkation of their troops for Varna. For this assault the Russians had made considerable preparations, by conveying the heavy materials for a siege across the Danube in the earlier part of May; and the gallant defence of this fortress by the Turks forms one of the most interesting episodes of the war. The chief fortifications of Silistria consisted of earthworks, in the raising of which the Turks were indefatigable; and as their construction and defence required little scientific or strategetical skill, no bulwarks could have been better suited to the rude bold hearts that rallied behind them. Of these works, the principal was called Arab Tapia or Tepè, about 2000 yards in advance of the ramparts of Silistria; and behind, at the distance of 1000 yards, was Ylanli Tepè These were relied upon as the chief defences of the fortress, although they were only earthen mounds of three sides, while the fourth was entirely open, and as they were in the direction of Rasova, from which the besiegers were to advance, they would naturally endure the first and chief brunt of the encounter As it was necessary to become masters of these works before Silistria could be invested, the Russians assailed them with all the formidable and complicated resources of a siege—with parallels, zigzags, batteries, and mines—and twice they succeeded in penetrating within the Arab Tepè, while eight mines were exploded beneath its ramparts, and fifty yards of its front line were levelled with the ground But as often as the enemy entered, they were driven back by the intrepid Turks, and as fast as the works were destroyed they were repaired, or new ones constructed the unflinching courage of the besieged compensated for the feebleness of these protections, and made them as formidable as if they had been ramparts of the living rock. In this unwonted fashion, the Russian strategy was encountered by a pertinacity for which it was not prepared, and the resistance protracted long beyond the time at which, according to established calculations, the place should have surrendered, or been destroyed. Nor was Omar Pacha neglectful in reinforcing the almost overborne garrison with fresh means of resistance Silistria, he well knew, was the Thermopylæ by which the invasion of Turkey was to find its entrance; and on the 4th of June, he sent forward 30,000 men to the rescue, who succeeded in entering the outworks by breaking through the Russian lines. Four days after, 1000 Turkish soldiers were equally successful, by stealing at midnight into the place, over the corpses of the Russians who had fallen in heaps during the assault. In this wonderful defence, also, it was well for the undisciplined Turks that they were not without the direction of European skill, science, and genius, and that they had the wisdom to avail themselves of such advantages. Their brave commander, Mussà Pacha, was slain by a cannon-ball, and the remaining officers were little fitted to direct the enthusiasm of their followers, or turn it to the best account. But in Silistria, there were two English officers, Captain Butler and Lieutenant Nasmyth, both belonging to the East India Company's service, and to their exertions the length and success of the defence are chiefly to be attributed. They threw themselves into the place as volunteers, their superior abilities were at once recognized by the defenders; and while their gallant example animated the courage of the Turks, their skilful directions were implicitly adopted in the plans by which every attack of the assailants was baffled. Lieutenant Nasmyth happily survived the siege, to enjoy the rewards which his gallant devotedness had so justly won, but not so Captain Butler, who died exhausted by an endemic fever, brought on by

COSTUMES OF THE TURKISH ARMY, 1854
1, Foot artillery 2, Chasseur 3, Infantry of the line, sergeant. 4, Bashi Bozouk.

the incredible fatigues of his anxious and manifold exertions. It will ever be remembered with gratitude, that by their interposition not only Silistria was saved, but the French and English armies spared from the necessity of a campaign on the Danube, where the pestilent miasma of marsh and vapour would probably have been more destructive than the sword.

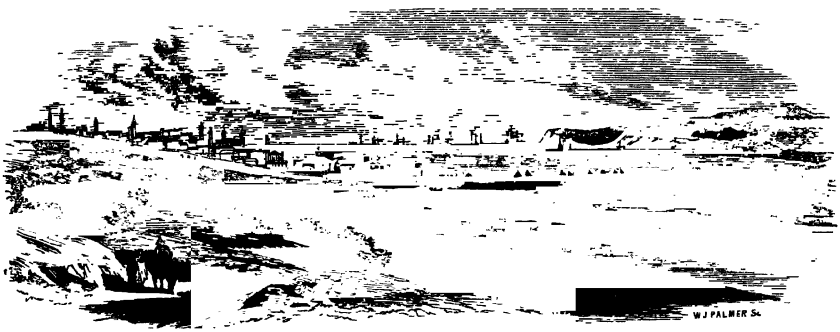
In the meantime, while the siege of this obstinate fortress was continued, the ardour of the Russians was not only damped by the resistance they encountered, but by the establishment of the allied armies at Varna. By this movement, which brought such a formidable enemy so nigh the seat of action, they were obliged not only to waste time in strengthening their fortifications for the purpose of guarding against an attack from without, but to provide in case of the worst for a retreat. The same cause prevented their complete investment of Silistria, by compelling them to keep their forces together, instead of extending them so widely as an investment would have required. On the 13th of June, the grand assault was to be made, and after the explosion of mines and a terrible cannonade, the Russian army was ordered to advance. But instead of starting to the summons as they were wont, they stood sullenly in their ranks, and refused to move a dispiriting and wasting sickness was added to their other calamities, and alarmed at their unwillingness for action, their commander postponed the assault to the following day But twice they were driven back from the frail earthen defences, and when the order was given for a third onset, they wavered and paused On this, their commanders threw themselves into the front line, but only to share the usual fate of a forlorn hope Prince Paskiewitsch was slightly, and Prince Gortschakoff severely wounded, Count Orloff, General Luders, and General Schilders, who had taken Silistria a quarter of a century earlier, were all struck down with dangerous hurts, and of the superior officers, few were withdrawn from the deadly fire without being incapacitated for duty, so that the chief command had to devolve upon new leaders. After this failure, the next great assault was made on the night of the 18th of June, and it was commenced with an explosion of mines, by which a gap was made in the Turkish parapet nearly twelve yards long But the Russians on advancing to this breach, found a new wall that had been raised behind it manned with troops, and bristling with guns, at which unexpected apparition they fell back and retired. The Turks then rushed out of their new entrenchment to repair the old, which they did in spite of a heavy fire of musketry; and as fast as one man fell in the breach, another and still another came forward, and worked spade in hand, while their officers, coolly smoking their chibouques under cover of the parapet, indicated by a wave of their pipes the places at which the work was to be carried on.

During forty days this hopeless siege of Silistria was continued before it was reluctantly abandoned in despair, and the means brought against it both of troops and *materiel* attested the heroism with which the defence was maintained. The Russians had eight batteries armed with artillery of very heavy calibre, extending in a concave curve from the right bank of the Danube to the outworks of the fortress; they had sixty guns in position at Silistria, that threw out more than fifty thousand projectiles of shot and shell; they constructed more than three miles of approaches, and sprang six mines; and by wounds and disease they lost 12,000 men in this memorable siege. And yet they gained not a foot of ground, and were obliged to leave the outer mud wall against which their force had been broken, still in the hands of its defenders, although it had been crushed into a shapeless mass of earth by mine and cannonade. If Turkey is doomed to extinction at no very distant day, in spite of European alliances for her preservation, the remembrance of this noble defence of Silistria will be a sunset upon her departure, and will serve to give dignity to her downfall.

The retreat of the Russians after raising the siege of Silistria, was a signal for the Turkish army to advance, which it did in the beginning of July, by recrossing the Danube; and on the 8th it inflicted a partial defeat upon the enemy at Giurgevo, on the left bank of the river, about forty-five miles from Bucharest, which still further confirmed the despondency of the Russians. The latter, abandoning their camp with an immense quantity of stores, fell back in full retreat upon Bucharest; but after a short stay in that city, they retired to the line of the Sireth, upon which the Turks took quiet possession of the old Wallachian capital. By this time, indeed, Wallachia was no longer to be a residence or a shelter to the Russian arms, whether in victory or defeat, as, after long hesitation, Austria had entered into a treaty with the Sublime Porte on the 14th of June, by which the existence of the Turkish empire in its present limits was recognized, and the use of every means pledged to obtain the evacuation of the principalities by the Russians. The Austrian army of occupation for these purposes was to be stationed in Wallachia and Moldavia, subject entirely to the authority of its own commander-in-chief, who was to inform the general of the Turkish army of his operations; and as soon as peace should be restored between the sultan and the czar, this Austrian army of occupation was to be withdrawn This position of a neutral arbiter which Austria at last consented to assume, did not fulfil the expectations or the wishes of the friends of Turkey; but it was thought by some, that in the present state of matters, it was as much as the court of Vienna could offer, consistently with its late debt of gratitude to the czar

for his effectual aid in the suppression of the Hungarian revolt. On the 20th of August, the Austrian army for the occupation of the provinces commenced its march into Wallachia and Moldavia, and established its head-quarters at Bucharest, by which all further collision between the Turkish and Russian forces on these territories was prevented. By this movement, it might be said that both parties were equally benefited; for while Omar Pacha was thus rid of the defence of these provinces, and of the presence of a dangerous enemy that might still have proved too hard for him, Russia, by the withdrawing of its army, was enabled to strengthen the means of its resistance in the Crimea. It was upon the French and the English, for whom this portion of the war was reserved, that the whole brunt of the evil was to fall.

Of these armies of the allies, we have already mentioned the removal from the neighbourhood of Constantinople to Varna It took place simultaneously with the commencement of the



THE TOWN AND BAY OF VARNA —From Lieutenant-colonel Andrews' Views in Turkey and the Crimea

siege of Silistria, and at Varna they continued inert, although exercising, by their nearness to the scene of active operations, a paralyzing influence upon the Russians Even this inaction, however, was accompanied with such melancholy as well as important consequences, that it forms an episode which cannot be dismissed with a mere casual notice.

Varna, situated on the shores of the Black Sea, in the province of Bulgaria, is a fortified town and seaport, 160 miles to the north-west of Constantinople, and contains about 14,000 inhabitants Its site is a gentle height on the north-west side of a semicircular bay formed by two rocky promontories; and, like many other towns which have been for a length of time in possession of the Turks, it exhibits the usual melancholy symptoms of neglect and decay; for it is but slightly fortified, its houses, which are chiefly of wood, are irregularly placed, and it has no public buildings but a few mosques The British troops had their encampment at Aladyn, a few miles distant from the town; and seldom have war-tents been pitched in a more beautiful landscape, consisting of meadows so richly wooded and watered as to resemble the choicest rural scenes of England: it was this alluring home resemblance that determined the selection of the spot. During the whole time of their residence at Varna, the French and English, both officers and common soldiers, vied with each other in deeds of kindness and mutual accommodation, so that it seemed as if the centuries of previous hostility had only inspired them with a deeper respect for each other, and a more ardent desire to be connected by the ties of an enduring fellowship The greatest grievance, indeed, that first began to be experienced as a common calamity was the inactivity to which they were subjected, and this the more, as they could occasionally hear the faint, sullen boom of the distant cannonades, which proclaimed that there was stirring work going on at Silistria. But this feeling was raised to tenfold intensity when tidings arrived that the Turks had been successful—that the siege was raised—that the enemy had retreated none could tell whither; and "When shall we have a brush with the Russians?" was now the prevalent cry. They were also in full force for a great united enterprise, in consequence not only of the reinforcements that had arrived from England and France, but the addition of some Turkish and Egyptian battalions Forty thousand men were encamped around the walls of Varna, while every street was crowded with soldiery who scarcely could find room to move. It was an assemblage well fitted for the visit of an Asiatic pestilence, and the Destroyer came at the summons.

On this occasion, the visitation was of that latest and deadliest phase which the plague—that terrible scourge of humanity from the earliest ages—has now assumed. It was the cholera. Previous to its arrival, fever and dysentery had been prevalent among the troops, owing in great part to their immoderate use of cucumbers and watermelons, and the pernicious raki or brandy of the country, and toward the latter part of July, it was found that these diseases had deepened into confirmed cholera The first to be visited were the French, and among them the progress of the disease was so rapid, that they were obliged to clear out their hospital at Varna, which, though a very large building, was too confined for the number of patients, and treat their cases in the open field. It was melancholy to witness the effects of the first impressions of the malady upon these men, before it had taken confirmed possession the laugh, the song, the jest, so essential a portion of the French soldier's existence, were no longer heard, they listlessly sat still, or moved with slow and heavy steps, and when the first touch of the disease was felt, however lightly, it was received as a death-sentence from which there was no appeal. The English army was soon to be allied with them in suffering and loss, for on the 23d of July, it broke out in their encampment with equal violence, wherein men and officers were equally the victims, and fifteen or sixteen deaths in the hospital was the usual return of each day's medical report It was then found that the choice of Aladyn for the place of their encampment had been a fatal one; for notwithstanding the loveliness of the surrounding scenery, and the abundance of wood and water, it was noted at this season of the year by the inhabitants as a hot-bed of infectious maladies, and therefore to be carefully avoided. The same was the case with the neighbouring valley of Devno, in which part of the British tents were pitched, for there disease was wont to be so prevalent in summer that the Turks had termed it the "Valley of Death" It was time to abandon this fatal place, already crowded with the dying and the dead, and the decimated brigades were removed and spread over a wide encampment, extending over the country from Monastir to Varna, a distance of about twenty-six miles Nor were the living exhibitions of this wasting plague less appalling than the sight of the graves with which their late place of sojourn was plentifully garnished. In our brigade of guards, numbering 3000 strong, 600 were already on the sick list, and when they were removed from Aladyn to Varna, which was scarcely ten miles distant, after a very short encampment, they occupied two days in the march, although their packs were carried for them. When such was the fate of the choicest of Britain—the men of gigantic frame and iron endurance, whom perhaps no equal number of troops on earth could have matched—what must have been the condition of the other regiments composed of men of the common file? It has been noted, too, that the coming of a pestilence is often attended with a recklessness and improvidence among its victims amounting to downright insanity, and through which the cases of suffering and death are fearfully multiplied, and the present conduct of many of the soldiers, both French and English, was no exception to the melancholy rule They clubbed together for the purpose of eating and drinking, they gorged themselves with pumpkins, water-melons, and fruit, or made themselves dead-drunk with the sour wine and poisonous raki of the country, under the idea of using precautions against the cholera, and then slept in the kennels or ditches, under a blazing sun, when their enfeebled frames were exhausted with the weight of their debauch. While the land was thus overspread with mortality, and its atmosphere laden with infection, the sea was no protection, and the English and French ships, anchored in Baltchik Bay and the harbour of Varna, exhibited an amount of infection and mortality equal to that on the shore, attended also in many cases with still more appalling circumstances. At last, on the second week of August, the mortality on board the French and English ships was so great, that the fleet had to make a run for it, and stand out to sea upon a cruise How greatly this change was needed appeared from the fact, that on the 16th of the month, the British ship *Britannia*, since it left Baltchik, had lost seventy men, and had buried ten of her crew on that morning. To the horrors of pestilence were added the threats of famine, by a destructive fire which broke out in Varna on the 10th. It commenced in a spirit-shop near the French commissariat stores the spirits, that ran in torrents, were converted into a torrent of flame, which the wooden houses quickly caught, and propagated from street to street; and for ten hours the sailors were employed in arresting the conflagration, which, in spite of every effort, destroyed a fourth part of the town, and an immense portion of the military rations and stores Even as it was, Varna, but for these exertions, would have been wholly reduced to ashes, and the army left destitute. In what cause this suspicious catastrophe originated cannot well be ascertained it was one to which every Turkish town, from Constantinople downwards, is hourly exposed, and which makes the police alarm of *yangen var* [there is a fire!] as common as a market-proclamation. But in this case, it was attributed to the Greeks

resident in Varna, whose sympathies with the cause of Russia were notorious, and whose quarter of the town was untouched; and a Greek, who was seen to set fire to the spirits with a torch as they flowed into the street, was cut down, and six or seven of his countrymen bayonetted by the French soldiers, while two Greeks, who were apprehended, were hanged after a very summary trial.

Such was the inauspicious commencement of a campaign upon which the hopes of England and France had been so sanguine, and for the first tidings of which London and Paris were so eager Had the glorious pomp and circumstance of war, which had gone from their gates like a military triumph, been so quickly changed into a dead march! The havoc of a whole career of victory had been suffered, and yet not a single stroke been dealt While such was the loud murmur of anger and disappointment at home, it may be imagined how much more keenly these emotions were felt by the armies at Varna The soldiers complained that they were cooped up only to perish in heaps, they were drawn out only as a mark for the destroyer, they were struck by a silent, unseen power, and falling without fame or memorial Why were they not led into the Crimea, where the stir of battle, or at least a soldier's grave could be found, instead of lingering in this life-in-death encampment? But for this purpose, more than one movement had been already made, and without success While the siege of Silistria was going on, Lord Cardigan was sent with the light cavalry to ascertain the position of the Russian main army, for even its locality was as yet unknown at Varna, but although his exploration extended for nearly 300 miles over a waste, uninhabited country, and was advanced as far as Trajan's Wall on the borders of the Dobrudscha, he could only ascertain that the siege was raised, and that the force employed upon it was in full retreat towards Bessarabia. On the 19th of July, when a council of war had decided that it was time to proceed to active measures, General Sir George Brown, accompanied by General Canrobert, and attended by several French and English officers, embarked on board her majesty's ship *Fury*, to explore the Crimean coast in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, and ascertain a fitting place for the debarkation of the army; but on the morning of the 20th the ship was discovered from the ramparts, and fired at with shot and shell, so that its object was frustrated On the following day, Marshal St Arnaud, weary of inaction, and alarmed at the continuing progress of the cholera, under which he was himself suffering, sent a division under General Canrobert on an expedition into the Dobrudscha, where he heard that more than 10,000 of the Russian troops were assembled, by whose defeat he hoped the spirits of his army would be revived. But his soldiers carried the disease along with them, and without encountering an enemy, except in an insignificant skirmish of cavalry, the men died in heaps on the march, or in their tents, more numerously than if their progress had been enfiladed by hostile batteries. Seven thousand men perished in this useless expedition alone, the miseries of which can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of modern warfare

But the time of emancipation arrived at last. The siege of Silistria having been raised, and the Austrian army of occupation established in the provinces, the French and English armies could now carry out the original plan of the campaign by passing to the Crimea It was through Sebastopol that the czar possessed the command of the Black Sea and the means of invading Constantinople, and it was therefore by the capture of this strong and dangerous fortress that the sultan could be best protected, and the objects of the expedition accomplished There was joy among the troops, both French and English at Varna, when this purposed movement was made known, and under the welcome prospect of change of place and active occupation, the sick began to recover, and despair was exchanged for hope. The transportation commenced at the beginning of September, and was no quick or easy process, although 600 vessels were employed in it, protected by a war fleet carrying 3000 cannon; for the united armies mustered more than 50,000 bayonets, and the conveyance of so large a force by sea was an unwonted movement, while most of the commanders were unaccustomed to war upon such an extensive scale. There was therefore much hurrying and crowding, a vast amount of blunders and misunderstanding of orders, and loud complaints of improvidence and deficiency in the means of transport, before this military chaos had settled into order upon the place of its final occupation But with that settlement, good humour as well as military efficiency was restored, and the taking of Sebastopol in a very short period, if not at the first assault, was anticipated as a positive certainty But these confident hopes were mingled with the ominous doubts and misgivings of the more reflective. That iron fortress of the Black Sea, upon the fortifications of which the utmost resources of military art had been expended, was as likely to waste an army that sat down before it, as to yield to the onset It was also feared that the season was too far advanced for such active operations, and that the sufferings of a Crimean winter would have to be endured, along with those of a perilous and protracted siege.

The question of the fittest point for debarkation upon a coast hitherto so little known, had previously been the subject of much deliberation; and the place selected was Eupatoria Bay, to the north of Sebastopol, at a place called Staroe Ukroplenie, or the Old Fort. The landing was commenced on the 14th of September; and the first to reach the shore was a boat's crew of Frenchmen, who planted the tricolor flag in the ground, thus taking possession of the Crimea amidst shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" As for the town of Eupatoria, which presented a formidable appearance from the sea, it surrendered at the first summons. Although it must have been previously known to the Russians that the destination of the allied armies was the Crimea, such was either their apathy or their confidence, that no attempts had been made to interrupt the expedition. On sea, therefore, not a single hostile sail appeared in sight; and on the landing of the allies, there was neither a battery to oppose them, nor light troops to harass them with skirmishing: no-

EUPATORIA.—From a sketch by M Dulong, engraved in L'Illustration, 1854

thing in the form of an enemy appeared, except a Russian officer attended by four mounted Cossacks, who coolly stood within reach of the Menie rifles, and took notes of the particulars of the debarkation, which were probably to be transmitted to head-quarters. Instead of awaiting, they must seek the Russian army, which, as the allied commanders learned from the reconnaisance of their steamers, was entrenched in a strong camp on the heights to the south of the river Alma; and thither accordingly they commenced their march on the 19th of September. And that march was a splendid and a gay spectacle, contrasted as it was with the bleakness and solitude of the surrounding scenery; for the soldiers, by change of place and occupation, were fast recovering their health and spirits, and revelling in the hopes of victory. As Marshal St Arnaud rode past the front of the 55th regiment, he exclaimed, "English, I hope you will fight well to-day." "Hope!" cried a voice from the ranks—"sure you *know* it!"

The tokens of the enemy's neighbourhood and promise of battle were not long in appearing, these were given in the form of villages and houses committed to the flames by the Russians themselves, to delay our advance, and in troops of cavalry in the distance, that moved and disappeared as the hostile march approached nearer their encampment. After crossing the Bouljanak, a sluggish, muddy stream, the signs of hostility became more decisive: troops of Cossack lancers advanced for skirmishing, who were confronted by our light dragoons and hussars, and when the Cossacks fell back, our pursuing cavalry were met by strong bodies of Russian horse who checked their onward career. This called up other detachments both French and British to their aid, on which the Russians fell back upon the Alma. In itself the encounter was nothing more than an insignificant skirmish, a mere crossing of sword-blades; but this meeting of weapons had taught the combatants the strength of each other's arm, and warmed them for a conflict that should be at *outrance*. That night the allied armies bivouacked at Bouljanak, upon which they had fallen back, with the Russian position on the Alma full in sight, being illuminated by numerous watch-fires that gleamed over an extent of four miles. On the morrow, the campaign in the Crimea was to be opened in earnest with the conflict of the Alma.

CHAPTER XVIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1854.

VICTORIA.

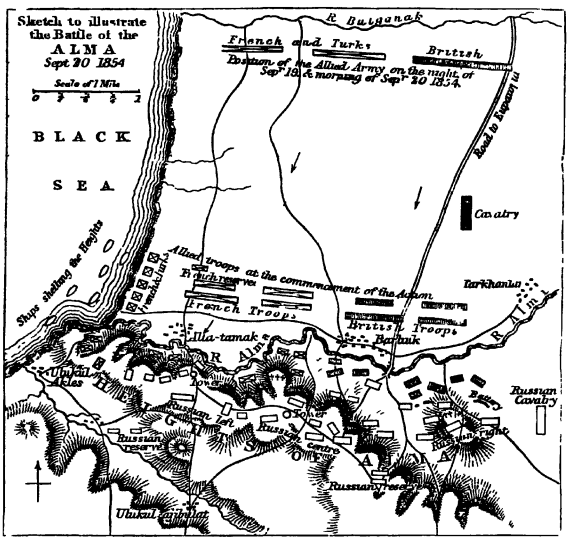
Preparations for the battle of the Alma—Plan of the battle—Movements previous to the attack—The French cross the Alma—They gain the heights—Their successful attack on the Russian position—Entrance of the British troops into battle—Chief movements of the conflict—Defeat of the Russians—Losses of both parties at the battle of the Alma—Inability of the French and English to follow up their victory—They commence their march upon Sebastopol—Plan adopted for its siege—Risk of battle during the march—The allies take up their position against Sebastopol at Balaklava—Account of Sebastopol—Its strength and resources—Attempt of the allies to bombard Sebastopol by land and sea—Failure of the land bombardment—The bombardment by sea unsuccessful—Causes of the failure—The siege continued—Want of effective materials for the siege—Increase of the Russian army of observation—Its stealthy approach to raise the siege—Unexpected attack on the position of the British troops—Battle of Balaklava—Particulars of the attack on the British position—The Turkish troops driven from their redoubts—Gallant conduct of the 93d Highlanders—Chivalrous and successful onset of our dragoons—The great Balaklava charge—Mistakes that occasioned it—The British light horse led to the unequal encounter—Death of Captain Nolan—Terrible onset of the light horse— heir successful charge through a whole army—Their perilous return—Aid brought to them by the French chasseurs —Their heavy losses in this encounter—Failure of the Russian attempt at Balaklava—The British contract their line of encampment—A sally from Sebastopol—Its attack on the British second division—The Russian troops defeated and driven back to the town—The allied armies continue the siege—Obstacles to their success —The Russians again resolve to raise the siege—Their superior means for a fresh attempt—Prince Menschikoff invites the sons of the czar to Inkermann—They arrive to witness the expected victory—The Russians make a night march upon the British encampment—They secure an advantageous position for the morrow's attack—They advance to surprise the British second division—The alarm given by the resistance of our pickets—The second division drawn up—It is assailed at once from several quarters—The attempted surprise changes into open battle—Battle of Inkermann—Chief incidents of the engagement—Total defeat of the Russians—Greatness and importance of the victory of the allied armies at Inkermann.

DURING the night of the 19th of September, while the soldiers of the allied army were sitting by their bivouac fires, or sleeping on the ground wrapped up in their cloaks and blankets, the principal commanders were arranging the plan for the next day's engagement The plan was the following.—One French division under General Bosquet, accompanied by a part of the Turkish regiments, was to advance along the sea-shore, force the heights, and turn the enemy's left flank, and this being accomplished, the remainder of the French army was instantly to attack that part of the Russian centre which rested on high ground above a village called Alta-tamak. The English, retaining their inland direction, were to wait in the village of Barluik until the French should establish themselves on the heights, and were then to turn the Russian right, giving as wide a berth as possible to the heavy batteries in the enemy's centre. The inshore squadrons of the allied fleets, chiefly consisting of steamers, were to keep close to the coast, and cover the advance and attack of Bosquet's division.[1] It has been alleged that when this plan was made, the heights of Alma and the position of the Russian army had not been duly inspected. Such were especially the complaints of our home strategists in London—of men who "sit by their firesides, and presume to know what is done in the capitol." But still more serious were the complaints and recriminations in the French and English armies upon each other on account of their misunderstandings and want of co-operation in the execution of the plan itself Passing over these, which are still unsettled matters of controversy, it is sufficient for the present to note how ably and successfully the plan was executed.

The morning of the 20th of September opened with a thick haze that obscured the objects of the plain; and the heights of Alma were so enveloped in its folds, that at first it was thought the Russians had abandoned their position. but a light breeze rose, which removed the vapour like a curtain, and displayed the Russians to full view, with their formidable batteries, and strong natural ramparts of rock and ravine. The first movement was that of the allied inshore squadron of vessels, headed by the *Agamemnon*, which took up a position off the mouth of the Alma; and this being effected, General Bosquet's division descended from the heights of Bouljanak, followed and supported more inland by the divisions of Prince Napoleon, and Generals Canrobert and Forey. At a later period, the British, whose encampment was more distant,

[1] *Annual Register*, 1854

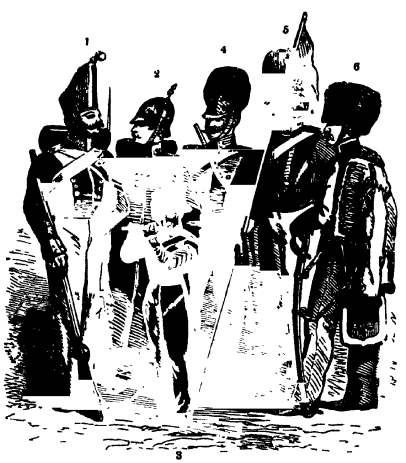
advanced in order for battle, and took up their position on the extreme left of the French. Both allied armies could now distinctly see the work that lay before them, which might well have daunted the bravest; for the slopes and precipices behind the Alma were serrated with glittering lines of bayonets, where the Russians were drawn up in almost inaccessible positions, and defended by better cannon than those which the assailants could bring against them. The stubborn, unflinching hardihood of the Russians,



and the prestige they had acquired in passive and defensive warfare, was also taken into account; and it was known that thus posted, they could not be dislodged without a deadly struggle and fearful sacrifice. The delay of the British advance, the march of the French troops along the shore, and the necessity of reconnoitring the Russian position, prevented Bosquet from leading his division to the attack until it was nearly one o'clock P.M.; but when it was commenced, it was with a spirit and energy that made up for the loss of time. Marching to the mouth of the river, which had been cleared of the presence of the enemy by the guns of the steamers, the brigade of General Brouat crossed the Alma by a sand-bank, the only point at that part where the water was fordable, the men wading up to their waists, and afterwards climbing up the steep paths to the opposite height, where the Russians were ready to receive them. At the same time, the brigade of D'Autemarre passed the Alma without obstacle at the burned village of Alta-tamak, ascended the cliffs on the opposite side, and surmounted them in a few minutes Thus the first difficult step in advance was won, and the enemy brought within reach, where the coming encounter could be better equalized, and in this daring and difficult advance, none were so distinguished as the regiment of Zouaves, which General Bosquet had thrown out to commence it These hardy, sunburnt soldiers from Algeria, conspicuous not more by their bizarre Asiatic dress than their agility and courage, rushed through the river, bounded up the cliffs on the opposite side like antelopes, swinging themselves upward by the branches of trees and brushwood, alternately appearing for a moment and vanishing, until they were seen upon the high plateau, falling into regular line, and ready to advance against the fire that was opened upon them And gallantly they maintained their ground, while the main body of the French under Prince Napoleon and General Canrobert were advancing to their assistance The main body under these commanders, after crossing the river, gained a pathway leading to the plateau, but so steep and rugged, that it was only by extraordinary exertions that their artillery could be dragged up but no sooner had it arrived, than it was brought forward to the support of the Zouaves, who were still battling gallantly, although almost overpowered by numbers In ranks, and in fragments of ranks, the rest of the division scrambled up as they best could, and once arrived, General Bosquet quickly formed them into line, and led them to the attack It was marvellous that such progress had been made with so little opposition—that the well-planted batteries of the Russians had been so silent—that the French had met no interruption as their broken ranks winded upward with difficulty through these steep, rugged ravines, that had been hollowed out by the torrents of ages, and which could have been so easily defended. But the plan of resistance adopted by the Russian commander, Prince Menschikoff, which was confident to rashness, made him neglect these advantages, and leave them open to the assailants His purpose was, to allow a sufficient number of their bat-

talions to gain the edge, and this done, to charge them before they could form, and hurl them down at the point of the bayonet. But he had not sufficiently reckoned upon the rapidity of French movements, and the extraordinary activity of the Zouaves, until he found them established with their guns in battery, and ready to dispute the ground with him upon equal terms.

It was now therefore that the conflict was commenced in earnest, where rapid movements and desperate efforts were enveloped in the smoke and flame of the artillery. Finding his plan frustrated, and his left about to be turned, Prince Menschikoff brought up whole masses of foot and artillery to support it, but the division Bosquet had already entered into action, the divisions Canrobert and Napoleon were advancing, and bearing down the obstacles that opposed them, according to the terse order of St. Arnaud, "Keep straight before you, and follow your own inspiration for your manœuvres we must gain these heights I have no other instructions to give to men on whom I rely." The three divisions were at last established on the plateau, after each had fought and won its way over local obstacles, and confronting troops and batteries, and all were now ready to bear down upon the enemy with a combined attack. This made Menschikoff anxious for his centre, which this junction menaced; and in consequence of his arrangements to strengthen it, M. St. Arnaud sent orders to his reserve to advance in two divisions, one to the support of Canrobert, and the other to proceed to the extreme right of the battle. The reserve accordingly crossed the river, and took their appointed places in the conflict. A telegraph tower was used by the Russians as the key of the centre of their position; and from the batteries on its flanks, and the sharpshooters within its walls, a deadly fire was kept up, under which the French dropped rapidly, or betook themselves to cover, when the entrance of the reserves to their aid introduced an important change, they assailed the tower, carried it after a short and desperate resistance, and this advantage being seconded by General Canrobert with his division, the enemy's left and left-centre were fully put to the rout, or driven to the rear. The victory, so far as the French were concerned, was secured, and St. Arnaud, after congratulating his generals, directed their attention to the English, who might now need their aid. But no such help was required; the English had already done their part, and after similar struggles were to be equally victorious



RUSSIAN REGULAR TROOPS.—From sketches by W. Timm.

1, Grenadier of the regiment of the guard of the Emperor Paul. 2, Chasseur of the guard. 3, Pifer of the guard. 4, Grenadier of the horse-guard. 5, Cuirassier. 6, Hussar.

RUSSIAN IRREGULAR TROOPS.—From sketches by V. Timm.

1, A Lesghian. 2, a Don Cossack. 3, a Circassian in full dress. 4, a Tartar Cossack of the Crimea. 5, a Cossack of line of Caucasus. 6, a Cossack of Orenburg.

According to the plan of battle concerted between the allied commanders, the British were not to commence their onset until the French should have gained the heights, and turned the Russian left. They waited accordingly until the French had established themselves on the plateau, being partly concealed from the enemy by the smoke of the burning village, and the trees on the river bank. It was an unwilling halt on their part, more especially as the sound of the cannonade deepened, and the tokens of the distant struggle came nigher, until a body of the French marines came in contact with their lines, while hastening forward in support of their countrymen. Their impatience for action was gratified sooner than was intended, for Marshal

St. Arnaud finding more resistance than he had expected—that batteries were multiplying on his front and flank, and fresh columns of infantry brought against him, sent in all haste to Lord Raglan, requesting him to advance without further delay. The message, although it disconcerted the original plan, was not unwelcome, and the British commander gave orders to advance. No sooner had his troops emerged into full view near the bank of the river, than the Russian batteries on the slope met them with a destructive fire, and their tirailleurs opened upon them a heavy discharge of rifles, but they pressed on like a torrent, sending volley after volley before them, that drove the tirailleurs across the river, and inflicted serious loss upon the batteries on the heights Under cover of this fire, the Alma was crossed, the extreme left of the French reached, and every obstacle of the river banks, the vineyards, and the felled trees surmounted, although these difficulties seemed insurmountable, defended obstinately as they were by the enemy, and not relinquished without a series of obstinate struggles, under which the British more than once were obliged to lie down for shelter from the destructive fire of the Russian batteries But forward and upward they still continued to press, although their comrades were falling at every step, and three regiments, the 7th, 23d, and 33d, reached the earthwork from which they had been cannonaded, but were there obliged to fall back before a heavy reversing fire of Russian infantry Their difficulty was increased by mistaking a Russian column descending the hill against them for French troops, under which impression they ceased from firing, until an overwhelming volley from their opponents convinced them of their mistake. But the check was only momentary; the Duke of Cambridge had crossed the river, and arrived in time to support them, while a splendid charge of the footguards under Major-general Bentinck gained possession of the earthwork.

The heat of battle had now reached its height; the tug of war was equal on both sides, when the Highland brigade under Major-general Sir Colin Campbell advanced up the high ground to the left, in co-operation with the guards, and General Pennefather's brigade connected with the right of the light division. The conduct of these plaided warriors was worthy of their well-established fame. They drew up as if they had been ruled by machinery; at the signal to move, they marched at charging step into the hottest of the fire; their destructive volleys and onward progress were heard far in advance of their companions; and wherever the fire was heaviest during the whole of that eventful day, their deeds and bold bearing were marked and admired. Before their onset and that of the light division, the Russians were driven from their choice position which they had defended with so much obstinacy. But two solid squares still kept their ground, and would have tried the courage of our exhausted troops, had not two guns, by order of Lord Raglan, been placed on a commanding point, and brought to bear against them, by the fire of which the squares were torn asunder, and scattered over the hills. Flight indeed was soon becoming general among the Russians, notwithstanding the attempts of their officers to check them; and where they tried to rally, it was only to be driven back with fresh loss before the resistless progress of the British, who continued their advance, until the broken ranks of their opponents were mingled *pêle mêle* with their defeated left wing that was pursued by the victorious French, and their centre, which was fast withdrawing from the contest The Russian cavalry, that had behaved indifferently during the action, now interposed, and the enemy, although so completely beaten over the whole field of battle, conducted their retreat in order, so that only two of their guns were left as trophies to the conquerors. Such was the battle of Alma, that lasted three hours, during two of which the British were engaged, although they had been eleven hours under arms Of the numbers engaged on both sides, that of the Russians of every arm did not exceed 40,000, while that of the allies was above 50,000, but of these last, about 20,000 were not in action, and considering the strength of the Russian position, the odds were greatly against them. So signal a victory could not be won without a heavy price, and the allies had 619 killed, and 2860 wounded, of which the greater share fell to the British, who had more serious difficulties to surmount, and a sterner opposition to encounter. The loss of the Russians was estimated at more than 8000; but of prisoners, only 900 were taken, the allied cavalry being kept warily in hand, instead of being let loose in pursuit, on account of the superiority of the Russians in that arm of warfare. The disadvantages under which our troops so bravely conducted themselves, and wrested success into their own possession where it would otherwise have seemed impossible, were thus simply and truthfully set forth in the despatch of Lord Raglan:—"When it is considered that they have suffered severely from sickness during the last two months; that since they landed in the Crimea they have been exposed to the extremes of wet, cold, and heat; that the daily toil to provide themselves with water has been excessive, and that they have been pursued by cholera to the very battle-field, I do not go beyond the truth in declaring that they merit the highest commendation."

A great victory was thus won at Alma—a name that henceforth will be memorable in history. To improve this victory, it was thought that nothing more was needed than to pursue the flying enemy, and complete their destruction—to descend upon Sebastopol—to enter and take possession before the first panic had abated. But for such prompt conclusions, which seemed so natural to civilians, the allies were unfitted by the late sickness with which they had been wasted, by their want of cavalry and gunpowder, by their ignorance of the country in which they were still obliged to grope their way, and by the strength of the enemy, who, though defeated, had already given proof that they were not to be too closely followed with impunity. A more humane and necessary task was adopted of attending to the sick and wounded, and as the village had been burned down, they had to be removed to the ships The same service was performed for the wounded Russians; and although two days were spent in this charitable duty, the whole could not be overtaken, so that 750 wounded soldiers of the enemy had to be left on shore, in an extemporized hospital, under the care of Dr Thomson, who devoted himself to this noble self-denying office, and afterwards fell its victim. Thus the march from Alma did not commence till the 23d of September, and its course was to the north side of Sebastopol On that evening the allied armies halted at Katcha, the alluring valley of which was plentifully studded with vineyards and gardens of rich fruits, which our soldiers, though still continuing to suffer from cholera and dysentery, did not leave untasted Here, also, the armies were reinforced by the arrival of troops from home the French to the number of 7000 or 8000, and the British with the Scots Greys and 57th regiment, who were landed at the mouth of the Katcha on the 23d On the following day (24th) they encamped on the right bank of the Belbek, at about six miles' distance from Katcha. But the plan of attacking Sebastopol upon the northern side had to be abandoned, as it was ascertained that strong batteries had been erected along the north-west of the harbour, and that these, in conjunction with the Star Fort and Fort Constantine would cause both danger and loss to such an attempt The design was therefore changed for one suggested by Sir John Burgoyne. this was, a prompt flank movement on Balaklava, by which we should turn and neutralize the effect of these batteries, secure a new base of operations instead of that of the Katcha, and distract the enemy by an attack upon a part of the town where they were weakest, and where the danger had been least apprehended. From Belbek the march was accordingly directed towards the south-east on the Black River, although it was a course both difficult and dangerous, and where the enemy, by a spirited attack, especially where our troops rounded the harbour, might have inflicted upon them a heavy loss. At times, too, glimpses of Sebastopol could be caught from the hill-tops in the bright sunshine. During this march, the French commander-in-chief died, worn out by the effects of cholera, by which he had been attacked at Varna, and was succeeded by General Canrobert, his second in command. It was the aim of the allied armies to reach Balaklava as soon as possible, and while hastily pressing onward for this purpose, they all but entered into a fresh battle with the enemy. After his defeat at Alma, Prince Menschikoff had retreated to the valley of the Tchernaya, from which he made a flank movement to Simpheropol, but on the way, his rear-guard fell in with the advancing columns of the allies It was a most unexpected meeting and an awkward collision, which occurred at a place afterwards well known under the name of Mackenzie's Farm, but it ended in nothing more than the capture of a considerable quantity of baggage, which the Russians were glad to leave behind them in their retreat. On the 26th our armies reached Balaklava, which they forthwith established as their new base of operations, the French occupying the valley to the north of that town, with the sea on their flank, while the English took up their position inland, the post of danger and of honour. As the harbour of Balaklava was too small to hold the fleets of both armies, it was occupied by the British ships, those of France being stationed in Kamiesch Bay, an inlet in Cape Chersonese.

Sebastopol, around which the interest of the war was now to be concentrated, was originally nothing more than an insignificant Tartar village, under the name of Akhtiar, until 1780, when the Empress Catherine commenced, and her successors Alexander and Nicholas carried out, those improvements by which it became a great and beautiful city, and the chief naval arsenal of the Russian empire. It was more than a mile in length and three-quarters of a mile in breadth, and occupied for its site part of the peninsula on the south side of the roadstead of the same name, and rose from the shore in the form of an amphitheatre. Its basin, dry docks, and quays, in the construction of which engineering science had conquered the obstacles or supplied the deficiencies of nature, and its government warehouses and magazines of immense and solid structure, attested the great political importance of the place, and marked it out as a vital part of the empire at which a death-blow might be aimed by a bold enterprising enemy. And adequate to its importance were the numerous strong defences which had been erected for its protec

tion both by land and sea. On the south, the port was defended by six principal batteries, each mounting from 50 to 190 guns; on the north were four batteries, mounting from 18 to 120 pieces, and besides these were several smaller batteries. Before the war commenced, 850 pieces of artillery guarded the port, of which 350 could be brought to bear upon a single ship entering the bay; but during the siege these were multiplied to an indefinite amount. By land, the original defences were by no means so formidable; but these were improved and multiplied with incredible rapidity as necessity and the changes of attack required, so that, almost daily,

new earthworks were constructed and fresh guns planted, and from these, at the very commencement of the siege, no fewer than 25,000 rounds were fired before our batteries opened upon them Such was the place which people at home ignorantly imagined would be taken by a *coup de main!* "The position occupied by the enemy," wrote Lord Raglan in one of his despatches, "is not that of a fortress, but rather that of an army in an entrenched camp on very strong ground, where an apparently unlimited number of heavy guns, amply provided with gunners and ammunition, are mounted" It must also be kept in mind that while the allied armies had no covering force to protect them—that while their whole existence was staked upon the alternative of success or defeat—there was within the city an army nearly as numerous as the assailants, and on the outside. another more numerous still under the command of Prince Menschikoff.

On the 7th of October, the investment of Sebastopol was formally commenced by the erection of a line of earthworks on the side of Balaklava; and those of the English being completed by the 12th, were intrusted to the keeping of General Sir Colin Campbell, with the 93d Highlanders, reinforced by 3000 Turkish irregulars The French works were of fully greater strength and extent, owing to the superior facilities of the ground, and their possession of the Woronzoff road When the batteries were finished, those of the English overlooked Sebastopol, while those of the French were on a level with its defences. The encampment of the allies was a high bare plateau, sloping gradually on the north to Sebastopol, and on the west to Cape Chersonese, and as they had to retain possession of the harbour of Balaklava, where our shipping was stationed, and from which we were to derive our provisions and military stores, the lines had to be too far extended in that direction, leaving them in many places considerably weakened On the 17th of October, at half-past six o'clock in the morning, the bombardment of Sebastopol was commenced by the French and British batteries, and by their ships in the harbour, for the attack was to be continued at the same time, and without pause, both by land and sea; but so ready were the Russians for the encounter, that they had anticipated

us by half an hour, and with such a cannonade as showed that they were superior to their assailants both in the calibre and number of their guns, which were also admirably served. The effects of this superiority against the land attack began to manifest themselves among the French works nearest the town, for after two hours one of their powder magazines blew up, and after mid-day a still worse explosion occurred in their lines, so that their fire had to be suspended during the rest of the day. On the side of the British the cannonade was maintained incessantly for seven or eight hours against the Redan battery, and the round tower with which it was connected. The latter being built of stone, was the first to be knocked to pieces, but the Redan being of earth, suffered little damage, except an explosion between two and three in the afternoon, by which it was supposed to be silenced for ever, so tremendous was the shock and din, but such of its artillerymen as survived returned to the charge, and kept up their fire with scarcely diminished vigour until night, when the destructive thunder on both sides was closed by mutual consent.

While thus it fared with the land attack, that from the sea was equally unsatisfactory. By agreement, the French squadron commenced by bombarding the Quarantine battery, the Artillery battery, and Fort Alexander on the south side, while the British reserved for their share Fort Constantine, the Telegraph battery, and the Wasp on the north But as the ships neared their appointed stations, they found difficulties in their way, against which even naval warfare by steam was unable to contend upon equal terms. Although the water was deep enough at the mouth of the harbour, and in the passage leading to the mouth, there was on either side a long shoal, too narrow to allow even one-half of the French and English ships to take up their position near the walls, so that many of the more distant were shut out from action With a rare instance of self-sacrifice, the Russians had also blocked up the entrance to Sebastopol, by sinking five ships of the line and two frigates, so that a bar was interposed to the close co-operation of the fleet with the armies while both were engaged in action. These impediments, with the shallowness of the water inwards, not only prevented the close approach of the vessels, where their broadsides would have been most available against the forts, but kept them at such a distance as made them more distinct marks for the enemy's fire. All and each of these obstacles now

THE DOCKYARD CREEK AND TOWN OF SEBASTOPOL.—From Lieut.-colonel Andrews' Views in Turkey and the Crimea

[1] The buildings on the right are the barracks of the Karabelnaia, which are handsome, and of white stone On the opposite side of the creek is Fort Nicholas, to the left you see the churches of St Peter and St Paul, on the extreme left the theatre, underneath, near the water's edge, are government sheds connected with the dockyard The extreme distance is the north side of the harbour, with Fort Catherine close to the water The bridge by which the Russians retreated to the north side ran from the near end of Fort Nicholas to Fort Catherine The mouth of the harbour is a little to the left of the churches of St Peter and St. Paul.—Lieut.-colonel Andrews' *Views in Turkey and the Crimea*

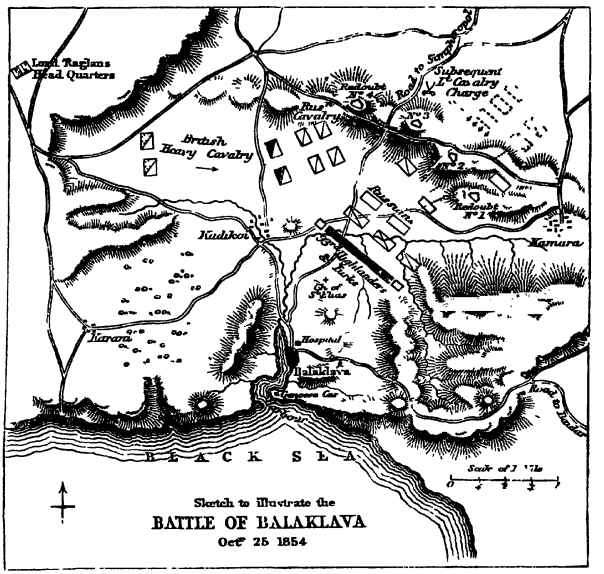
told with fearful effect. The roar of the broadsides from the shipping, and the heavy discharges of the forts that answered them, rose high above the deafening din of the cannonade on land, and was continued till evening; and when sunset arrived, at which the fleets retired, they had been so effectually mauled, that eight ships of the line, two English and six French, had to be sent home for repairs. The English had 44 killed and 266 wounded, the French, 30 and 164. Of the Russians, about 500 were killed and wounded; but the result had filled them with confidence, by showing the completeness of their defences, and how successfully they could defend themselves against attacks by sea: not a breach had been made in their batteries, nor a single wall dismantled, although they were marked and dinted as thickly with cannon-balls, as buildings with the large rain-drops of a commencing thunder-shower.

After this unsatisfactory attempt, the partial investment of Sebastopol was continued in the form of an ordinary siege, and with various results. The French renewed their batteries, and pushed them somewhat forward in advance, and the English continued their fire on the southern front of Sebastopol; but both they and their allies were deficient, not only in weight of artillery but supplies of gunpowder. Our siege train consisted only of sixty guns, including mortars, all of them decidedly inferior in calibre to those of the Russians; while the French guns, which were of brass, and equally inferior, could make little impression on the strong ramparts and earthworks upon which their fire was brought to bear. So defective were we in these, that to arm our three batteries with their proper complement, we were obliged to strip our ships, and leave them half defenceless It was unfortunate both for France and England, that to them the Crimean territory had hitherto been a *terra incognita;* and for the soldiers of both countries, that they had been sent forth, under the idea that they had only to summon the town to surrender, or advance upon its walls at the *pas de charge*. These walls were not of pipe-clay painted into an imitation of stone, or ramparts of lath and canvas for a mere melodramatic display, as we had been told that so many of the Russian defences were; and when the tidings reached our army from home, through the English newspapers, that they had already taken Sebastopol, it was like a bitter mockery, intended to aggravate their sufferings, which were already severe enough. Provisions were scarce, and could only be obtained at the dearest rate. Under these privations, combined with wounds, excessive toil, and sickness, disabilities were so prevalent that out of our 35,600 men, not more than 16,500 rank and file were fit for service. And yet—Why had we not taken Sebastopol?

Thus matters continued until the 25th of October, when the Russian army of observation resolved to make a decisive attempt for the relief of the city. It had commenced its movements for this purpose five days earlier, upon the right bank of the Tchernaya; and although rumours were prevalent that its battalions were crossing the river, and had been joined by the force under General Liprandi, newly arrived from the principalities on the Danube, these rumours had been disregarded. The Russian commanders, after a careful exploration for several days, had been confident that they could drive the allied army from their strong position at Balaklava, and place them between their own fire and that of Sebastopol, and they selected that part of our lines upon which the Turks were encamped, as being the weakest. It consisted of four conical hillocks in a right line across the valley beneath, upon which the Turks had thrown up as many earthen redoubts, each being defended by 250 men, and two or three heavy ship guns supplied by our fleet, with a gunner in each fort to work them. Upon this point, and these weakly manned redoubts, the Russians brought up during the night a battery of heavy guns, which were planted upon the opposite ridge, and at day-break, on the morning of the 25th, they opened a heavy fire, but with little effect. It was not here, however, that the chief danger lay, except in diverting the attention of the assailed; for at the eastern end of the valley Liprandi's *corps d'armée* was drawn up in order of battle, having its strong reserve on the Simpheropol road, and soon after, a large body of Russian cavalry advanced steadily down the valley, while a column of their infantry moved along the foot of the hill towards the Turkish redoubt No. 1. On finding themselves attacked in such force, after firing a few rounds the Turks fled in dismay, and were soon followed by those of the redoubts Nos. 2 and 3, who went off in such a hurry, that they did not wait to spike their guns, which were turned against them in their flight. Only the fourth redoubt, which was manned by British soldiers, but most of them invalids, was left unassailed.

Thus far the enemy had succeeded, and the chance of the British lines was perilous in the extreme. The next attack would be upon themselves, for which they were ill provided by the sudden defection of their Turkish allies; and could the Russians but reach the ground overhanging the harbour, our magazines and stores, and also our shipping, would soon be in a blaze. But fortunately a few minutes of time were left to prevent the surprise from being a successful one, for at half-past seven o'clock in the morning, an orderly came at full gallop to the head-quarters of

Sir Colin Campbell, with tidings of the attack on the redoubts. The news was quickly spread abroad, and the troops of both allied armies were speedily set in motion. Sir George Cathcart and the Duke of Cambridge were ordered by Lord Raglan to march their respective divisions, the fourth and first, to the scene of action, while General Canrobert, the French commander-in-chief, sent General Bosquet with his third division to assist the British in holding the valley. As for Balaklava, its defence was promptly looked after by Sir Colin Campbell, who stationed the 93d Highlanders drawn up in line in front of the road leading to the town. And even these preparations, quick and bold though they were, would be scarcely enough for the occasion Six large masses of Russian infantry were seen marching up the valley in complete order, with a regular line of twenty pieces of artillery in their front; about a mile in advance of them were two batteries of light guns playing upon the redoubts; and behind them, in front of the infantry, were enormous bodies of cavalry It was a fearful advance, in which war seemed to assume all its grandeur and solemnity as well as its terrors, and all its promise of devastation and victory.



The Turks, when they had been driven from the redoubts, had fled towards the Highlanders, upon the flanks of whom they rallied and formed themselves into companies. The Russian cavalry advancing in pursuit, perceived, when they had gained the hill across the valley, that the Highlanders were drawn up at the distance of half a mile ready to receive them, upon which they checked their advance until squadron after squadron had come up to join them On being reinforced to the number of about 3500 men, they made a terrible and general charge towards Balaklava. It seemed as if nothing could resist that torrent: the Turks fired a second volley, and again fled, and down came the whole inundation of lancers, dragoons, hussars, and artillery upon the 93d, who instead of being thrown into squares, were only drawn up in a line of not more than two deep to receive them. It looked as if that coming charge of cavalry would snap the line asunder like a thread, and the onlookers held their breath in suspense; but before the enemy had come within 250 yards, a close volley from the Highland rifles emptied the saddles of the assailants by scores, and brought the whole body to a sudden pause. they wavered, opened their files to right and left, and fled in fear of another such destructive welcome. "Bravo, Highlanders; well done!" rang from the excited spectators over the field. On perceiving that the intention of the Russians was to attack Balaklava, Lord Raglan had ordered out the Scots Greys and Inniskillen dragoons, under Lord Lucan, and scarcely had they moved from their quarters, than they saw the advance of a large body of the enemy's cavalry. It was a bold resolution to attack them, for their opponents were evidently the *élite* of the Russian horse, and outnumbered them by more than four to one. At the prospect of that ominous meeting there was a pause of expectation and wonder among the allied armies, and both officers and soldiers gazed at this awful preparation as for a gladiatorial spectacle. The Russians came on in confidence down the hill, for they despised the fewness of their opponents, but it was only for a moment. the Scots Greys and Inniskillens charged their centre, which they broke right through; they plunged into the mass, where they disappeared; and "God help them, they are lost!" was the cry that burst from many a sympathizing spectator. But again they re-appeared, although with diminished numbers, and charged the second

line of the enemy as boldly as they had done the first. It was too much. the Russians were rallying, closing upon them, and might have overwhelmed them by the weight of numbers, when the 4th and 5th dragoon guards came down to their assistance, scattered with a single charge the Russian first line before it could form anew, and completed the defeat which the Inniskillens and Greys had commenced. At this triumphant close of the deadly drama, there was clapping of hands, shouting, and waving of caps among the spectators, who would gladly have shared in all the dangers of such a contest, to partake of its triumphs It was most gratifying also to find that this chivalrous enterprise cost so little, for not more than four or five men were killed and thirty wounded among the victors of this unequal encounter

And now came the most mournful, yet most brilliant episode of this eventful engagement One of the four captured redoubts had been recovered from the enemy On seeing a stir in the second of these, Lord Raglan imagined that the Russians were removing the captured guns from it, and with a view of preventing them, he sent a written order to Lord Lucan, the commander of our cavalry, to advance, and pursue the enemy in their retreat The order was conveyed by Captain Nolan of the 15th hussars, one of the most gallant, noble-hearted, and accomplished officers in the British service But during the short ride of Captain Nolan, such a change had occurred in the Russian movements as Lord Raglan could not have foreseen, and through which his order, that might have been at first of easy execution, was now changed into one of extreme rashness, if not utter impossibility Nolan delivered his order—a written order—and the Earl of Lucan, notwithstanding the altered state of affairs, had no alternative but implicit military obedience He might indeed have interpreted it according to the change of circumstances, and taken upon himself the responsibility of proving that compliance was impossible, and even this was gently hinted at in the despatch of Lord Raglan:—"From some misconception of the instruction to advance, the lieutenant-general considered that he was bound to attack *at all hazards*." As it was, Lord Lucan ordered Major-general the Earl of Cardigan to move forward with the light brigade of cavalry. And to overtake and charge what?—not an encumbered corps in hasty retreat, but an army drawn up to receive them. It was the main body of Liprandi's *corps d'armée* who were waiting them at the bottom of the valley, with the batteries of the two redoubts in their advance, with an additional battery which they had established on the Tchernaya ridge; and with the steep sides of the hills that flanked the valley lined with riflemen supported by strong columns of infantry. And an army thus advantageously posted was to be attacked by 600 British light horse! Officers and men saw that such an onset was certain destruction, but how could it be avoided? The order of the commander-in-chief was imperative in the following words.—"Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy, and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns, troops of horse artillery may accompany French cavalry is on your left. Immediate." "Forward!" was the word, and the light brigade began to charge through that valley—the Valley of the Shadow of Death. At first, they were accompanied by the heavy brigade, but the latter, after they had rode a little way, were halted as a support beyond the reach of the enemy's fire, and the light brigade went on alone On their left flank, and considerably in advance, as leader of the charge, was Captain Nolan, the bearer of the fatal order; but while he cheered his gallant followers, his arm suddenly fell, and his bold shout was exchanged into a death-shriek, for the fragment of a Russian shell had struck him to the heart, and he was dead in an instant Still onward went the light brigade, increasing their speed and impetus as they neared the enemy, but at the distance of 1200 yards, the fire of thirty cannon was opened upon them; the balls made fearful gaps as they swept through their ranks, and it was with greatly diminished numbers, though unabated spirit, that they reached the steel rampart through the heavy rolling fire of the hostile infantry Without a moment's halt they plunged into this fatal volcano, and were hid in a moment from the sight of their friends, who wondered at their heroism, and gave them up for lost; but still pressing on, they bore down and cut through the ranks of the enemy in their advance, until they had swept through the whole of that army from front to rear. The French and English who gazed from the ridge, had been astonished at such a charge of cavalry upon infantry, and still more, to see them emerge at the rear of their opponents, waving their red swords in triumph. But the fire of the batteries, the thick volleys of musketry, and the desperate hand-to-hand struggle with which every step of their progress had been accompanied, told fearfully upon their numbers many a horse was masterless, and many who still survived, reeled wounded in their saddles. But there was no time for pause or reflection. they must return, and in returning, they must confront anew the fiery ordeal through which they had already passed They wheeled, and re-entered that gap of death, which once more closed upon them, and from which they never would have escaped, had not an opportune res-

cue arrived. We have already mentioned that the heavy brigade, the heroes of the earlier part of the battle, had been drawn out as a support to the squadron employed in the charge; but they had been kept back, as it was soon perceived that their entrance into action would only deepen our loss. For such service, light cavalry was the most available, and this necessary aid was promptly afforded by our gallant allies, the French Seeing the danger of our light brigade, General Bosquet sent his corps of chasseurs d'Afrique to silence the battery on the Tchernaya ridge, by the fire of which our troops would have to pass in their return. And most gallantly was this good office performed by a single squadron of the corps of chasseurs, which was all that could be spared to charge the Russian artillery. Animated by the spirit and example of those to whose rescue they so readily hurried, this handful dashed through and over every obstacle, and swept the battery of its defenders, maintaining their position against a heavy cannonade, until the relics of our light brigade had once more emerged from their deadly struggle It was this generous interposition which in all probability saved them from entire destruction But of the 600 of our gallant heroes who had entered into this most unequal and perilous encounter, little more than 200 returned Yet, although it was a rash mistake, or complication of mistakes, that sent these brave men to certain death, they did not die in vain. It supported to the very height the prestige of British valour, which, after so long a peace throughout Europe, was shown to have suffered no diminution or decay. It daunted the subsequent efforts of the Russians, by teaching them with what kind of enemy they had now to deal. And better than all, when a deed of brave devotedness will be required of British soldiers, their arms will be nerved and their hearts animated by the narratives that have been handed down to them of this terrible charge of Balaklava.

The battle was now ended so far as actual fighting was concerned. The Russians, having failed in the object of their attack, retired to their old position; while the allied armies, satisfied with this advantage, gave them no further molestation. As for the four redoubts, two of which were still in possession of the enemy, but might easily have been recovered, it was resolved to leave the whole in their possession, as the Turks had shown themselves unable to defend them, and as their occupation demanded too great an extension of the British lines. It was judged more expedient to withdraw from that range of heights, and to concentrate our forces immediately in front of the narrow valley leading to the port and into Balaklava, and on the precipitous heights on the right—having thus a narrower and easier line of defence, and keeping Balaklava and the communication with it open by the westerly and southerly heights behind our camp Here our troops were to be reinforced by a strong body of seamen from the British fleet, and if need should occur, by some French regiments As for the Turkish troops, who had no longer the redoubts to maintain, they were to be converted into labourers, and employed in constructing breastworks and defences, which, when completed, would inclose and secure our occupation of Balaklava.

THE HARBOUR OF BALAKLAVA, from the Genoese Castle
From a drawing by James Newlands, C E (March 24, 1855)

In the meantime, there was glee and triumph in Sebastopol, when the guns captured from our redoubts were drawn into the city, it was reported that the army without had gained a great victory over the allies, of which these were the trophies; and there was ringing of bells and firing of cannon to celebrate the event But this was not enough, and the garrison resolved to complete the chastisement of their foes by a sally from the town. Accordingly, on the following

morning (the 26th of October), several columns of infantry, accompanied by artillery and cavalry, composing a force of between 6000 and 7000 men, were seen to issue from Sebastopol. At first it was thought that they were going to join Liprandi's corps, by the road through the Inkermann valley; but instead of proceeding forward, they suddenly turned to the right, ascended the hills, and appeared on the ridge which overlooked the camp of the second division commanded by Sir de Lacy Evans. But he had been expecting some such attack, and was prepared to encounter it. The Russians came rapidly down from the hill, and suddenly fell upon the pickets of the 30th and 49th regiments; but this brave handful opposed such a resistance to their advance, that Sir de Lacy had time to draw up his lines in advance of the camp; and when the sound of the enemy's cannonade was heard, he was reinforced by the Duke of Cambridge with the brigade of guards, and by General Bosquet with five French battalions At the same time, eighteen guns were placed in position, which opened a deadly fire upon the coming enemy; and after their artillery was silenced and driven off the field, the cannonade was directed against their infantry. This unexpected reception staggered them, and on the charge of our regiments with the bayonet, their rout was complete, they were chased over the ridges, and down towards the head of the bay, while our soldiers pursued them with such ardour that for some time it was difficult to recal them After the Russians had lost 600 in killed and wounded by this inglorious attempt, they were fain to hurry back to the shelter of the town. This success was the more glorious to the victors, as it was by the second division alone, who scarcely mustered 1200, that the whole was achieved, the reinforcements of guards and French battalions who came to their assistance having taken no share in the encounter

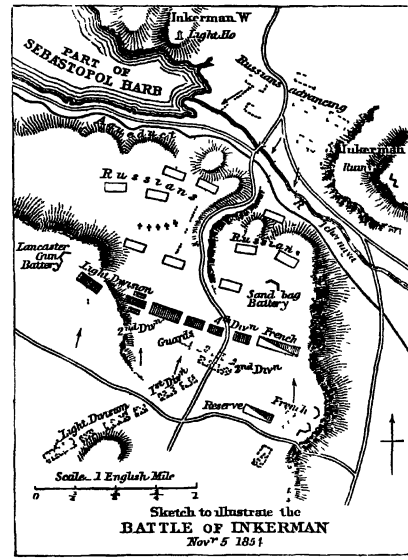
The siege of Sebastopol still continued to be pressed with vigour, and with alternate changes of failure and success; and as fast as a battery was dismantled or wall thrown down, fresh earthworks were constructed, and new guns mounted, while the obstinacy of the defence remained unabated. Far indeed from taking the city, it was much that the allies could maintain their ground, with such formidable fortresses opposed to them on one side, and so strong an army encamped against them on the other, and though our troops had won honour in every encounter in the field, these battles had been attended with no practical results Thus matters continued until the close of October, when the confidence of the Russians was so increased, that they hoped nothing less than to raise the siege, and annihilate their antagonists. For this important crisis, indeed, they had been for some time in preparation. Sebastopol although besieged had never been invested, and from Perekop, the base of Russian operations, which was perfectly open, the town was reinforced with troops, artillery, and provisions. At the same time, their forces which had been set free by the Austrian occupation of the Danubian provinces were conveyed to the Crimea, and 50,000 men were collected and impatient for action upon the heights of Inkermann. The time had arrived when the besieging armies were to be crushed between the resistless close of the city and its defenders from without Such was the calculation of Prince Menschikoff, the Russian commander, and from the heights of Inkermann he wrote the following confident letter to the czar —"A terrible calamity impends over the invaders of your dominions. In a few days, they will perish by the sword, or be driven into the sea. Let your majesty send your sons here, that I may render up to them untouched the priceless treasure which your majesty has intrusted to my keeping" These hopes obtained full sympathy in the palace of St Petersburg, and the emperor's two sons, the Archdukes Nicholas and Michael, were forthwith sent to the Crimea, to witness the promised downfall, and be invested with the honours of the victory.

On the morning of the 5th of November, and at a very early hour, after a rainy night, and while the air was still darkened with vapour, the ringing of church bells and singing of psalms were heard in Sebastopol. This however excited little attention, as such sounds were not only the usual prelude of a military enterprise, but also the accompaniment of those numerous saints' days and festivals for which the Greek church is distinguished. But at a still earlier hour, other sounds might have been heard unconnected with religious worship It was the low creak and rumble of heavy carriage-wheels along the valley and it caught the vigilant ears of one of the sentries belonging to an outlying picket of the light division on the heights above. Had the man but given the alarm, the battle of Inkermann would have filled one of the brightest pages of French and English history, but thinking that it was nothing more than the usual passage of carts or waggons going to the town, he made no mention of it until after the battle. In this unsuspected manner, enormous masses of Russian troops and parks of artillery crept in darkness and silence up the rugged sides of the heights over the valley of Inkermann, and established themselves upon the undefended flank of the second division, whom they were soon to rouse with a deadly awakening.

This position, occupied by Sir de Lacy Evans, was the part of the allied encampment which

the Russians, from its importance and insecurity, had been always the most desirous to carry, and it was for this that the experiment had been made in the previous battle of Balaklava That attempt, indeed, had been frustrated, but it had served their purpose so far as to make them fully acquainted with the defects of the position, and to suggest better modes of assailing it. "It must be observed (so writes our best historical authority of this war) that Sir de Lacy Evans had long been aware of the insecurity of this portion of our position, and had repeatedly pointed it out to those whose duty it was to guard against the dangers which threatened us It was the only ground where we were exposed to surprise, for a number of ravines and unequal curves in the slope of the hill towards the valley lead up to the crest and summit, against the adverse side of which our right flank was resting without guns, entrenchments, abattis, or outlying defence of any kind. Every one admitted the truth of the representations addressed to the authorities on this subject, but indolence or a sense of false security led to indifference and procrastination. A battery was thrown up of sand-bags, gabions, and fascines, on the slope of the hill over Inkermann, on the east, but no guns were mounted there, for Sir de Lacy Evans, thinking that two guns in such a position, without any works to support them, would only invite attack and capture, caused them to be removed as soon as they had silenced the Lighthouse battery" This was but one of a series of improvident and unprofessional neglects which characterized our proceedings during the whole campaign, and for which we were now to pay a heavy penalty

When the first faint dawn of light began to struggle through the gloom of that inclement morning of the 5th of November, some of our soldiers saw a body of Russians apparently unarmed on a hill above the western end of Sebastopol harbour, who pretended that they were deserters anxious to surrender themselves, but as soon as our picket advanced to receive them, an ambush darted upon them from behind the rocks, and made the whole party and their officer prisoners. Having thus prevented the alarm from being given, the Russians descended, but were recognized by the inner pickets, who threw themselves across their path, and the sound of firing that commenced gave warning to the regiments of the second division, who received the Russians with destructive volleys of their Menié rifles. But the Russian masses, unchecked by this resistance, came rolling onward like a tempest; their artillery opened upon the British from the ridge on which they had planted them, and at the same instant were seconded by the cannons of Sebastopol, and of the ships lying within the harbour—while against these, the second division had neither adequate means for answer, nor places of cover. On front, flank, and rear they were plied with a heavy cannonade, seconded by clouds of skirmishers, who seemed to multiply at every point. To add to their



Sketch to illustrate the
BATTLE OF INKERMAN
Nov.r 5 1854

difficulties, their gallant and skilful commander, Sir de Lacy Evans, was stretched upon a bed of sickness; but happily, Brigadier-general Pennefather, upon whom the command had fallen, showed himself equal to the trial, while Sir de Lacy, sick though he was, hurried from his bed to the field, and although unable to resume the command, could animate his soldiers by his presence, and assist their leader with his counsels. The second division, that could not have long borne up against the overwhelming torrent, was quickly joined by the brigade of guards, who were nearest to the first point of attack, and foremost in the rescue were the grenadiers and Scots fusiliers, who hurried forward at the sound of the first shot. But it was around the Two-gun battery on the British right that the Russian attack was chiefly concentrated. In itself it was apparently worthless, for it was only made of sand-bags and fascines, and the guns had been removed; but the command which its occupation would give of the British position, made the enemy resolute to possess it at whatever cost—a resolution which was equally matched by that of our troops to re-

tain it. A picket of the 55th made it good, until they were driven out by an overwhelming attack; but the grenadiers and Scots fusiliers rushing forward, re-captured this Two-gun battery, as it was generally named, drove the Russians down the side of the steep hill, on a small spur of which the battery was planted, and being joined by the Coldstreams, made arrangements for holding it out to the last Their resolution was to be tried, the Russians returned in greater numbers to the attack, and column after column ascended the steep, got upon the spur, and bore down with irresistible weight upon the right flank of the guards, whose numbers were greatly diminished and their gunpowder well-nigh exhausted, but they fought with their bayonets, and even with stones, which they hurled against the enemy, and being slightly reinforced with men and ammunition, they once more drove the enemy from the spur, losing two-thirds of their number in the effort Never was any spot of a battle-field more fiercely contested or more gallantly maintained, it was known on both sides that the possession of this point would decide the issue of the battle, and during four hours and a half, the struggle was continued around it almost without intermission and with various fortunes, although the enemy in almost every case were as five or six to one of the British They were also frantic with copious doses of brandy, which had been served out to them before the battle, and animated with fanaticism, having been taught by the emperor's proclamations, and the lessons of their priests, to regard this as a holy war in which Heaven was upon their side But the guards, although repeatedly assailed and repulsed, as often returned and drove back the enemy, being resolved to perish to a man rather than abandon their post. And to this it would have come at last, had not fresh French troops arrived from General Bosquet's division to their aid. These allies took possession of the contested ground, and renewed with every promise of success the defence of the battery, upon which the relics of what had once been our gay and gallant guards resigned their charge, and drew up upon the rear of the right flank of our second division

While the right of our position was so imperilled, a trial equally dangerous was going on upon the left, which was placed on the hill above the harbour, and separated by a deep ravine from the position occupied by our guards Favoured by the ground that was broken and covered with brushwood, clouds of Russian skirmishers advanced, followed by heavy columns, and accompanied with the fire of their well-served artillery; and the troops of the second division, although joined by a brigade of the first, were borne back by the weight of the advance, until the enemy had reached the very centre of the second's encampment. Here ensued a desperate hand-to-hand struggle, in which broken regiments were rallied, and guns captured and recaptured, but where numbers were likely to give victory to the Russians, animated as they were with a resolution to win or die—for had not a promise been sent to the emperor in their name, that they would preserve for him his fair city of Sebastopol? And were not his sons even now the onlookers and witnesses of their deeds? While the British positions were thus all but carried, by which the French and English armies would have been equally crushed or forced to surrender, it might be asked why our allies had been so slow in interposing, when their own safety was so deeply at stake But no blame of remissness or want of cordiality can be attached to our gallant partners, who had their own difficulties to encounter. As might easily be supposed, it was part of the plan of the Russian generals to keep the French fully occupied, while the British position was assailed, even though the demonstration should be nothing more than a feigned attack. Accordingly, as soon as the first attack in the morning had been made upon our pickets, Liprandi's *corps d'armée* had crossed the valley of the Tchernaya, advanced to the foot of the heights, and commenced a fire upon the French, while they were opening a cannonade upon the rear of our lines Judging that within this range the whole battle was to be comprised, General Bosquet had sent two battalions of his light infantry to aid in the defence of the British left, and after this was done, he thought that the danger in that quarter was over, more especially as the fire upon the rear of our lines had begun to slacken. But this change had only occurred to give time for the assault upon the British front, upon which the cannonade was commenced with a violence that taught him the real place and full amount of the danger. He boldly resolved to treat General Liprandi's advance as a mere feint; to leave his post for a time almost undefended, and hurry with the bulk of his troops to the spot where the call was most urgent It was a fortunate resolution, and its magnanimity was well rewarded by the result, which was nothing less than the deliverance of both armies from ruin.

The first of the French who arrived to the rescue of the nearly overborne British were two troops of horse artillery and one field battery, which came up at full speed, these were followed by a regiment of Zouaves and one of Indigenes or Arabs, and finally Bosquet's troops of the line advanced with steady step. On the other hand, the Russians were equally on the alert, and one division after another came ra-

pidly through the ravines in the rear of our second division The feints and manœuvres were thus terminated, the conflict had settled down into a single locality, and all that remained was a stand-up fight of regiment to regiment and man to man, where strength, courage, and endurance would decide the issue. It was well on such an occasion, fearfully outnumbered as they were, that the French and British were fighting side by side, each the witnesses of the other's prowess, and emulous to excel in this trial against a common foe It was a strange and new war-spectacle, in which masses, distinguished by their several military costumes, glittered and shifted hither and thither like the gleaming flakes of the *aurora borealis*, and in which the steady advance and unbroken front of the British masses were contrasted with the apparently irregular but nimble and effective movements, the sudden approach and tiger-like spring of the Algerian Arabs and Zouaves It was not to be wondered at if the Russians were bewildered by such various modes of resistance and onset—were borne down or compelled to recoil—and were at last fain to make a hasty retreat through the ravines from which they had issued Over the whole field their columns were at last in full retreat. like waves that had spent their force, leaving behind them a wreck of the dead and dying at every receding step They were beaten indeed, but still not subdued—slowly, reluctantly, and steadily they retired, while so careful were they of their military honour that they left not a single gun behind them, even the fragments of their gun-carriages they carefully gathered up under the heavy fire of our artillery and carried off with them, as if they would not leave a single trophy to the victors It was well for them that the allies had no efficient cavalry to follow up their success, by which the retreat might have been changed into an utter rout, and more fortunate still that the Russian artillery upon the ridge still maintained its position to cover their retreating columns, and check the advance of the allies The hand-to-hand fight was thus changed into a distant cannonade, in which fortune might have yet changed sides; for the Russian guns were greatly superior both in numbers and calibre to those of the allies, and served with admirable skill and perseverance Their chief fire was upon the position of our second division, and with deadly effect, when Lord Raglan ordered two eighteen-pounders of our siege train to be brought up. It seemed all but impossible to drag such heavy pieces over the rough ground, and through the miry tracks that interposed, but the arduous feat was ably and quickly performed by the united strength of a multitude of men and horses; and the guns being placed in position, their shot crashed through the Russian batteries, sweeping off their men and dismounting their guns at every discharge. They were obliged to retire their artillery to the top of

Zouaves —From the Illustrated London News

the hill, and finally to limber them up and withdraw them, leaving their retreating columns below to the fierce pursuit of the Indigenes and Zouaves

Such were the chief movements of this victory of Inkermann; and they were thus briefly and distinctly described by General Canrobert on the same evening, in the account which he drew up —"A great portion of the Russian army, favoured by the night and the fog, was enabled to establish itself, with powerful artillery, upon the heights which form the extreme right of our position Two English divisions sustained an unequal fight with the invincible solidity which we know to be the characteristic of our allies, while a part of the Bosquet division, conducted by its worthy chief, came up to their support, and rushed upon the enemy with a boldness and intelligence to which I here render forcible homage. Eventually driven back into the valley of the Tchernaya, the enemy left upon the ground more than 4000 of his men killed or wounded, and carried away at least as many more during the battle" But while the main conflict was going on, other subsidiary attempts were made by the Russians against the allies, each of which had the relief of Sebastopol for its object One of these, when the fight was at the hottest, was an attempt of General Soimonoff, with a large body of infantry and artillery, to turn the flank of the British, while our regiments were all but defeated in front For this purpose, he ascended

the valley to the right of the five-gun battery, but was met mid-way by the first brigade of the light division and a small body of marines, under General Codrington, upon which Soimonoff, finding himself anticipated, and thinking his attempt not worth the risk, withdrew his troops from the encounter. Another and a more important movement was made about the same time from the town itself A sortie of 5000 Russians, under cover of the mist, was made from Sebastopol, for the purpose of attacking the extreme left of the French lines, and had succeeded in capturing two French batteries by surprise before their object was discovered But here they were attacked by General Forey, who commanded in that quarter, and after a short but sanguinary encounter were routed and driven back to the town Their plan was well conceived, but for its success a greater force of men and artillery was needed, in which case they might have retained the two captured batteries, and seriously endangered the safety of the whole French left But, indeed, it is difficult to give a special and scientific account of the whole of this battle of Inkermann of manœuvring there was scarcely any, in consequence of the ruggedness of the ground, which did not permit such strategetic operations; and among the numerous ridges and ravines a multitude of encounters were going on simultaneously, which could only be heard by the fire of artillery and musketry, while the combatants themselves were hidden from the view of the commanders on both sides, and compelled to struggle upon their own account Hence it is that this great affair of Inkermann has been called "the soldiers' battle." And well did it display the stuff of which the soldiers of the warring nations was made, and attest the superiority of those of Britain and France above those of every other country. Even yet, however, they might have failed, and failed not ingloriously, considering the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Russians, but for several circumstances which enabled 8000 English and 6000 French to maintain a close fight against an enemy at least 50,000 strong, and in the end to prove victorious. These, according to the Russian statements, were the extensive use of the Menié rifle among the French and British regiments, the failure of Soimonoff's attempt upon the British flank, and the dilatory arrival of the Russian columns, that came up separately instead of simultaneously to battle, thus giving their opponents both leisure and warning for resistance. But more than these was the insufficient feint to occupy Bosquet, that ought to have been of a more formidable character, so as to prevent him from coming to the aid of the British, by which the fortune of the day was principally decided But even allowing for every deduction, this victory of Inkermann was a glorious event for the united arms of France and Britain It struck dismay into the heart of Russian ambition and presumption, and left the allies to turn their undivided efforts against the ramparts of Sebastopol These results, important though they were at the time, may perhaps be as nothing compared with the prospective advantages that may accrue from it If it permanently impresses the two lately reconciled nations with a conviction of their power when combined to aid the feeble, repress the strong and insolent, and advance the welfare of humanity at large, the world will have good cause to rejoice that such a battle was fought, and that such soldiers were the conquerors

CHAPTER XIX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1854—1855

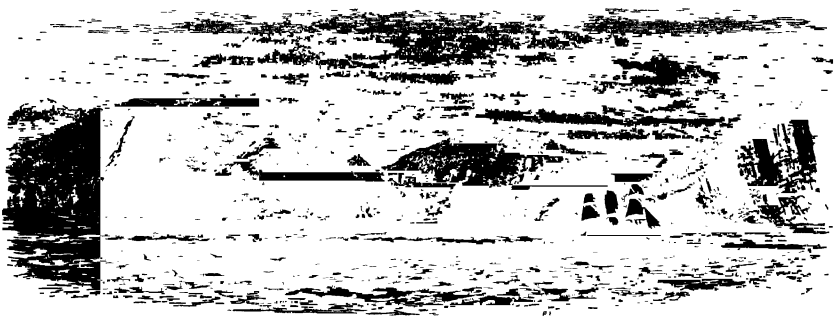
VICTORIA.

The encampment of the allied armies visited by a storm—Its wasteful effects by land and sea—Diseases and sufferings of our troops before Sebastopol—Their inadequate provisions and supplies—Exertions of benevolence at home in their behalf—Necessity of aid for the sick in the hospitals—Arrival of Miss Nightingale and the nurses—Their effectual services among the sick and wounded—Arrival of more nurses—Opening of the campaign of 1855—Strength of Sebastopol—Weakness of the army encamped against it—Great number of the sick and wounded—Death of the Czar Nicholas—Negotiation under his successor for peace—It is ineffectual—Unsuccessful attack of the Russians on Eupatoria—They take possession of a favourable ground in front of the Malakoff—Establishment of a fort and rifle-pits upon it—Contests between the Russians and allies for possession of the rifle pits—Fresh bombardment of Sebastopol by the allies—Its failure—Discontent at home from the delays in the siege—A new French commander-in-chief appointed—Expedition of the allies to Kertch—Destruction of Russian stores—Fresh attack upon Sebastopol—Its success upon the outworks—A decisive attack upon the town resolved—Plan of the attack—Fatal mistake at the commencement—Its disastrous failure—Particulars of the French attack—Failure of the British attack on the Redan—The British obtain possession of the Cemetery—Effects of this failure on the health of Lord Raglan—His death—He is succeeded by General Simpson—Attempt of the covering army under General Liprandi to raise the siege—Its attack upon the allied army at Tchernaya—Battle of Tchernaya—Defeat of the Russians—Decisive attempt of the allies upon Sebastopol—Capture of the Malakoff by the French—Failure of the British to take the Great Redan—Causes of the failure—The Russians resolve to evacuate Sebastopol—Heroism of their purpose—Their success in effecting it—They destroy their defences and military stores at their departure—Entrance of the allies into Sebastopol—Scenes of havoc and suffering in the town—Picture of the Russian sick and wounded in an hospital—The evacuating army entrenches itself in the neighbourhood—Successful expeditions of the allies by sea from the Crimea—Explosion of their gunpowder magazine—Symptoms of approaching peace.

AFTER the battle of Inkermann, the Russian army was so appalled by the unexpected and humbling result that it made no further hostile demonstration, while the allies, on their part, suspended active operations until they should be reinforced by troops that were expected from France and Britain. They were proud, and with justice, of the signal victory they had gained, and felt as if no resistance of the enemy could impede their further career. But foes were at hand which they had not taken into account, and obstacles to be encountered against which arms are unavailing. The rage of the elements and the wasteful attacks of disease were now to test their powers of endurance, neutralize the effects of their success, and keep them wistfully lingering before those walls and battlements which they had expected to enter as conquerors.

On the night of the 13th of November, a furious storm swept over Constantinople, unroofing the highest buildings of the city, and levelling three out of the six splendid minarets of the Grand Mosque of Sultan Achmet. On the following morning, the tempest commenced at Balaklava about seven o'clock, and in less than two hours it had wrecked eleven, and disabled six transports belonging to the allied army, among which was the magnificent steam-ship *Prince*, which was totally lost, with a cargo valued at £500,000, consisting of clothing and provisions for our soldiers during the winter, and warlike stores for carrying on the siege. In the harbour of Balaklava, which was thronged with shipping, vessels were dragging their anchors, and running foul of each other, while thirty transports laden with ammunition and stores, that had been driven from the harbour, or had attempted to stand out to sea, were dashed against the neighbouring rocks. Nor were matters better with the French shipping at Eupatoria. Eighteen vessels were wrecked or dismasted at the mouth of the Katcha, and to add to the horrors of the scene, bands of mounted Cossacks were busily plunging their horses through the surf and foam in quest of plunder, firing into the stranded vessels, and making prisoners of those whom the tempest had spared. In these calamitous wrecks, it was supposed that more than a thousand lives were lost, and about £2,000,000 worth of property in clothing, provision, and military stores, which the armies needed for the winter, that threatened to be a severe one. The calamities at sea were almost rivalled by the sufferings on shore. Not only the common soldiers, but even the general officers had as yet no better accommodation for the winter than their frail, scanty coverings of tents; and in these, 8500 British soldiers—hungry, half-starved, and overwrought, the relics of what had been a noble army—had been wistfully looking forward to the arrival of the promised supplies from home. But the

tent-poles were snapped asunder like reeds; the tents themselves were levelled like grass before the sweep of the scythe, or borne away on the hurricane, waggons were overturned; while men and horses were rolling over each other in heaps, or clinging to the earth, to escape being flung down the ravines or into the sea. To add to these grievances by destroying every chance of rest or covering, the raging tempest was mixed with rain and snow, and every portion of ground was soon converted into a mire where every one staggered ankle-deep in mud. Nor was the town of Balaklava in better condition, or more fitted for comfort or shelter. its narrow streets were turned into canals of mud, among which men of all nations—English, French, Turks, Arabs, Egyptians, Italians, Maltese, Tartars, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Spaniards—were seen huddled together, or attempting to flounder along, all involved in a common misery, although expressing it in a most multifarious polyglot, while of the houses towards which they struggled, many



ENTRANCE TO BALAKLAVA HARBOUR.—Drawn by J S Prout from a sketch by James Newlands, C E

were roofless, several utterly destroyed, and the best of them so crowded as to be utterly unendurable When the strong and healthy were thus humbled, struck down, and reduced to helplessness, miserable was the condition of the sick and wounded; for the tents and wooden structures that had been set up for hospitals were swept away in the general desolation, and their inmates in many cases left to perish, because none could come to their relief Seldom indeed has a victorious army been so visited and so chastised. It was a bitter caricature of military glory, to which human invention could scarcely have added a single touch.

This day of storm and terfor was the commencement of a dismal season, in which rain, wind, and a black leaden sky predominated; provisions daily became more scanty and unpalatable, and the tents more incapable of giving shelter to their shivering and sickening inmates To add to the discomforts of our diminished troops, the greater part of their principal officers were either laid up, or on their way home, the victims of those maladies by which the common soldiers were so mercilessly decimated. So scanty, indeed, were now the supplies of provisions, that the troops, although exhausted by night-work and watching, and by hard labour in the trenches, had to be put upon short allowance. Under such circumstances, it was natural that the cholera should revisit them, and on the night of the 28th of November it made its appearance, carrying off scarcely less than sixty victims daily. How an army so circumstanced could continue to exist between two such dangers as the foe within the city and those without, both on the alert for its destruction, was marvellous; but the easy attempt to crush it was not made, and with but a few occasional flashes of cannon from the ramparts, or skirmishes and surprises in the trenches, in which few lives were lost, the eventful year 1854 was ended, and Sebastopol remained untaken. When December closed, there were 3500 sick in the British camp before Sebastopol, their illness chiefly occasioned by excessive labour, exposure to inclement weather, and want of the necessaries of life, while a still greater number were in the hospitals on the Bosphorus And yet, there was no parsimoniousness in the supplies voted by the British parliament, or the contributions of private benevolence, and not only the necessaries and comforts, but even the luxuries of life had been sent, and still continued to be sent out to the Crimea, far more than enough to provide for such an army. But the science of victualling an army—the most important, but perhaps the most difficult and complex in modern warfare—had been forgot since the days of Waterloo, and had to be learned anew; and until its lessons had been fairly mas-

tered, there were blunders both at home and in the encampment—blunders in the transports at sea and the store-houses on shore—blunders in the commissariat and medical staffs, on account of which huts, clothing, food, medicines were finding their way to every shore but the right one, or lying packed up and useless in bond, waiting for official deliverance, while those for whom they had been destined were dying for lack of them. With all this ignorance also, there was an enormous amount of mercantile fraud somewhere among the army contractors and their agents, which has never yet been fully cleared, and through which enormous profits were realized from the sufferings of our heroes in the Crimea They are among those buried iniquities that nothing but "crack of doom" will open and bring to light During the last three months of the year, 9000 British reinforcements had been sent out, but they only added to the prevalent destitution instead of the real strength of the army. It might have fared as ill with the French, who had also abundance of disease in their encampment, but that their commissariat departments were better managed, and their stores more promptly distributed, while the Frenchman, a born soldier, can more readily adapt himself to difficulties, and is less scrupulous in removing them

Such were the miseries that had been accumulating upon our army since its entrance into the Crimea, and such the condition it exhibited towards the close of the year It was well, however, that it was not wholly consigned to the tender mercies of official mismanagement British philanthropy was awakened in behalf of our suffering soldiers into more than its wonted liberality, and so early as the 12th of October a subscription was opened for the sick and wounded, which in less than a fortnight amounted to £15,000, and this sum, which was sent to the *Times* office, was so judiciously administered by Mr Macdonald, the special commissioner appointed for the purpose, that the hospitals in not a few cases were supplied with necessaries, and the sick with the means of recovery. Only a day or two afterwards, "The Royal Commission of the Patriotic Fund" was commenced, and with such success, that its contributions for the same purposes at last amounted to £1,025,000. While the temporal wants of the sufferers were thus regarded, their spiritual necessities were not lost sight of, and a subscription having been moved by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," for sending additional chaplains to the seat of war, was so liberally answered, that twenty-four additional clergymen were sent to the camp and the hospitals, partly by subscriptions and partly at the expense of government.

All this was much, but it was not here that the spontaneous movement of British benevolence was to terminate. By whom were the sick to be tended and their comforts administered? While the worn-out and diseased, the mangled, the mutilated, and the dying were of themselves an army that was numbered by the thousand, what amount of mere professional or hireling skill was it possible to muster for the recovery of the hopeful, or the consolation of those whose recovery was impossible? The flying round of the overtasked physician, or the monotonous consolation of the exhausted, half-asleep nurse, must have been an additional mockery to those cases that demanded nothing less than a mother's or a sister's tenderness and love And here a new exhibition was to be made in modern warfare, by which even the fables of chivalry were to be outdone Delicate ladies of rank and education were to hurry to the scene of action, but with far other motives than to witness the stirring spectacle of the tournament or the bull-fight They were to go cheerfully forth, and brave the horrors and privations of war without its glory and excitement—to exchange their perfumed boudoirs for the fevered atmosphere of the hospital, and the music of the concert for the hourly groans and cries of the suffering—and all that they might undertake that humble, self-denying office, to which the lowest poverty will scarcely condescend, and to minister those tender offices to the poor, neglected soldier, which gold cannot buy even for the great and the noble. The one instance of Eleanor, who sucked the poison from the wound of Edward I, has been the standing tale of centuries but he for whom she risked her life, was her husband, and the trial though perilous, was over in a few moments But our soldiers, whose deeds had transcended those of the Crusaders, were now to be tended by a higher and more difficult devotedness than that of the much-vaunted English queen It was found that more and yet more nurses were needed for our sick and wounded soldiers in the crowded hospital at Scutari, and cases had accumulated to an amount which had reduced the practitioners of the healing art to despair, when the Right Hon Sidney Herbert applied to Miss Florence Nightingale, who gladly acceded to his appeal In addition to that tenderness of heart, combined with firmness of nerve and enduring patience, in which women excel the other sex, and by which they heal or alleviate the sufferings inflicted by man on his fellow-man, her natural aptitude for the office of a ministering angel was perfected by an experience such as few of her sex have enjoyed in the hospital of Kaiserwerth in Bavaria, and other similar institutions on the Continent. Thus born and trained for the hour and the occasion,

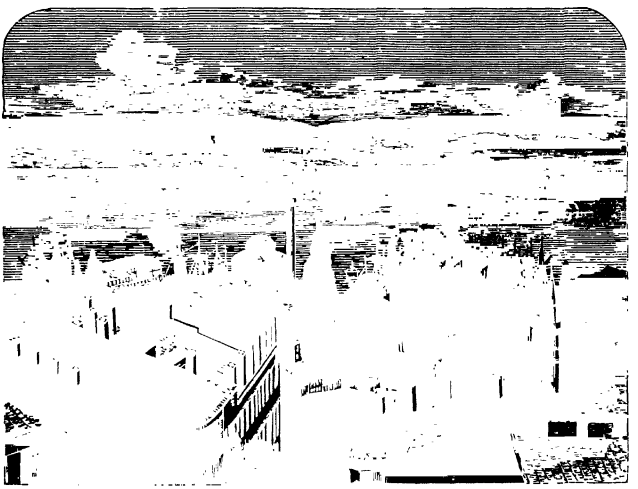
she set forth on her mission at the head of thirty-seven nurses, and accompanied by the Rev. Mr and Mrs. Bracebridge. Their benevolent purpose was known, and their journey through France was a triumphal ovation all classes paid them honour as they travelled along; even the tavern-keepers refused payment for accommodating them, and the tavern-servants for waiting upon them. On the 5th of November, Miss Nightingale and her

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE —From an engraving by Holl

nurses arrived at Scutari, just before the wounded were brought in from the battle of Inkermann, and their arrival was like a spell under which pain was abated, murmurs hushed, and the glazed eye kindled with new comfort and hope. It was indeed felt that a change had come, in which war, divested of its worst inflictions, was to assume a new character and bearing. The crowds of wounded were poured in as was wont when a battle had closed; but for every sufferer the needful place had been prepared, and the remedies were in readiness, wherever there was pain, there was also a gentle hand to administer the cordial, and a voice to speak kindness and comfort, and while the soldier forgot his wounds amidst his grateful astonishment, the surgeons themselves, who had dreaded the arrival of such a new unprofessional medical staff, and who feared that these lady-nurses would be always in the way, or themselves converted into very troublesome patients instead of aids, were charmed by the order which they introduced into every department, by the silence with which they discharged their offices, and by the admirable tact and skill with which every prescription was applied. Death, indeed, was still busy, but only where the wound was mortal or the disease incurable; and the last hour itself was deprived of many of its sufferings by the sedulous kindness of these devoted heroines. Soon, indeed, they must have fallen martyrs to the task from which they would not shrink, and which had outgrown their power, but for the arrival of Miss Stanley from England, with fifty new nurses, when the number of patients was 4000 in the hospitals of Scutari, and the newly established one at Kululee; and by this entrance to the rescue, the good work was resumed with more effectiveness than ever. Even when the great exploits by which this war was signalized have been forgot, these instances of woman's heroism will survive for imitation, and be cherished as a memorial beyond all military glory

With the opening of 1855, the war seemed to be still further from a termination than ever. Sebastopol, instead of being crumbled beneath the cannonades of the allies, was daily acquiring new strength, until at last it promised to be impregnable, owing to the activity of its defenders, and the remarkable skill of General Todtleben, the military engineer, by whom their operations were directed Every piece of ground available for defence was fortified, every point from which a shot could tell upon their enemies was mounted with cannon Earthworks which can be speedily constructed had been thrown up, that were found to be more effectual than defences of stone, while the artillery which surmounted them was superior to that of the allies both in number and calibre It was especially by these earthworks that the defence of Sebastopol was so long and unexpectedly protracted, in spite of the established calculations which fixed the period of its downfall after a few days of useless resistance. In the meantime, the plight of the English and French armies, notwithstanding the large reinforcements that had been sent out, was of the most hopeless character, and the causes of this were fully explained before the Commission of Inquiry afterwards instituted by the British government in the Crimea. From their report, presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1856, it is manifest, that with more than the usual amount of labour and difficulty, of sickness and suffering, which sieges had hitherto occasioned, there had been greater improvidence, waste, and misapplication of means, than had formerly characterized our military operations. Bravery, indeed, our soldiers had shown equal to any that adorns the page of history; but it was bravery unsheltered, unclothed, unfed—mortal bravery sinking and dying beneath those ills to which all flesh must succumb, but which a due amount of preparation might have eluded or warded off. The general effects of these upon our army can be estimated from the following brief statement given by an eye-witness, who was

present during the whole winter's campaign:—"On the 8th of January, of the 63d regiment only seven remained fit for duty. On the same day, the 46th, which had landed on the 8th of November, just two months before, mustered only sixty serviceable men. The 90th, a strong and healthy regiment, buried fifty men in eleven days; and one full company, during the same time, had only seventeen men out of hospital.



VIEW FROM MISERI'S HOTEL, CONSTANTINOPLE, Scutari Hospital in the distance
From a sketch by James Newlands, C E

The three battalions of guards were mere names. Out of 1562 men, sent out to the Scots fusiliers from first to last, only 210 remained. The three battalions, which in all represented some 4500 rank and file, at this time did not muster 700 men on parade, and of that number there was not one man who, in a time of peace, would have been considered fit to be out of hospital. During the month of January, the troops always in hospital at camp averaged upwards of 3000 men, and in the same month no less than 4073 invalids were actually sent away to Scutari."[1]

The return of spring, which stilled the destructive war of the elements, was also accompanied by the tardy arrival of some of those supplies which had been mis-sent to foreign ports, or buried beneath piles of cannon and stacks of shot during the months of winter, when they were most needed; and our reviving encampment was again prepared for enterprise, and animated with hope. Another enemy, almost as obdurate as the elements themselves, had passed away: this was the Czar Nicholas, the source and animating soul of the war, who died of influenza on the 9th of March. The union of the two great powers of France and Britain for the protection of Turkey had taken him by surprise, and falsified his calculations, while his pertinacity of purpose in pursuing his original plan had been accompanied with such disasters as threatened its total overthrow. To such a lofty unbending spirit, death itself must have been welcome, as it saved him equally from the guilt of a useless persistence, and the shame of yielding, and he was succeeded by his eldest son, under the title of Alexander II The new sovereign, who did not seem to inherit either the ambitious hopes or the resentments of his father, was desirous to establish the commencement of his reign by a general peace, and negotiations to this effect, which had been commenced at Vienna on the 28th of December, 1854, were carried on between the representatives of Russia, Turkey, Austria, France, and Great Britain The basis of negotiation consisted of four articles, upon which the representatives of Austria, France, and Britain insisted, and were as follows —1 That the exclusive protectorate exercised by Russia over Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia should be abolished, that none of the stipulations of the ancient treaties of Russia relative to the said provinces should be revived at the peace, and that the arrangements to be concluded on the subject of them should be ultimately combined, so as to give full and entire effect to the rights of the suzerain power to those of the three principalities, and to the general interests of Europe 2 The complete freedom of the navigation of the Danube, and that Russia, for this purpose, should withdraw her jurisdiction from that part of the Lower Danube which she had established by the treaty of Adrianople 3. The more complete connection of the Ottoman empire with the European equilibrium, and the extinction of the Russian ascendency in the Black Sea. 4. The renunciation by Russia of her pretensions to a protec-

[1] "The Past Campaign a Sketch of the War in the East, from the Departure of Lord Raglan to the Capture of Sebastopol" By N A Woods, Special Correspondent of the *Morning Herald*. London, 1855

torate of the Christians of the Greek church who are the subjects of the sultan, and also the renunciation of all articles in former treaties interpreted in favour of such claim The conference was opened at Vienna on the 15th of March, the representatives for Great Britain being Lord John Russell and the Earl of Westmoreland, and all went on smoothly until the discussion of the third article, upon which the conference was wrecked Russia, indeed, could not well object to the connection of the Ottoman empire with the European balance of power, but she was wholly opposed to the limitation of her own ascendency in the Black Sea. Every proposal to that effect was accordingly parried off or flatly refused by Prince Gortschakoff and M de Titoff, the Russian representatives, and after much diplomatic discussion, the conference terminated on the 4th of June without any result

While these negotiations were in progress, the war was not for a moment suspended the blows already dealt had been too heavy, and the combatants were too warm for an effectual interference of peace-making diplomacy, and on the 17th of February a strong force of Russians, supported by a powerful body of artillery under the command of General Chruleff, made a vigorous attack upon Eupatoria But the place was gallantly defended by Omar Pacha, at the head of a body of Turkish troops and a French detachment, and after a few hours of hard fighting, the Russians were driven from the walls, and compelled to retreat towards Simpheropol. Another attempt of theirs at Sebastopol was more successful In front of the Malakoff. and a little to the right of the trenches of the allied army, was a knoll, which might be used with effect either against the town itself on the one hand, or against the French works on the other, according to the party that held possession of it, but which at present was a sort of neutral ground The Russians, however, were sharp enough to discover the advantage that might be made of it, and on the 9th of March, during the night, a body of troops stole from the town and took quiet possession of the eminence, on which they erected a redoubt, and threw up works without interruption. When daylight dawned, the French were disagreeably astonished by the vision of this new lodgment, afterwards called the Mamelon Vert, which they assailed on the second night of its occupation by the Russians, but were beaten off with considerable loss. Improving their advantage, the Russians honey-combed the ground on the front and either side of the fort with rifle-pits, which powerfully strengthened its defences. These pits were merely excavations, each capable of holding about ten men; and being banked with the earth thrown up from them, and faced round with sand-bags that were loop-holed for rifles, each formed a sort of troglodyte fortress which no assailants could approach with safety. To gain possession of these rifle-pits was now of serious importance to the French, and for that purpose several stirring encounters took place, one of the most important of which was on the 17th of March, which continued during the greater part of the day. At night, the French renewed the attempt, and a body of 700 advancing stealthily towards these dangerous earth-holes, discharged a volley of musketry at their defenders, and rushed forward with a bayonet charge The pits were won, but it was only for a moment, the Russians rallied and the French were driven back, but the latter on being reinforced by 800 men returned to the charge, carried the first line of pits, and advanced upon the second, when they were met by such a heavy fire of musketry that they were routed and followed to their own entrenchments by the Russians, who at this point were compelled to retire in consequence of a cannonade being opened upon them. On the 22d the Russians attempted a surprise in turn. It was a dark and windy night, when a large body of their troops advanced from the Mamelon so silently, that they reached the advanced French parallel unobserved, and after a short fight drove the troops who opposed them back upon their reserves. Thus far successful, the Russians were eager for a similar attempt upon the British, and gliding along the French parallel, they crossed the ravine that interposed between the allied armies, and made a furious attack upon the British trenches, hoping to surprise and overpower the troops that guarded them Here, however, they were disappointed, being resolutely met by a detachment of the 97th regiment, led on by the brave and good Captain Vicars, who fell while cheering on his men to the attack These troops were soon joined by detachments of the 77th, and under their united charge with the bayonet the Russian column was borne back, defeated with heavy loss, and compelled to retire.

These, however, compared with the magnitude of the war and the important results at stake, were paltry skirmishes in which nothing more substantial than glory could be won, and although the losses of the Russians were heavy as compared with the allies, they could be more easily reinforced, while they had better means of procrastinating the war. More decisive measures were necessary, and it was resolved by the allied commanders that a second bombardment of Sebastopol should be attempted. Accordingly, on the morning of Easter Monday, the 9th of April, amidst rain, storm, and fog, while tents were blown down by the wind and the noise of the

cannon half drowned by the roar of the elements, the allied batteries opened their fire upon the devoted town, and these were answered by the Garden and Redan, the Mamelon, the Inkermann, and Careening Bay batteries, which successively and speedily came into play But as fast as the Russian works were injured, they were repaired and made as fit for service as ever, and although the enemy suffered a frightful loss in men, while many of the houses were demolished, they maintained the resistance with undiminished vigour At the same time, conflicts were carried on for possession of the rifle-pits, which were taken and re-taken during the course of the general cannonade But although this heavy bombardment was continued for several days, and the allies were reinforced by 15,000 Turks, Sebastopol gave no token of surrender, or even of slackness, but kept up her stubborn resistance to the close It was not in this summary manner that the town was to be taken, and the unsuccessful attempt was once more followed by the skirmishes and surprises of a protracted siege

The annoyance of so long a delay, and so many failures, could scarcely fail to produce discontent both in the camp and at home, and while the French and British generals were showing symptoms of divided counsels, the French commander-in-chief, General Canrobert, was superseded by General Pelissier, an officer who had acquired distinction in the French war in Algeria by the stern energy and promptitude, as well as merciless character of his proceedings. Sardinia had also acceded at the commencement of the year to the warlike alliance of France and Britain against Russia, and furnished a body of 15,000 men, in five brigades, to co-operate with them in the Crimea The effects of these changes were soon manifested in more decisive operations, by which the Russians were driven out of their ambuscades, and the town more closely invested To cut short the resources of Sebastopol, and compel it to a more speedy surrender, it was also resolved to send an expedition to Kertch and the Straits of Yenikale, leading into the Sea of Azof, from which quarter the town received its principal supplies For this expedition 3800 British, 7500 French, and 5000 Turks embarked on the 22d of May (1855), and were landed on the 24th, at a short distance south of Kertch. But scarcely had the troops disembarked when their landing was signalized by one of those terrible self-sacrifices which were now becoming a characteristic of the Russians, and by which they daunted their assailants more highly than by the valour of their resistance—they were destroying with their own hands their choicest magazines rather than that they should fall into our possession. Accordingly, the advance of the allied troops was greeted by tremendous explosions in the distance, that shook the ground beneath their feet, and made the vessels rock in the bay, as one magazine after another

Sebastopol, from the Trench of the Two-mortar Battery.—From a sketch by James Newlands, C.E.—1, Gordon's Battery. 2 Malakoff, 3 Mamelon

was set on fire; and on their arrival at Kertch, they found the whole works along the shore abandoned, the guns spiked, the forts blown up, and the immense stores of provisions destroyed.

What was left undone in this work of destruction in the Sea of Azof, was completed by Captain Lyons and a squadron of steamers; and at Berdiansk, at Arabat and Genitchi, above 100

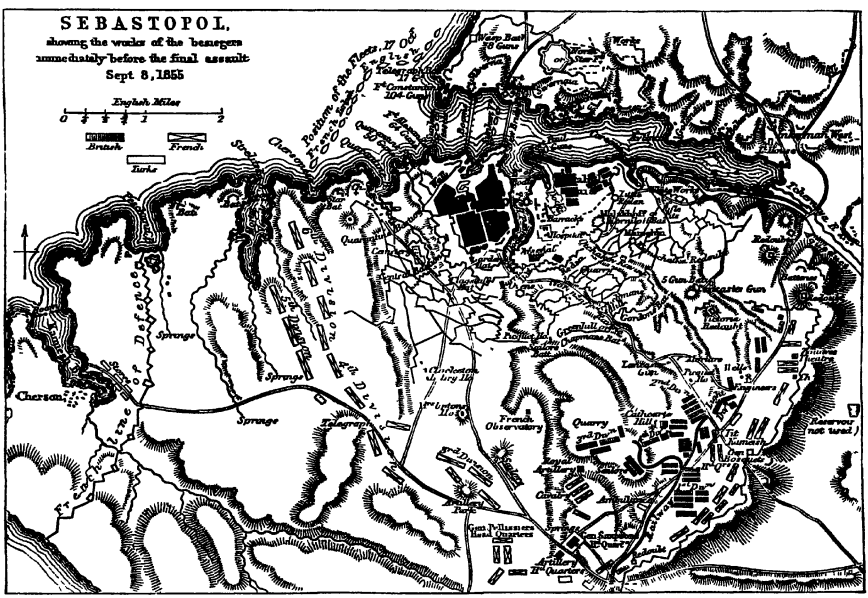
GENERAL PELISSIER.—From a French lithograph

transport vessels were destroyed, and as much provision as would have victualled an army of 100,000 men for four months It was a fearful stroke of the axe at the very root of the enemy's resistance, which had for some time been contemplated, but the execution of which had been delayed till now. After having wasted every source of supply to Sebastopol along the whole south-east corner of the Crimean peninsula, the troops were re-embarked on the 12th of June.

While this expedition was going on, the success of which was certain from the force that composed it, a fresh attack was resolved upon Sebastopol that promised to be decisive, as the assailants, notwithstanding their losses by war and sickness, were more numerous than ever, in consequence of the large reinforcements that had arrived, and four strong armies, consisting of French, British, Sardinians, and Turks, were now arrayed against its devoted bulwarks The French were to make simultaneous attacks upon the Mamelon, and upon two other redoubts, the Volhynia and Selinghinsk, close to Careening Bay, while the English were to advance against the Quarries. At half-past six in the evening of the 7th of June, the French rushed forward to the assault; and though they suffered severely, from having a long way to traverse under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, they reached the steep leading to the Mamelon, ascended it with unabated ardour, scrambling and bounding as they best might in broken array, but going direct to the mark, and were soon in the heart of the Mamelon, the possession of which they contested with the bayonet. The Russians were driven out; they rallied and returned to the charge, and were again driven out; but being reinforced, they renewed the battle more fiercely than ever, while it was impossible, from the alternate swaying of the tide of fight for the spectators from beneath to ascertain with which party the advantage rested. An hour of terrible struggle elapsed, and the darkness was closing before this reeling earthquake terminated within the Mamelon, but it ended with the entire expulsion of the Russians. Enraged at the loss they had sustained, and the resistance that had been kept up by reinforcements from the Malakoff, the Zouaves impetuously rushed forward to assail and win it, as they had done the Mamelon, but were encountered by such a crushing fire from the Round Tower, that they were perforce brought to a pause, and at last compelled to fall back to the ground they had already won. Equally keen and equally successful was the attack of the British upon the Quarries, which had been used by the Russians as rifle-pits, and whose formidable defences were crowned by the Redan on the hill-top Our troops advanced with their wonted gallantry against these dangerous entrenchments; stormed them in rapid succession, and held possession of them during the whole night against six desperate attacks of the Russians, who endeavoured to recover them, and were careless of the losses they sustained in the attempt. It was even thought that had our troops been permitted, they would have crowned their success by the capture of the Redan itself, which they were impatient to attack, and which at that time was almost without defence. The possession of these outworks and the glory of the success cost a heavy price to the victors, whose loss during this fierce evening and night conflict, in killed and wounded, amounted to more than 4000 men, the whole of which, with the exception of about 400, had fallen upon our French allies

Having thus established themselves nearer to Sebastopol, an assault upon the town itself might have been expected to follow, but upon this the French and English commanders were divided, the latter declaring that Sebastopol was still too strong to be attempted by a *coup-de-main*. At last it was resolved, at a council of generals on the 16th of June, that an assault should take place on the 18th at daybreak. To the British was committed the attack upon the Redan, to which only 1200 men were allotted, while the French, in six columns, each numbering 6000 men, and supported by 25,000 reserves, assumed for themselves the principal part of the conflict. On their left they were to assail the Quarantine Bastion, the Central Bastion, and the Flagstaff

Bastion, each by one of their columns, under General de Salles; on their right the Gervais battery and the right flank of the Malakoff were to be assailed by another column led by General d'Autemarre; while General Brunet with a fifth was to issue from the Mamelon and attack the left flank of the Malakoff and the Little Redan. A sixth column of 6000 men under General Mayran, was to issue from the extreme right of the French towards Inkermann, and from the White Works was to fall upon the Russian batteries near Careening Creek and the works connecting the first bastion with the Little Redan. In this manner every defence was to be assailed at once, and the whole of Sebastopol enveloped in a circle of flame and tempest, under which all must go down; and that nothing might be omitted, the French were to make a demonstration against the Mackenzie


SEBASTOPOL,
showing the works of the besiegers immediately before the final assault
Sept 8, 1855
English Miles
0 ¼ ½ ¾ 1 2
British
French
Turks
Redoubt of the Flats
Quarantine
Chersonese
Sea of Azoff
Sea of Marmora
Careening Bay
Dockyard
Creek
Harbour
Telegraph
Lancaster Battery
Lancaster Gun
Mamelon
Malakoff
Redan
Gervais Battery
French Observatory
Quarry
Gen. Pelissier's Head Quarters
Gen. Canrobert's Head Quarters
Artillery Park
Engineers
Barrack Battery
Barrack Hospital
Inkerman
Inkerman Heights
Inkerman Hospital
Inkerman Ridge
Inkerman Valley
Inkerman Bridge
Inkerman Battery
Inkerman Gun
Inkerman Redoubt
Inkerman Lines
Inkerman Ravine
Careening Creek
Careening Bay
Careening Bay Battery
Careening Bay Redoubt
Careening Bay Ravine
Careening Bay Lines
Careening Bay Hospital
Careening Bay Gun

of the Malakoff, and his troops were driven back with heavy loss to the trenches. To the right of the Malakoff the attack was more successful. As soon as the rockets were seen, General d'Autemarre's column dashed up the ravine that separated the Redan from the Malakoff, crossed the ditch, climbed over the parapet of the Gervais battery, driving the enemy before them, and a few even forced their way into the Malakoff itself. And now was the time for support from the British troops, who, it was calculated, were to be already in possession of the Redan; but the Redan was still in the hands of the Russians, and from it and the other works such a heavy fire was kept up against D'Autemarre's successful troops, that at half-past eight o'clock they were withdrawn, and with the other French columns recalled to the trenches

It was from no lack of readiness or courage that the British were not in possession of the Redan, and prepared to second their allies; but the fatal blunder at the commencement of this complicated attack extended its influence to all the other operations of this unfortunate morning The Russians also had cunningly withdrawn or masked the greater part of the guns of this fortress, to give it a tempting air of defencelessness, and hence the mistake which in the plan of action allowed so small a force as sufficient for its capture It was also understood that the British assault upon it was not to be made until the French had carried the Malakoff, but when he saw them already in possession of the Gervais battery on the right flank of it, and pressing onward to the tower itself, Lord Raglan thought it full time to aid their efforts by commencing the attack. The storming party, consisting of 400 men of the 34th regiment, preceded by a party of the rifle brigade and a ladder party of the sailors' brigade carrying ladders and woolbags, rushed out of the trench; but the instant they appeared they were struck down in heaps by a sweeping fire of grape, case-shot, and musketry. Their commander, Major Gwilt, ordered them to lie down; but his soldiers on the extreme right of the trench, who did not hear the order, rushed on through the death-storm—the whole party followed in headlong haste and great disorder, but were soon brought to a pause on the left face of the Redan by the abattis, where they were struck down like deer in a battue by the deliberate well-aimed volleys that were poured upon them from the rampart. The officers were dropping fast; Major Gwilt was severely wounded, and Colonel Yea, who took the command, and saw the hopelessness of the attack, cried, "This will never do! where's the bugler to call them back?" As no bugler was to be found at this moment of need, he endeavoured by voice and gesture to bring the troops into order for a desperate rush at the batteries, and fell mortally wounded by a grape-shot. Nor did matters fare better with the column on the left, appointed for the attack of the re-entering angle and flank of the right of the Redan; neither at the ditch nor at the abattis were scaling-ladders placed; the commanders at their head fell in succession while endeavouring to form the disordered ranks and lead them to the charge, and in a short time the whole of the assailing columns had disappeared. Thus miserably ended our mistaken confidence that the Redan would be taken at the first onset. With an inadequate force—with preparations so defective that not even a scaling ladder had been planted—our troops were thrown forward upon what had been mistaken for defenceless walls, but which were now found bristling with cannon, and manned with soldiers who had only to select their victims, and had been taught to take aim chiefly at the officers. So ridiculously insufficient indeed did this attack appear to the Russians, who were prepared for thrice the number of the assailants, that they laughed at and taunted our soldiers while they fired on them at the abattis, and cried, "Come nearer, Englishmen—come nearer!"

All the attempts of this unfortunate day however were not to be alike unsuccessful, and the exception was in favour of a body of troops of the third division to the number of 2000 men under Major-general Eyre, which was intended to make a demonstration rather than a real attack This detachment moved down to the ravine at the head of Dockyard Creek early in the morning, to threaten the Dockyard and the Barrack batteries; and on approaching the cemetery, where the troops were halted under cover, General Eyre said to the 18th regiment "I hope, my men, that this morning you will do something that will make every cabin in Ireland ring again!" The soldiers replied with an enthusiastic cheer, and although their shout roused the enemy and brought upon them a shower of grape, they rushed forward and took possession of the cemetery after a very slight resistance. A heavy fire was instantly opened upon them from the left of the Redan and from the Barrack battery, and volleys of musketry plied them from a suburb close to the Dockyard Creek, and from a number of houses below the Barrack battery; but the 18th dashed through the storm, and carried the houses on the left, while those on the right were won and occupied by detachments from the other regiments. Here they were ready to aid the French attack on their right if it should prove successful; and here therefore they maintained themselves till evening, under a heavy concentrated fire from the Russian guns, when, in

consequence of the failure of the attacks on the Malakoff and Redan, they were obliged to retire. The cemetery however remained in our possession, and the small Mamelon near it, and this was all we obtained from a disastrous failure that cost the allied armies a loss of nearly 5000 men in killed and wounded. The Russians were proud of their success; and in the armistice that followed for the removal of the dead and wounded on either side, they expressed their astonishment at the folly of the attack, and at our confidence that with such means we could take Sebastopol.

This melancholy defeat of the 18th of June was fatal to more than those who were struck down by shot and shell in the onset it inflicted one of those heart-wounds upon our brave old commander-in-chief, more painful to bear than a mere fleshly injury, and for which no surgery can find a cure. Lord Raglan had long been silently writhing under the disappointments of this protracted war, at the impatience expressed at home, and the injurious comments of our journalists, who were reproaching him with incompetence because he could not effect what was afterwards found to be impossible. But the failure of that fatal day—of the 18th of June, the anniversary of Waterloo, of which he was one of the few surviving heroes, touched his military sensitiveness, and made him doubly feel the bitterness of such a disaster. He died on the 28th of that month, at the age of sixty-seven. During the whole of the Wellington campaigns he had been distinguished by his courage and promptitude, and by the confidence which his illustrious superior reposed in him; and on the breaking out of the Russian war, no general was judged from character and experience to be so well fitted for the command in so new and difficult a crisis It has been concluded however, from the results, that still higher military attributes than his would have been necessary for such a trying position. It must be remembered also, that forty years of peace had elapsed, so that the military character of his army had to be formed anew, and that he was hampered with a divided command, in which nothing was entire but the responsibility and the blame of failure When the news of his death reached England, General Simpson, chief of the staff in the Crimea, was promoted to the command of our army in that quarter, although he was himself the most earnest in deprecating the appointment

Notwithstanding the success of the previous resistance, the condition of Sebastopol was more critical than ever. Her supplies upon which she had calculated in the Sea of Azof were destroyed, and the armies of the besiegers, increased with reinforcements, were more confident of success than before. It was full time that the covering army under General Liprandi, which had remained dispirited and inert since its defeat at Inkermann, should make a fresh attempt to raise the siege, and they began to make preparations, but their intention was fortunately perceived by the allied forces, who on this occasion were not to be taken by surprise as they had been at Inkermann The brunt of the onset also, instead of falling at this time upon the British, was to be directed against the French and Sardinians, whose lines were covered along their whole length by the river Tchernaya At dawn, on the 16th of August, the Russians attacked the Sardinian outposts on the opposite bank of the river, for the purpose of securing three plateaux where their guns could command the ground occupied by the Sardinian and Turkish armies as well as the plain that opened towards the French position. The assailed outposts, though reinforced, were driven across the river, and the Russians, having lined the heights on the right bank of the Tchernaya, opened the fire of their heavy guns upon the French position which was opposite They were answered in front by the French, and in flank by the Sardinians Three compact masses of Russian infantry, reinforcements lately arrived from Poland, who came on with a courage and impetuosity that threatened to carry everything before them, now attempted an advance towards the plain in front of the French position, but the points they had selected for the purpose—the Tractir bridge and the last of a series of three hillocks—were so resolutely defended by the Zouaves, that the assailants were checked, and finally driven back both from the hillock and the bridge, and the French position was secured They also attempted an aqueduct at the foot of the hillock which formed the French chief defence, but when they had crossed it on the right, and were beginning to scale the heights which formed the top of the embankment, they were taken so effectually in flank by the Sardinian batteries, that they were swept from their eminence in whole files into the aqueduct below. The Russian column fell back, but cheered by the advance of a fresh column to support them, they advanced to a second charge with greater weight and better success they forded the river to the right and left of the bridge, crossed it by the bridge itself, and through a ford, braving every obstacle of fire and water that confronted them But here the French were prepared to welcome them, and in such gallant style, that after a short struggle the assailants were forced from the ground they had won for a moment, and driven back across the river. All this as yet however was not half of the battle the Russian columns returned to the attack both at bridge

and aqueduct, which they endeavoured to wrest from the French, who with equal determination maintained their defence, being ably seconded by the Sardinians; and the Russian columns after a desperate but hopeless series of struggles, retired from the fight with greater precipitation and show of faint-heartedness than they had done in any previous conflict. Here, also, their losses were occasioned not so much by bayonet thrusts and the wounds of a hand-to-hand fight, as by the French and Sardinian artillery, which was served with admirable precision and effect. It was a victory glorious to their arms, considering the disparity of numbers, for their forces engaged in it were not above 17,000, while their enemies amounted to between 50,000 and 60,000 The loss also on both sides was almost equally proportioned to such a disparity, for while the Russians had about 8000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, those of the allies did not exceed 1000 men. Even in this last engagement also, as in several of the previous ones, the enemy evinced those traits of original barbarism which, notwithstanding their recent civilization, still constitutes an odious part of their national character When the strife had ceased, the Russians opened their guns upon those French soldiers who were humanely attending to the wounded of their

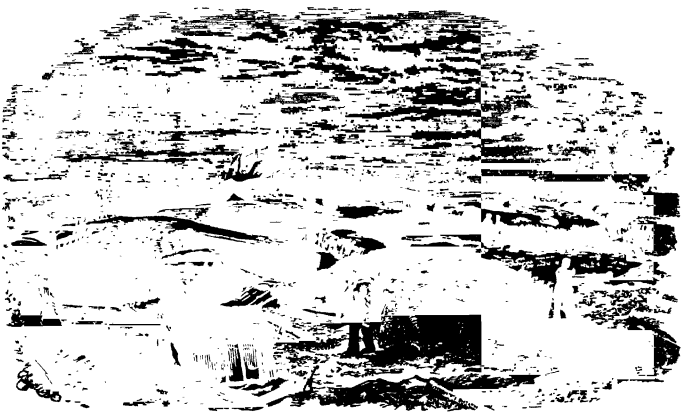
INTERIOR OF THE MALAKOFF, with Remains of the White Tower
From Simpson's Sketches of the Seat of War in the East.

enemies after the fight was over. Every Russian also who fell was found to have a large empty bottle beside him that had been filled with brandy; and it was evident through the conflict that their soldiers were animated with other inspiration that that of mere military ardour. It was the drunken artificial fury and madness of the Turkish Delis or old northern Berserkars, revived and cherished among those who called themselves a Christian soldiery

After this defeat of the Russians at Tchernaya, the allies made preparations for an attack upon Sebastopol that should be final and successful. The 8th of September was the time fixed upon, and the hour that of mid-day, when the Russians were accustomed to withdraw themselves under shelter, and take their repast The plan of assault was, that the French should storm the Malakoff, and this being done that the British should assail and take possession of the Redan. To attack this last fort before the other was secured would have been the height of rashness, as the Redan was completely commanded by the guns of the Malakoff. Everything promised success to this closing enterprise, for while the covering army of Liprandi was reduced to inaction by its late defeat, so many of the Malakoff's parapets had been destroyed, and its other defences had been so damaged by previous cannonades, that it was in little condition to withstand a determined onset, and the only effectual resistance that could be offered was from the long-range shot which could be fired from the numerous batteries that the Russians had thrown up on the north side of the roadstead, in the rear of the first line of defences

At the appointed hour of noon, the attack on the Malakoff commenced. The French troops nimbly crossed the ditches and scaled the parapets, they rushed forward with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and came to close quarters with the Russian gunners, whom they assailed with the bayonet, the butts of their muskets, and stones, while the gunners in defence wielded their rammers, but in this hopeless resistance they were struck down, captured, or driven out, and in a quarter of an hour the tricolor flag hoisted upon the redoubt proclaimed that the Malakoff was taken. The Redan of the Careening Port was also carried after a severe struggle; every work selected by the French had fallen, and their centre column had arrived as far as the second

inclosure. And now was the time for the attack of the British upon the Great Redan, as had been concerted, and accordingly the signal was made by the French commander-in-chief. But here the difficulties were greater than had been surmised, while the spirit of blundering seemed to have wakened into more than its former perverseness. For the storming party only 1000 men had been selected, and these, instead of being our best and freshest soldiers, consisted of those who were worn out by service in the trenches, and raw recruits lately arrived from England. This most hopeless of "forlorn hopes" had also 200 yards to traverse before they could reach the salient angle of the Redan, while the fort itself, well manned with Russians, who were now aware that a general attack was intended, could not be taken by surprise as those of the Malakoff had been. No sooner had the storming party sprung from the trenches, than they were encountered with a sweeping fire of artillery that miserably thinned their ranks before they could reach the salient of the redoubt, and on attaining this point, where they could not form a front, but only advance in two's and three's, they were enfiladed on either flank by the fire of an enemy whom they could not see Gallantly, however, they kept possession of the post, until their ammunition failed, and they were assailed by superior numbers; but even then, they only shifted their ground from the salient point to the extreme side of the parapet, now a heap of loose earth, stones, and broken gabions, where they maintained themselves for an hour and a half under a heavy fire of vertical grape from within the works, and at last were only dislodged and driven back by an overwhelming rush of the enemy.



INTERIOR OF THE GREAT REDAN, taken from its left face, looking south
From Simpson's Sketches of the Seat of War in the East.

In spite, however, of this miserable failure upon the Great Redan, and also an attack of the French on the Central Bastion, in which they were repulsed, the fate of Sebastopol was sealed. After the capture of the Malakoff, the resistance of the town could be continued only a few days longer, and this too by the sacrifice of a part of its army, which, in consequence of the separation of the great bridge of boats, would have lost its communication with the northern side of the town But instead of this useless attempt, the Russians had resolved to make one of those sublime sacrifices by which they endeavour to paralyze the progress of a successful enemy, and of which they had already given an instance by sinking their ships in the harbour—they resolved to destroy Sebastopol itself, and leave nothing but its ruins to the foe. "Valiant comrades!" said Prince Gortschakoff in his address to the soldiers, "it is painful, it is hard, to leave Sebastopol in the enemy's hands But remember the sacrifice we made upon the altar of our country in 1812 Moscow was surely as valuable as Sebastopol—we abandoned it after the immortal battle of Borodino The defence of Sebastopol during 349 days is superior to Borodino, and when the enemy entered Moscow in that great year of 1812, they only found heaps of stones and ashes Likewise it is not Sebastopol which we have left to them, but the burning ruins of the town, which we ourselves set fire to, having maintained the honour of the defence in such a manner that our great grandchildren may recal the remembrance thereof with pride to all posterity."

Deliberately and carefully every preparation was made for this terrible holocaust of war. On the evening of the 8th, the Russian troops commenced their abandonment of Sebastopol on the south side of the town, and were transported to the north side, partly by boats, and partly by the bridge constructed in the bay. When all had been conveyed across in safety, and with a

deliberation that set their enemies at defiance, the work of destruction commenced by an explosion that shook the allied encampment, and roused for a moment some weary soldiers from their slumbers; but it was only a magazine-explosion—such noises were of frequent occurrence—and they turned themselves to rest again as if the matter was not worth a thought. But an hour after, these shocks were quickly repeated, and the houses that had been stored with combustibles for the purpose were kindled in each successive explosion, until streets and squares were enveloped in a sea of living fire. The enemy had blown up their defences, destroyed the artillery they could not carry off, removed the bridge—had finally scuttled and sunk their fleet with the exception of the steamers, and had left nothing behind them but the funeral pyre of Sebastopol! This the astonished allies found, when at break of morning on the 9th, they ventured as closely into the town as the showers of fire and ruin permitted, while far beyond these protecting obstacles the Russians were effecting their unmolested retreat. This safety they had dearly purchased but cheerfully paid, and nothing was abandoned to their enemies except a trophy that could only be regarded with shame or regret. The allies were astonished at the enormous strength of the works which the Russians had constructed with such labour, promptitude, and skill, and which they had made good against six bombardments, greater than any that modern war had yet produced, and they no longer wondered that the siege had been so destructive and so long protracted. But it was evident, also, that neither massiveness of rampart nor immensity of bomb-proof could have longer saved them from capture, especially when the Malakoff had been taken, and that with their firm resolution of "No surrender," the Russians had no alternative but the destruction of the town, or that of their brave and numerous army.

The excitement of the siege—the glory of warfare had now passed away, but these were to be succeeded by its ghastly spectacles of the wounded or festering corruption of the dead—its bereavements and humiliations—its gore, and mud, and squalidness. The ditches of the Malakoff and Little Redan were piled with dead bodies as thick as they could lie; the suburb of ruined houses open to the sea, was a Golgotha of mangled Russians, who had crept into every hole and corner that they might die undisturbed. But let one of the hundred spectacles as described by an eye-witness suffice as a specimen of the rest. It was that of a building used as an hospital. "Entering one of these doors, I beheld such a sight as few men, thank God, ever witnessed. In a long, low room, supported by square pillars arched at the top, and dimly lighted through shattered and unglazed window-frames, lay the wounded Russians, who had been abandoned to our mercies by their general The wounded, did I say? No, but the dead—the rotten and festering corpses of the soldiers, who were left to die in their extreme agony, untended, uncared for, packed as close as they could be stowed, some on the floor, others on wretched tressels and bedsteads, or pallets of straw, sopped and saturated with blood, which oozed and trickled through upon the floor, mingling with the droppings of corruption. With the roar of exploding fortresses in their ears—with shells and shot pouring through the roof and sides of the rooms in which they lay—with the crackling and hissing of fire around them, these poor fellows, who had served their loving friend and master the czar but too well, were consigned to their terrible fate. Many might have been saved by ordinary care. Many lay, yet alive, with maggots crawling about in their wounds. Many, nearly mad by the scene around them, or seeking escape from it in their extremest agony, had rolled away under the beds, and glared out on the heart-stricken spectator—oh! with such looks. Many, with legs and arms broken and twisted, the jagged splinters sticking through the raw flesh, implored aid, water, food, or pity, or, deprived of speech by the approach of death, or by dreadful injuries in the head or trunk, pointed to the lethal spot. Many seemed bent alone on making their peace with Heaven The attitudes of some were so hideously fantastic as to appal and root one to the ground by a sort of dreadful fascination Could that bloody mass of clothing and white bones ever have been a human being, or that burned black mass of flesh have ever held a human soul? It was fearful to think what the answer must be. The bodies of numbers of men were swollen and bloated to an incredible degree, and the features, distended to a gigantic size, with eyes protruding from the sockets, and the blackened tongue lolling out of the mouth, compressed tightly by the teeth, which had set upon it in the death-rattle, made one shudder and reel around."[1] And has war come to this at last? Is the field of glory and the bed of honour turned into such a loathsome sty, that the most adventurous would shudder at it, and the most ambitious turn sick at the spectacle! But thus it must be with the wholesale crushing and destroying arts of modern warfare, and it is only an inevitable consequence of the progress of science and the higher elevation of intellect. In this way, any humane military engineer acting upon an enemy whom he cannot see, and whom he does not hate, can inflict

[1] Russell's *British Expedition to the Crimea*, p 474 London, 1858.

an amount of havoc and misery far beyond the worst of Attila or Tamerlane. Assuredly war has nearly reached that height at which it *must* pause! Even such excess might of itself compel a millennium of universal peace!

On entering Sebastopol, the allied troops were obliged to observe the greatest caution, as the Russians had dug numerous mines in the streets, to each of which a small wire was attached, and this, at the touch of an unwary foot, produced an immediate explosion. Every building that was standing was so riddled with shot and shells as to be useless; and as for the houses, they had been so well stripped by their occupants, that little remained in the shape of plunder. The Russians, moreover, far from taking to flight, and dispersing themselves among their boundless wastes, had made the safest and most orderly of retreats, had established themselves on the north side of Sebastopol, where they were separated from their enemies by a deep arm of the sea, a river, and the sides of a plateau as steep as a wall—and from their forts in that quarter, they opened a cannonade upon the town, wherever they saw our soldiers grouped together in the streets. On taking possession of Sebastopol, a division of it was made, the French occupying the eastern, and the British the western suburb. With the fall of the town, the campaign for the season in this quarter was virtually at an end, and no active demonstration took place on the part of the allies with the exception of an expedition in the middle of September, which the French sent to Eupatoria, in which they defeated a body of Russian cavalry in a skirmish. On the 10th of November, General Simpson resigned office as commander-in-chief of the British army in the Crimea, and was succeeded by General Sir William Codrington.

While the allied armies were pulling the remains of Sebastopol in pieces, and using the fragments for the enlargement or decoration of the huts of their encampment, an expedition by sea was resolved against Kinburn, a Russian fortress situated on a narrow tongue of land at the mouth of the Dnieper, mounting sixty or seventy cannon, and garrisoned by 1500 men; and to conceal the object of the expedition, the allied fleet which left Kamiesch Bay on the 7th of October, anchored off Odessa on the following day, as if their object had been to bombard it. The enemy were thus thrown off their guard, and while they were hastily fortifying the large and rich town of Odessa, the fleet suddenly

General View of the Fortress of Kinburn.—From a sketch by M. de la Laurencie, engraved in L'Illustration.

weighed anchor on the 14th, and appeared before Kinburn. Troops were landed to prevent the garrison from being reinforced and to cut off its retreat, and on the 17th, three French floating batteries opened their fire upon the fortress, being seconded by the gun and mortar boats. Their heavy fire, and that of the British frigates and steamers by which Kinburn was commanded in front and flank, could not long be withstood, and terms of capitulation were accepted by which the garrison marched out as prisoners with the honours of war. After this surrender, two divisions of the armament were sent to scour the little islands in the mouth of the Dnieper, and after five days spent in this expedition, they effected the capture of an enormous raft of timber intended for the naval arsenal of Nicholaieff, which, however, they could not bring into port, as in the attempt it was broken asunder, and drifted away into the open sea. At the same time, an expedition of the allied troops was conducted by land into the interior of the country, where they burned the village of Pakoffka, which was deserted by its inhabitants, a body of Russian cavalry which hovered upon their march not daring to attack them. A few days after, this expedition returned to the Crimea, leaving a garrison of French soldiers in the three forts of Kinburn. Another similar armament was sent on the 24th

of October, to destroy the Russian settlements at Taman and Fanagoria, on the eastern side of the Straits of Kertch, and was successful, both forts being captured without the loss of a man. A third expedition was sent at the same time to cut off the communication between Taman and Temruk, where a considerable body of Russian troops was stationed, and these were so effectually daunted by a fire of shot and shell from the ships at the long distance of 2500 yards, that instead of being able to advance to the relief of Taman, they were obliged to fall back upon Temruk. These in themselves were trivial undertakings, but they were all that were left to the allied armies in the Crimea after Sebastopol had been abandoned, and they tended to hasten the return of peace by cutting asunder the sinews of resistance. But in this kind of loss the Russians did not suffer alone; and the 14th of November was signalized by an accident in the allied camp, that was long after remembered with terror: it was the explosion of a vast store of Russian and French gunpowder collected in three magazines to the amount of 250,000 lbs., with huge piles of shell, carcasses, rockets, and small-arm ammunition But more important still than the loss of such warlike stores was that of life, which the explosion occasioned, for of the English, one officer, and twenty non-commissioned officers were killed, and four officers and 112 non-commissioned officers wounded, while the loss among the French was greater still. When the war was such a losing game to both parties, it was easy to read in these disasters the hope of peace, and promise of mutual agreement The only question was, what party would be the first to confess its inferiority by withdrawing from the struggle, and with what concessions military honour and political expediency would be satisfied.

CHAPTER XX—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY—AD 1855—1856

VICTORIA.

Cessation of active hostilities at Sebastopol—The war in Asia Minor—Defeats of the Turks—General Williams sent to Kars—Attack of the Russians on Kars—Gallant defence by the Turks—Kars reduced by famine—Its surrender—Naval proceedings of the war—Operations of the allied fleets in the Baltic—Their first successes and failures—Expedition against the Aland Islands—Capture of Bomarsund—Naval operations in the White Sea—Attack of an English and French squadron on Petropaulowski—Death of Admiral Price—Attack of a land force on the town—Its total defeat—Dissatisfaction at home with our naval operations—Sir Charles Napier superseded—The massacre of Hango—Its stain upon the Russian character—Attack of the allied fleet on Sweaborg—The bombardment of Sweaborg—Its destructive character—Effectual plan of defence—Unsuccessful termination of the attack on Sweaborg—The new czar's disinclination to the war—Necessity of peace to Russia—Willingness of the allies to grant it—Preliminary negotiations for the purpose—Meeting of representatives of the belligerent powers at Paris—A treaty of peace concluded—Terms of the treaty—Peace proclaimed in the Crimea—Desolation of Sebastopol—Review of parliamentary proceedings at home during the period of war—Depression of the mercantile, and prosperity of the agricultural interests in 1854—Bill for parliamentary reform—Its introduction opposed as unseasonable—It is introduced by Lord John Russell—Reforms proposed by the bill—The ministers compelled to abandon it—Two other bills connected with parliamentary reform passed—Proposals of law reform—A bill passed for the amendment of the common law—Restrictions in the navigation laws wholly removed—The ministers lose public confidence through the mismanagement of the war—They resign—A new cabinet formed—Summary of the parliamentary proceedings of 1855—State of the nation at the commencement of 1856—General feeling towards the treaty of peace—It is discussed in both houses—Eulogy on Miss Nightingale and Lord Raglan—Address to the queen—The royal reply—Parliamentary summary of the services of the navy and army—Attestation to the valour of the Russians.

THE second winter had now set in upon the sojourn of the allied armies in the Crimea; and after the evacuation of Sebastopol there was a cessation of active hostilities, the Russians confining themselves to an occasional cannonade upon the town, to make its occupation as uncomfortable as possible to the victors; while the latter employed themselves in destroying its splendid docks and harbours, to prevent if possible any future restoration of Sebastopol. This monotony was only interrupted by tidings of the fall of Kars, one of the important episodes of the campaign.

Since the commencement of hostilities, the war had been waged by Russia against Turkey not only in Europe, but also in Asia Minor; and while the sultan had ordered the formation of an army 50,000 strong, to be collected at Kars and Erzeroum, for the defence of these places,

which were chiefly menaced by the enemy, the brave refugee Hungarian commander, Guyon, had been sent to benefit this army of Kars, as it was called, with his European experience, and as the principal adviser of its unskilled incompetent commanders. But these commanders, after raising only 40,000 men, put the money allowed for the surplus number into their own pockets and as for the counsels of Guyon, they despised them as those of a foreigner and a Christian. It fared with such selfishness and bigotry as might have been expected They were beaten at Bagazid, and still more heavily at Karuk Derè, from which utter rout the Bashi-Bazouks fled to Kars, proclaiming that all was lost And so it would have been if the Russians had but advanced upon Kars and Erzeroum; but apprehensive of an attack from Schamyl and his Circassians both on flank and rear, Prince Bebutoff, the Russian commander, paused, and allowed the opportunity to escape. The Circassians and their daring prophet-soldier did indeed appear on the 20th of August (1854) in front of the capital of Georgia, only fifteen days after the defeat of the Turkish army near Kars, and by their neighbourhood Prince Bebutoff was so retarded, that the runaway pachas had time to rally for a fresh resistance But it would only have been to be beaten more thoroughly than ever, had not the transference of the war of the allies to the Crimea found more urgent occupation for the Russian troops; and thus Anatolia for the present escaped

This relief, however, was nothing more than temporary, and more decisive measures were necessary to secure the province from becoming a Russian possession The capture of Kars being still an important object with General Mouravieff, the Russian commander, while its retention was of equal moment to the allies, in order to secure it for Turkey, the British government, at the end of July, 1854, had sent Lieutenant-colonel Williams, as our queen's commissioner, to the head-quarters of the Turkish army in Asia, to act there in communication with, and under the orders of Lord Raglan, obtaining in the meantime from the Turkish government every facility for the discharge of his important office. After the necessary negotiations for these purposes at Varna and at Constantinople, Colonel Williams (now raised to the rank of general) arrived in the province of Kars on the 14th of September, where he found the Turkish army 28,000 strong, but in a miserable state of destitution, as many of the soldiers had received no pay for nearly two years. His first duty in this case was to provide for the efficiency of the army by obtaining the necessary supplies for it, but his applications to that effect appear to have been neglected by our ambassador at Constantinople. In this way time was wasted in a weary and fruitless correspondence, and the Russian army under Mouravieff was concentrating upon Kars, when

General Williams —From a daguerreotype by Mayall

at last Omar Pacha, who had been urgent for its relief, obtained three Turkish battalions for that purpose from the Crimea, and with these, and other troops which composed a force of 15,000 men, he sailed to Redoute-Kaleh

This aid was not obtained until towards the close of September (1855), but on the 16th of June, the commencement of the Mahometan festival of the Bairam, the attack upon Kars had commenced. The defence was gallantly maintained under the directions of General Williams, and the British officers who had accompanied him to Kars, and the first Russian attack was successfully repelled. But the town was closely invested, the forage of the besieged began to fail, and their horses were rapidly dying from sheer starvation. In this difficulty, General Williams permitted such of the cavalry as were still mounted, to the number of 1000, to make a night attempt on the 3d of September to cut their way through the enemy. For this purpose they stole silently from the town in the dark, and although the alarm when they reached the Russian outposts was raised, and volleys of musketry were poured upon them, they succeeded, although with some loss, in cutting their way through the enemy's lines, and securing their escape

The Russians now decided to make a second general attack upon the town on the 29th of September; and to throw the besieged off their guard, they made pretended arrangements for a retreat, giving out that they were going to march

into Georgia. But the pretence was easily detected by General Williams, and the garrison incited to double watchfulness. The attack was made on the 29th, while the morning was still dark, by three Russian columns supported by twenty-four guns, who advanced on three different parts of the line of defence, hoping to surprise the garrison, and carry the town by a single onset, but when they came within range, they were unexpectedly met at every point by such a destructive fire as showed them that their purpose was anticipated Although thus taken at unawares, the Russian left column of attack dashed forward with loud hurrahs, and rushed up the hill against the redoubts and breast-works; but here they were arrested by volleys of musketry, and at last driven down the slope in wild disorder. Nor did it fare better with the right column, although at first they were more successful; they turned the Tamash defences on the western extremity of the steep rocky range of hills on which Kars is situated, and penetrated to the rear of the Turkish position; but here they were brought to a pause by three bodies of reinforcements who unexpectedly confronted them, and were finally driven down the hill by a sortie from the garrison of the Tamash redoubts. The third point of Russian attack, which was upon that portion of the fortifications called the English tabiahs (or redoubts), was made with an overwhelming force that at first carried all before it, until battalions of infantry that had been sent to reinforce them arrived, and drove back the enemy with a close bayonet charge. The Russians were thus defeated in every attempt, and across the whole line; they hastily withdrew to their encampment, and were followed in their retreat by a cannonade, that added heavily to their killed and wounded. It was a gallant defence, more especially when the Turkish combatants had been working and watching four months in the trenches. The garrison was also suffering from cholera, and seven hours were spent in close destructive fighting Justly did General Williams say of them, "They have proved themselves worthy of the admiration of Europe, and established an undoubted claim to be placed amongst the most distinguished of its troops." But what shall we say of Williams himself, and his brave countrymen and assistants, Lieutenant-colonel Lake, Major Teesdale, and Captain Thompson? But for them, Kars would have fallen. Turkish valour needs nothing but able commanders, and these our country had supplied. The Russian loss in this one attack was immense. Five thousand bodies were left on the field, and 7000 dead and wounded were carried off, while the loss of the besieged scarcely exceeded 1000 men.

But hunger was now to effect what the enemy could not accomplish. The blockade was kept

GENERAL VIEW OF KARS.[1]—From Lake's Account of the Siege of Kars.

up so closely that no supplies could be introduced into the town, and in a short time famine of the most gaunt and revolting character predominated over all classes. The brave defenders, lean, pale, and feeble, were by the 17th of October no longer like the heroes of the 29th of September, who had driven the enemy from their gates. The dogs scratched the bodies of the soldiers from their graves and fed upon them; the very grass was carefully gathered in the open spaces, and its roots used as food; and crowds of women and children were moaning in the streets, and sinking and dying of starvation. The miseries of Kars were like those of ancient Jerusalem when the Roman armies encompassed it; and by the 24th of November, resistance, which was impossible, would also have been unavailing. No help moreover could be afforded by Omar Pacha, who had landed at Redoute-Kaleh for the pur-

[1] The leading points of interest are indicated by flying birds *One bird*—Ruined castle of Terrim Pasha and Armenian suburb. *Two birds*—Castle and town of Kars *Three birds*—Thompson's Tabiah, marked by group of tents at top of the distant hill *Four birds*—Teesdale Tabiah on the hill, and the suburb of Beiram Pasha at the foot.

pose of raising the siege, although by the 1st of November he had reached the river Ingour with 20,000 soldiers, chiefly Turkish, and a few French and British reinforcements. He was confronted on the opposite side of the river by a Russian army strongly entrenched; and in endeavouring to cross the river by two different fords on the 6th of November, each attempt was baffled, and the Russians remained in possession of the Ingour. He then tried it at a third place, and was more successful; but although he thus wrested the whole of the left bank of the river from the enemy, the latter fell back only to entrench themselves anew on the river Tsiva, on the road to Kutais. The fate of Kars was sealed, for its last morsel was eaten; and on the 24th of November, General Williams made overtures for surrender. The proposal was received with courtesy and humanity, and the terms were honourable alike to the besiegers of Kars and its brave defenders The garrison was to march out with the honours of war; in depositing their arms at a place appointed, the officers of all ranks were to retain their swords; and while the subjects of the belligerent powers were to be prisoners of war, the inhabitants of the town were to be placed under the protection of the Russian government, and the Turkish militia allowed to return to their homes "Thus, with the surrender of Kars," adds General Mouravieff in his report, "the last remnant of the army of Anatolia, which in last June numbered 30,000 men, has vanished The Mushir, Vassif Pacha, commander-in-chief of that army, is himself a prisoner of war in our hands, without counting eight pachas, and a great number of superior and subaltern officers, including the English general Williams and his whole staff In the fortress we took 130 cannon and a great stock of arms" It was a dispiriting blow to the cause of Turkey, and as such it was felt not only at Constantinople, but in the allied army of the Crimea, and in Paris and London. General Williams and his officers, on being carried prisoners into Russia, were treated with all the courtesy that is due to a gallant enemy.

Our operations by sea during this war now demand our notice. It was for these that our preparations had been the greatest, and correspondent exploits were expected to be performed upon our favourite element, let the events upon land be what they might. Of the achievements of our fleet in the Black Sea, while it accompanied the land expedition, incidental notices have already been given. But independently of this squadron, another and still more powerful fleet was despatched from the Downs to the Baltic on the 13th of March, 1854, under the command of the hero of Acre, Vice-admiral Sir Charles Napier, consisting of eight screw line-of-battle ships, four screw frigates, and four paddle-wheel steamers, which was subsequently reinforced in Kioge Bay by the *Neptune* (120), the *James Watt* (91), the *Boscawen* (72), and several other ships of

ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER
From a print by Porter, after a picture by John Simpson

war. Against such a force and with such a commander what available resistance could Russia be expected to offer? To the same quarter, the French despatched in April a squadron of twenty-three ships, carrying 1250 guns, under the command of Vice-admiral Parseval-Deschênes. The first operations of our fleet were of the most promising character. A rigorous blockade was established in the Gulf of Finland, and the different ports along the coast were so closely shut up that not a Russian vessel could show itself in the Baltic The enemy had therefore to be sought, and early in May, Admiral Plumridge was sent with a portion of the fleet to cruise in the Gulf of Bothnia. This he did so effectually, that between the 5th of that month and the 10th of June, when he rejoined Sir Charles Napier, he had destroyed forty-six merchant vessels, about 50,000 barrels of tar, and an immense quantity of naval stores, without the loss of a man. But an attempt of two of his ships, the *Odin* and *Vulture*, at Gamla Karleby, was not so successful. The water was so shallow that the ships were obliged to anchor five miles off the port, while four boats were manned and sent in to take possession of whatever vessels and stores might be found there. But the Russians on shore opened up from an ambuscade such a fire upon the boats for upwards of an hour, that fifty-four of our officers and men were killed, wounded and captured, and the *Vulture's* paddle-box boat taken. A more daring and more fortunate expedition

later in May was accomplished by the *Hecla* and *Arrogant*, that sailed from Hango Bay, seven miles up a narrow river, to Eckness, through a most intricate and dangerous navigation, destroyed a powerful battery that opened fire upon them, routed with volleys of grape and canister a troop of horse artillery and a large body of infantry, and having cut out a large and richly-laden merchantman, returned with it in tow through an enemy's country to Hango.

The next naval movement was against the Aland Islands in the Gulf of Bothnia. This large cluster, consisting of 80 inhabited and 200 uninhabited islands, occupying a space of about 352 square miles, and situated between the gulf and the Baltic Sea, and near the mouth of the Gulf of Finland, had formerly belonged to Sweden, but been ceded by that country to Russia in 1809. The great fortress of these islands was Bomarsund, situated at their most easterly point, upon a tongue of land, and was guarded in its approaches by two marshy swamps, while its chief works consisted of a fort and a long line of batteries, all of them of granite, besides an earthwork battery that had been recently constructed. Altogether it was a place of great strength, and furnished with powerful means of resistance. Three steamships of the allied fleet, the *Odin*, *Hecla*, and *Valorous*, which in the first instance had been sent to reconnoitre these islands, had opened up a discharge of shells upon Bomarsund,

TOWER OF THE FORTRESS OF BOMARSUND.—From L'Illustration, 1854

which they had continued for seven hours so effectually, that had it lasted but a little longer it was thought the fortress must have surrendered, as its roof had been blown up, and some of its works been set on fire. It was now to be besieged in form, and its fall attended with greater dignity. On the 7th of August (1854) Rear-admiral Chads with eight ships British and French, was joined in Lumpar Bay, on the south side of Bomarsund, by a French expeditionary force of 10,000 men under the command of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and on the following day the landing was effected, and the siege commenced. The resistance, however, was neither proportioned to the strength of the place, nor the importance that had been attached to it, for on the 15th a breach was made in the walls, its guns were silenced, and a white flag was hoisted in token of surrender. Thus easily was the capture effected with scarcely a score of men killed and wounded among the allies, while the capture consisted of nearly 200 guns and 2235 prisoners. After demolishing and blowing up the works, by which the labour of years was destroyed in a few hours, the armament withdrew from the Aland Islands. With the fall of Bomarsund, the naval operations of the year were at an end.

During the summer of this year, a small squadron had been employed in the White Sea; but except the destruction of certain stores of the Russian government in Shayley Island, the bombardment of Novitska, and the destruction of Kola, the capital of Russian Lapland, nothing of particular notice was effected by this squadron, which soon after returned to England. But there was a fatal offset to these trivial successes, in the disaster that befel an allied squadron at Petropaulowski. This town, the principal seaport of the Russian province of Kamschatka, received an hostile visit from three French and three British vessels, that anchored before it on the 28th of August, and the fire with which they were immediately greeted from the batteries showed the readiness of the town for a stout resistance. This resistance also was likely to be formidable, on account of the natural as well as artificial defences of Petropaulowski; for its horse-shoe shaped harbour was guarded in front by a natural breakwater of sand, and a masked battery of twelve thirty-six pounders; while behind, the town, which lies in a hollow, was backed by a high ridge of rugged volcanic mountains. It was resolved to attack the town next morning, and a preliminary cannonade had commenced, when a pistol-shot was heard in the cabin of the *President*, the flag-ship of Admiral Price, the British commander. At that critical moment the admiral had committed suicide, but

from what cause, unless it was some sudden access of frenzy, it was impossible to discover. On the following day, the attack was resumed; but although two batteries were successively silenced, the masked battery which we have mentioned kept up such a successful fire, as obliged the ships that assailed it to fall back out of range. On the day after, a landing was made, not only to bury the body of the admiral, but to make an attempt upon the town, which, the allies were assured by two Americans who offered to be the guides of the landing party, was open to an attack in the rear. Seven hundred soldiers were sent upon this service, and after silencing two batteries on shore northward of the town, the party was landed. But instead of keeping upon the main road, they scrambled in disorderly fashion up the hills at the back part of the town, and were picked off as they advanced by Russian sharpshooters, concealed among the thick brushwood. A march into the town was hopeless, and a retreat was sounded. but the soldiers withdrew so hurriedly, that they lost themselves among the hills, they were plied with volleys by an unseen foe, were driven like sheep to the brink of a precipice between them and the shore, and were only extricated with difficulty, and after heavy loss, by the guns of the ships, and a rearguard that was sent to their relief Although upon a small scale, this expedition was conspicuous from first to last by its blunders and disasters; and the self-congratulations of British and French of their deeds during this war will occasionally be crossed and qualified by the admonitory name of Petropaulowski In a day or two after, the damaged vessels had to quit the coast and retire to San Francisco.

By the approach of winter our naval operations for 1854 were suspended, and nothing could be undertaken till the ensuing spring. But what the while had been effected by those magnificent fleets which Britain and France had equipped at so great an expense, and upon which they had placed such unbounded confidence? Why was not Cronstadt bombarded? How had St. Petersburg itself escaped untouched? It seemed as if our naval spirit had expired with Nelson, and its glories been extinguished at Trafalgar So fierce was the popular indignation, so loud the national outcry, that the British admiralty was obliged to find a scape-goat and a victim, and one, too, of no inferior mark, so that on the return of Sir Charles Napier from the Baltic, he was directed to haul down his flag. It was alleged that he had not done all that his means permitted, and the command of the Baltic was transferred from him to Rear-admiral Dundas. This could not be done without an indignant remonstrance on the part of the gallant veteran: he complained that the blame lay with the admiralty itself, who had so crippled him by restrictions, that he could not attack Sweaborg until it was too late to succeed. A keen controversy upon the subject between Sir Charles and their lordships was the consequence, which has not yet terminated, and into which we have no desire to enter, being so mixed, as it soon became, with political heats and party arguments With a new admiral and redoubled efforts it was hoped that our operations for 1855 in the Baltic would be more successful, and on the 19th of April there were eighty-five English and sixteen French ships of war in that sea, carrying 2506 guns.

The renewed hostilities at sea, in the absence of any naval action, were signalized in 1855 by a serious charge of treachery against the Russians, a charge which weighed more heavily against them than any defeat could have done. Admiral Dundas having permitted Captain Fanshawe of the *Cossack*, to liberate three Russian prisoners, that officer, on arriving off Hango Island in the Gulf of Finland, on the 5th of June, landed the three prisoners with four others, in a cutter bearing a flag of truce Scarcely, however, had this been done, than the boat's crew was fired upon, notwithstanding their flag of truce, and the whole killed except one man, who escaped wounded with the boat. At the same time, a small party, with the British lieutenant in command, who had advanced from the shore to communicate with the people and the officer of the telegraph, were suddenly attacked by a party of soldiers, seized, placed in carriages that had apparently been kept in readiness for the purpose, and hurried off to Eckness as prisoners. This foul breach of the law of nations led to indignant remonstrance on the part of Admiral Dundas, both with General de Berg, the Russian commandant at Helsingfors, and with Prince Dolgorouky, the Russian minister at war, but their answers were only shuffling attempts to prove the whole matter a mistake, and to throw the entire blame of it upon the party who had landed. To establish this view of the case also, recourse was had to misrepresentation and falsehood. They declared that the boat's crew had exhibited no white flag, or at least, such an one as was visible; that on finding no soldiers on shore, they had commenced hostilities at their landing, by setting fire to some huts and boats; and that the cutter itself in which they had arrived, was armed and provided for such deeds of aggression. Such were the statements unblushingly made by the Russian authorities, but which were successfully refuted by Lieutenant Geneste, the officer in command of the cutter's party, after he had returned from his Russian prison to England.

By this hostile deed, as paltry as it was perfidious, and from which no advantage could be gained, the enemy sullied the glory of their arms, and the esteem to which they were entitled by their efforts and their sacrifices. It was an instance of Slavonic treachery which, with others of a similar kind that occurred during this war, will be remembered to the disadvantage of Russia, until she has effaced this blot upon her national character by a course of manly openness, kindness, and integrity.

The great aim of the allied fleet was the capture or destruction of Cronstadt. This strong seaport, situated on the long flat island of Kotlin, near the eastern extremity of the Gulf of Finland, opposite the mouth of the Neva, lay provokingly across the way to the entrance of St. Petersburg, from which it was only twenty miles distant, but the narrowness of its channel on the south side of Kotlin, by which only one vessel could pass at a time, from the gulf to the capital, the effectual manner in which its guns commanded this passage, and the strength of its vast fortifications, which made every approach an experiment of the utmost hazard, had compelled Sir Charles Napier, as they now did his successor, to respect its strength, and keep at a wary distance. For more than three weeks, the allied fleet, consisting of forty ships, lay off the north side of Cronstadt without risking an attack; and they finally weighed anchor on the 14th of July, to make a more hopeful attempt upon Sweaborg. This fortress, on the north side of the Gulf of Finland, and about three miles south-east of Helsingfors, occupies seven little islands, all of them strongly fortified, and communicating with each other by bridges of boats. Of these islands, the chief is Vargoe, on which the principal fort is erected, consisting of a strong castle, and extensive magazines and barracks cut out of the rock, and bomb-proof The numerous walls and ramparts by which the narrow channels between the islands and also the bay at every point were commanded, were bristled with 2000 pieces of cannon; and since the war commenced, the Russians had erected new earthworks upon commanding sites. On the 6th of August, the allied fleet arrived off Sweaborg, and the two following days were employed in preparations for an attack. On the morning of the 9th, the work commenced by a discharge from the mortar-vessels upon the fortress; and these were followed almost immediately by the gun-boats, that moved in a circle to avoid giving a fair mark to the enemy, and delivered their fire in the course of their revolution, first from the gun at the bow, and afterwards from that astern. The effect of these mortars and gun-boats was tremendous: their shot, that fell within the line of the batteries, produced a succession of explosions that resembled volcanoes, in which military stores were kindled and sent blazing aloft, and huge masses of rock, beams of timber, and fragments of houses were scattered in the air. At eight o'clock in the evening the gun-boats were recalled, and their places supplied by rocket-boats, which during the night kept the atmosphere in a destructive blaze, and extended the conflagration to those parts that had escaped during the day. So terrible, indeed, and close was the fire, that a large three-decker which the Russians had moored between the islands of Gustavswert and Bak Holmen, with her broadside towards the sea, so as to block up the channel, had to be removed during the night to save her from destruction. Soon after three o'clock on the morning of the 10th, the bombardment of the previous day was renewed, and was continued till evening, while within Sweaborg, the arsenals and stores behind the line of batteries continued to blaze with increasing violence. It was no wonder that the destruction had been so wide and wasteful, as a thousand tons of iron in shot and shell had been thrown into the place by the English alone But except this destruction of arsenals, stores, and dwelling-houses, little had been effected, the forts were too well defended to be assailed, as well as too strong to be shaken by the hurricane; and the ships, instead of being sent against them for a contest of broadsides, were cautiously kept aloof, and mortar-vessels sent in their stead. "Seeing the impossibility of obtaining any decisive success," writes the Russian general De Berg, in his account of the bombardment, "against our fortifications and batteries, the assailants evidently resolved to take advantage of the long range of their projectiles, and exposing themselves as little as possible to our fire, to demolish and set fire to the buildings inside the fortress, a task rendered easy by the existence of wooden houses, and large houses three stories high, not arched. Suspecting their plan," the general adds, "I ordered from the commencement of the combat, our batteries not to fire unless the enemy's vessels, which offered but a small target, came within a range which would allow our artillery to do them a serious mischief. This order was obeyed with that praiseworthy coolness which distinguishes a really good artillery, and with such success, that whenever an enemy's vessel advanced from its line of battle, the well-directed fire of our batteries immediately compelled it to retire." In this skilful manner, any plan of the allied fleet for a decisive attack upon Sweaborg was rendered hopeless, and mischief, not victory, could be the only result of continuing the bombardment. It therefore ceased on the morning of the 11th—and thus terminated the naval operations of 1855.

On the return of the French and English ships, which the rapid approach of winter in the Baltic Sea rendered necessary at an early period, they found but a cold welcome at home on account of the little that had still been accomplished; and it was complained, that all the damage inflicted upon Sweaborg, was scarcely worth the cost of the powder and shot that had been thrown away in the enterprise.

The commencement of 1856 found the allied armies still occupied in the destruction of the harbours and public works of Sebastopol, while the Russians, from their neighbouring encampment, were sternly watching these proceedings, and treasuring them up in their memory for future vengeance But even already peace was at hand. At his accession, the new czar found himself entangled in a war which he had not originated, and the plan of which he must have found himself unable to carry out; and as he was not pledged to continue it for evil or for good, he might gracefully retire from it when a fitting opportunity had arrived. And even now it had come, when the surrender of Kars could be shown as an offset to the evacuation of Sebastopol While his pride was thus saved from the humiliation of defeat, peace was necessary for the interests of his empire. The war had been a losing one, in which the arms of Russia had suffered four signal defeats; a powerful enemy was established on its frontier, whose advance might be accompanied with still worse disasters than a conquest of the Crimea, and at sea its ports were blocked up, its ships destroyed, and its commerce suspended For the present, Russia was obliged to contend against four great powers, but it was certain that the addition of a fifth would suffice to turn the scale, and there was now the prospect of Austria joining the warlike coalition of France, Britain, Sardinia, and Turkey, and sending her armed myriads to co-operate in the common cause To these might be added the moral and political reforms already contemplated for the Russians to bring them up to the scale of other nations, but which war would retard, or might possibly even defeat and set aside. Nor were the allied powers unwilling to listen to peaceful overtures. To them the war had been both costly and ruinous, of which the glory was scarcely equal to the price It was also thought dangerous still further to provoke Russia, that young Titan of the nations, which had already shown such strength and resources, and been taught by each recent struggle the lesson of its own power. If by any treaty also Turkey could be saved from dismemberment —for the present at least—the object for which the allies had taken arms would be effected, and the evil day which is reckoned inevitable be postponed.

The public manifestations of this peaceful spirit were given on the part of Russia at the close of the preceding year. This was done by a despatch of the government to its diplomatic agents on the 22d of December, announcing through them to the courts at which they resided its desire for peace, and the sacrifices it was willing to make for it. After this overture, a neutral negotiator was needed to interpose with friendly offices, and bring the contending parties to a mutual understanding, and this was undertaken by Austria, which had a vital interest in the question, but had as yet kept aloof from the contest A negotiation was accordingly opened between the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, to ascertain the conditions upon which the latter was willing to treat, and as these appeared sufficiently moderate, a meeting of plenipotentiaries was assembled at Paris, on the 26th February, for the settlement of an armistice, and the terms of a lasting peace The representatives for Great Britain were the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Cowley; for Austria, Count de Buol Schauenstein and Baron de Hubner; for France, Count Colonna Walewski and Baron de Bourqueney; for Russia, Count Orloff and Baron de Brunow; for Sardinia, Count de Cavour and the Marquis di Villamarina, and for Turkey, Ali Pacha and Mehemmed Djemil Bey. According to the etiquette established on such occasions, Count Walewski, as the representative of the sovereign in whose capital the plenipotentiaries were to hold their meetings, was appointed president during the sittings of the conference.

The armistice, which was of easy settlement, was the first subject of discussion, and it was agreed that it should continue till the 31st of March, unless renewed till after that period by common consent; and that during this interval both armies and fleets should retain their present respective situations, but without any hostile movement on either side. After this, the sittings of the conference lasted till the 30th of March, on which day the treaty of peace was definitively signed, but the ratifications of which were not exchanged until the 27th of April. They were in substance as follows —

The territories conquered or occupied during the war were to be reciprocally evacuated.

The town and citadel of Kars, as well as other parts of the Ottoman territory of which the Russian troops were in possession, were to be restored to Turkey.

The four allied powers were to restore to Russia the towns and ports of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesch, Eupatoria, Kertch, Jenikale, and Kinburn, as well as all other territories occupied by the allied troops.

The allied powers, and also the Czar of Russia

and the Emperor of Austria, declare the Sublime Porte admitted to partake in the advantages of the public law and system of Europe. The six Christian sovereigns also engage, each on his part, to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire; to guarantee in common the strict observance of that engagement, and to consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest.

Should any misunderstanding arise between the Sublime Porte and one or other of the signing powers, that might endanger the maintenance of their relations, the Porte, and each of such powers, before having recourse to arms, shall afford the other contracting parties an opportunity of mediating between them.

The sultan having already issued a firman for the welfare of his subjects, without distinction of religion or race, and which records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his empire, now communicates to the contracting parties the said firman, emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will The contracting parties, while recognizing the value of this communication, clearly understand that it does not give them the right, either collectively or separately, to interfere between the sultan and his subjects, or in the internal administration of his empire

In regard to the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire, relative to the closing of the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles, it was agreed, that the rule should continue in force, that no ships of war belonging to foreign powers should enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and that so long as the Porte is at peace, the sultan shall admit no foreign ships of war to enter the said straits and on the other hand, the contracting powers engage to respect this determination of the sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared. By a second article, the sultan reserves to himself, as in times past, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war, which shall be employed, as is usual, in the service of the missions of foreign powers By a third article, it is declared, that the same exception applies to the light vessels under flag of war, which each of the contracting powers is authorized to station at the mouths of the Danube in order to secure the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of that river, and the number of which is not to exceed two for each power.

In regard, also, to the amount of naval forces which Russia and Turkey might respectively keep in the Black Sea, it was agreed in a separate convention between these two powers, that each should maintain in that sea six steam vessels of fifty metres in length, and not beyond 800 tons burden each vessel, and four light steam or sailing vessels of not more than 200 tons each. It was agreed, moreover, that the Aland Islands should not be fortified, and that no military or naval establishment should be maintained or created there.

The Black Sea to be neutralized, and its waters and ports thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation; and either of the powers possessing its coasts, or any other power, are interdicted from the use of the flag of war upon it, with such exceptions as Russia and Turkey shall fix by a separate convention The commerce in the ports and waters of the Black Sea being freed from any impediment, was to be subject only to regulations of health, customs, and police, and to insure the security of this commerce, consuls were to be admitted into the ports upon the coast, according to the principles of international law.

No toll was to be levied upon the navigation of the Danube, nor duty upon the goods which may be on board of vessels With exception of the regulations of the police and quarantine, to be afterwards framed to facilitate the passage of vessels, no obstacle whatever was to be opposed to the navigation of the river.

In return for the towns and ports restored to Russia by this treaty, and to secure the freedom of the navigation of the Danube, the czar consents to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia This frontier shall begin from the Black Sea, one kilometre to the east of the Lake Bourna Sola, shall run perpendicularly to the Akermann road, shall follow that road to the Val de Trajan, pass to the south of Bolgrad, ascend the course of the river Yalpuck to the height of Saratsika, and terminate at Katamosi on the Pruth. Above that point the old frontier between the two empires shall not undergo any modification.

With regard to the principalities, which had been such a fruitful source of strife, it was agreed that the territory ceded by Russia was to be annexed to Moldavia; that the inhabitants of this principality should enjoy the rights and privileges secured to the other principalities; and that during the space of three years they should be permitted to dispose of their property freely, and transfer their domiciles elsewhere. This principality and that of Wallachia were to continue under the suzerainty of the Porte, without any exclusive protection of a foreign power, or any separate right of interference in their internal affairs; and the Porte engages to preserve for them an independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation. The same rights and liberties were to be accorded to the principality of Servia, under the collective guarantee of the contracting powers.

On the other *quæstio vexata* between Turkey

and Russia respecting their possessions in Asia, it was agreed between the czar and the sultan that these should remain as they had existed before the breaking out of the war; and that in order to prevent all local dispute, the line of frontier should be verified, and if necessary rectified, without any prejudice as regards territory to either party.

The territories occupied during the war by the allied troops were to be evacuated as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty. The periods and the means of evacuation were to form the object of an arrangement between the Sublime Porte and the powers whose troops had occupied its territory

Such were the terms of this memorable pacification, by which the ambitious aggressions of Russia were checked, and the dismemberment or downfall of Turkey averted. The tidings of the conclusion of an armistice reached the Crimea on the 28th of February, and on the afternoon of the same day, as if to signalize the cessation of hostilities, a pile of edifices in Sebastopol, called the White Buildings, was blown into the air When the armistice was duly proclaimed on the following day, and the terms of it arranged between the contending armies, the officers and soldiers, between whom there would otherwise have been only a meeting of contention to the death, were now to be seen mixed together in mutual good humour and the interchange of friendly offices—and this, although peace was as yet uncertain, and although its failure might renew the war with more than its former bitterness. On the 2d of April all suspense was at an end among the armies by the proclamation of peace, which was announced with a discharge of 101 guns, and followed by the bustle of preparation for the evacuation of the Crimea This event finally took place on the 12th of July, on which day General Codrington, the British commander-in-chief, formally gave up Sebastopol and Balaklava to the Russians. But what a surrender! The whole war had been concentrated at Sebastopol, which city was now the type of all its miseries and its desolation—the tomb equally of those who had assailed and those who had defended it, and even on receiving it back, the Russians must have read in its appearance a painful lesson of warning. As it then was, its aspect is thus described by an eloquent writer, from whose pages we have already quoted —

"Had fire been rained down from heaven upon the devoted city its annihilation could not have been more complete The stranger who halted to survey it from the neighbouring heights, deceived by the whitewashed and plastered walls of the houses, might think that Sebastopol was still a city; but when he walked through the grass-grown deserted streets, formed by endless rows of walls alone, or roofless shells of houses, in which not one morsel of timber could be seen from threshold to eaves; when he beheld great yawning craters, half-filled with mounds of cut stone, heaped together in irregular masses; when he gazed on tumuli of disintegrated masonry—once formidable forts, and shaken as it were into dust and powder; when he stumbled over the fragments of imperial edifices, to peer down into the great gulfs, choked up with rubbish, which marked the site of the great docks of the Queen of the Euxine, and beheld the rotting masts and hulls of the sunken navy which had been nurtured there, when he observed that what the wrath of the enemy spared was fast crumbling away beneath the fire of its friends, and that the churches where they worshipped, the theatres, the public monuments, had been specially selected for the practice of the Russian gunners, as though they were emulous of running a race in destruction with the allied armies—he would no doubt have come to the conclusion that the history of the world afforded no such authentic instance of the annihilation of a great city. It is hard to believe that the site can ever be made available for the erection of houses or the construction of docks, but I am by no means certain that the immense resources in the command of manual labour possessed by the government of Russia, of which this very struggle afforded us all such striking proofs, in the Quarantine battery, the Bastion Centrale, the Bastion du Mât, the Redan, the Mamelon, and the Malakoff, may not be made available in time to clear away these modern ruins, and to rebuild houses, theatres, palaces, churches, forts, arsenals, and docks, as before"[1]

In thus giving a consecutive account of the Crimean war from the commencement to the close, we have been obliged wholly to overlook our political and internal history The greater part indeed of public attention, as well as the principal debates of parliament, were occupied with the fluctuations of this momentous war, according to which stocks rose and fell, and hope or despondency predominated. But other subjects, although less obtrusive at the time, characterized the history of the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, of which we can only give a very brief recapitulation

At the commencement of the first of the abovementioned years, the feeling of public insecurity upon the question of peace or war, and the doubtful state of our foreign relations, produced their usual effects upon mercantile activity and enterprise. There was added to these drawbacks

[1] Russell's *British Expedition to the Crimea*, p 582 London, 1858

a partial dearth throughout Europe, by which the prices of our manufactures were raised, and the demand for them diminished. But these causes, which depressed the mercantile interests, were favourable to those of the agriculturists, who, it was remarked, were more prosperous and more contented than they had been for many previous years.

The first important business introduced this session into parliament unconnected with the war was the subject of parliamentary reform. To this introduction the ministers considered themselves pledged; and they now ventured to fulfil the obligation, notwithstanding the imminent prospect of war, which might seem to make the proposal unseasonable. This objection was stated by Earl Grey in the House of Lords on the 10th of February, and he expressed his apprehension that a disapproval of this reform bill at a season so critical might occasion a dissolution of parliament, or a resignation of the ministry At all events it ought not to be introduced until at least the navy and army estimates, and the measure for extending the militia force, had been disposed of The objections which were urged in both houses were overruled, and on the 13th of February Lord John Russell moved for leave to introduce "A bill further to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people in England and Wales" In his speech he stated how much had been effected in parliamentary reform since 1793, and what encouragement this afforded for the removal of three main defects in the reform act which had been left untouched These were—1. The existence of several boroughs that still retained the power of sending members to parliament, although the number of their electors scarcely justified their possession of such a privilege. These he proposed to disfranchise altogether, to the number of sixty-two seats Another defect in the reform act was in the division of the counties, which he proposed to remedy by taking population generally as the rule to be applied, and thus filling the sixty-two vacant seats from districts sufficiently populous, but that were still unrepresented. The third defect in the reform act which his bill proposed to remove was the absolute rule of the ten-pound borough franchise; and this he sought to modify by making several new franchises common to counties and towns, of which the qualifications of a voter should be £100 of yearly salary—£10 a year dividends derived from the government funds, bank stock, or East India stock—the payment of 40*s.* a year either to income-tax or assessed taxes—the being a graduate at any university in the United Kingdom—or, finally, any person having had a deposit of £50 in a savings'-bank for not less than three years In the franchises belonging exclusively to counties and boroughs, his lordship proposed that the electoral qualification for the counties should be, that £10 householders should have a dwelling of the value of £5 a year, and for the boroughs, all householders rated at above £6 a year, with two years and a half of municipal residence.

Such is a brief outline of Lord John Russell's new parliamentary reform bill, and the discussion that followed indicated how greatly the ministers had its success at heart But the opposition with which it was encountered, together with the unfortunate season of its appearance, when a new war and new taxes were apprehended by all classes, made the wisdom of its introduction and its chances of success equally a matter of doubt This was shown by the postponement of the second reading, which was not to come on until the 27th of April So strongly, however, had the opposition increased, that on the 11th Lord John Russell announced in the House of Commons the intention of the ministers to abandon the bill When war was merely in prospect, he stated, this circumstance was not of itself enough for deferring such a measure of internal improvement; but now that war was actually declared, and that the public had shown an indifference to this, as well as every other question, government had judged it advisable to drop for the present their plan of parliamentary reform He was moved even to tears as he announced this abandonment of the great project of his life, while the long and enthusiastic cheers of the house was a gratifying expression of their sympathy and esteem.

In two other bills connected with parliamentary reform, Lord John Russell was more successful: one of these was, to consolidate and amend the laws relating to bribery, treating, and undue influence at elections of members; the other, to amend the law for the trial of election petitions, and for inquiring into the existence of corrupt practices at elections. To check these practices, he proposed that a person guilty of bribery should be for ever incapable of being elected a member of parliament; and that the name of a voter accepting a bribe should be struck out of the register of voters. After much discussion on the subject, and many changes upon the original motion, the bill for the suppression of bribery in parliamentary elections was carried by a majority of 107 to 100 This subject, indeed, was not so easily to be laid to rest; and demands were made during the session for more stringent rules, by which the integrity of elections should be examined and their fraudulent practices punished; but the proposals were defeated and the bills withdrawn.

The important subject of law reform in refer-

ence to the consolidation of the statutes, was brought forward by Lord Lyndhurst before the House of Lords on the 9th of February. His lordship stated that the absurdities which had already been expunged from our statute-book were only a sample of those which remained untouched. There were altogether 16,000 public general statutes, and of these nearly 14,000 might be swept away without the slightest inconvenience, while the remainder might be reduced within a reasonable compass by the process of consolidation. But this process, he was told by the lord-chancellor, had been in operation since the 31st of March, last year; that out of nearly 17,000 statutes, only 2500 were living acts of parliament; and that these, when consolidated, should be presented for the sanction of parliament. On the 27th of February, the lord-chancellor, in conformity with the intention announced in the speech from the throne, brought forward his bill for the amendment of the common law. It proposed certain modifications in trial by jury, by which, when both parties were agreed to have their case tried by the judge alone, the use of a jury might be dispensed with. It also proposed that the qualifications of jurors should be somewhat raised, and that there should be but one panel In tendering the oath, the conscientious scruples of witnesses were to exempt them equally with Moravians, Quakers, and Separatists from taking it. The judge was also to be empowered to order refreshments for juries; and if at the end of twelve hours a jury was not unanimous, it might be liberated, and a new trial take place. These were the principal features of the lord-chancellor's bill, which was cordially received by both houses, and afterwards passed into law. Another important measure in the way of legislative reform, was in the amendment of the navigation laws, by which the hard measure of excluding foreign vessels from our coasting trade was abolished—and by this conclusive decision, the "last remaining fetters were struck off from the free navigation of the sea." These movements in the right direction were closed by the passing of a bill, introduced by the attorney-general, for the suppression of gaming-houses

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.
From a photograph by Herbert Watkins.

But although 101 out of 121 bills were passed during this parliamentary session, they excited little interest, the chief attention being now engrossed with the events of the war in the Crimea. Some of the most important of these bills were among the rejected, and three of them were ministerial. Indeed, the state of the public mind at the commencement of 1855 was little in favour of government, and ministers had lost the national confidence at a time when it was most necessary for their support. For nine months the war had continued, during which our army was overworked, underfed, and wasted away by diseases occasioned through want of proper management; and with every fresh report from the Crimea that told of nothing but suffering and disaster, the charges against ministerial ineptitude became louder and more confirmed These broke forth into full official cry as soon as parliament had re-assembled, and only two days after—the 25th of January—both parliament and the public were astounded by the resignation of Lord John Russell. In reference to the army and the war, he confessed that evils did exist, but he could not also fairly and honestly state that all deficiencies and abuses would be immediately remedied; and in consequence of his inability to give such assurance, he felt that he could no longer remain a member of the government. After this resignation, Mr Roebuck brought on a motion of which he had given due notice, accusing ministers of neglect and mismanagement in the war, which had led to the most disastrous results; and this was passed by a majority of 305 against 148 The fate of the coalition cabinet, as it was called, which had been formed at the season and for the purposes of peace, was sealed, and in consequence of this vote its members resigned office. A new one was constructed, chiefly, however, from the materials of the old, with certain partial changes in the distribution of office. As it now stood, Lord Palmerston was first lord of the treasury; Lord Cranworth, lord-chancellor; Earl Granville, president of the council; Duke of Argyle, lord privy-seal; Earl of Clarendon, foreign secretary; Mr. Sidney Herbert, colonial secretary; Sir

George Grey, home secretary; Lord Panmure, secretary for war; Mr. Gladstone, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir James Graham, first lord of the admiralty; Sir William Molesworth, public works, Sir Charles Wood, president of the board of control; the Marquis of Lansdowne, without office; Lord Canning, postmaster-general; Mr. Cardwell, president of the board of trade. Of these, Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert resigned office. A new reconstruction of Lord Palmerston's cabinet was found necessary, the most remarkable change in which was the appointment of Lord John Russell to the office of secretary of state for the colonies, in the room of Mr Sidney Herbert Among the other changes, Sir G Cornewall Lewis took the place of Mr. Gladstone; Sir C Wood, of Sir James Graham, Mr. V Smith, of Sir Charles Wood; Lord Stanley, of Mr Cardwell, and Lord Carlisle, in the secretaryship of Ireland, that of Lord St Germains.

From the opening of parliament in 1855, until the 14th of August, when it was prorogued, the debates continued to be almost exclusively occupied with the war, of which every event was made the subject of investigation and comment They were new subjects for parliamentary eloquence, as well as an exhaustless source of patriotism, party feeling, and ambition, and although the sittings were long, few questions of a purely social character had room for introduction. Of the 141 ministerial bills which were introduced, 108 passed into law, 32 were withdrawn, and 1 was rejected in the House of Lords Of those which were passed that had no immediate connection with the war, the following enumeration in the royal speech at the close, which was read by the lord-chancellor, will convey a distinct though summary idea —

"Her majesty, in giving her assent to the bill which you presented to her for the local management of the metropolis, trusts that the arrangements provided by that measure will lead to many improvements conducive to the convenience and the health of this great city. The abolition of the duty on newspapers will tend to diffuse useful information among the poorer classes of her majesty's subjects.

"The principle of limited liability, which you have judiciously applied to joint-stock associations, will afford additional facilities for the employment of capital, and the improvements which you have made in the laws which regulate friendly societies will encourage habits of industry and thrift among the labouring classes of the community.

"Her majesty trusts that the measures to which she has given her assent for improving the constitutions of New South Wales, Victoria, and Tasmania, and for bestowing on these important and flourishing colonies an extended power of self-government, will assist the development of their great national resources, and promote the contentment and happiness of their inhabitants."

With the commencement of 1856, the feelings and the fears of commercial depression had abated, and commerce and manufactures had returned to their healthy condition. But more than even the fluctuations of trade, was the interest of the war upon the public attention. The increase of our experience in the conducting of warlike operations, the force and efficiency to which our army in the Crimea had been raised, and the abundance of our resources for carrying on the conflict, combined with the feeling that enough had not as yet been effected to counterpoise our reverses and accomplish the objects of the enterprise, made the prospect of peace generally regarded with indifference, if not with dislike It could only be a truce at the best, instead of an enforced peace upon an ambitious enemy; and Russia would be certain to resume her projects of eastern aggrandisement as soon as her strength was renewed and an opportunity afforded While such was the state of the public mind, the session of parliament was opened by her majesty in person, and in moving the reply to the royal speech, which was congratulatory upon these pacific prospects, the Earl of Gosford in the House of Lords gave distinct expression to the general feeling on the subject. Having declared his full belief in the necessity and justice of the war, he stated that he had looked forward with joyful anticipations to the probable result of the campaign of 1856. But the scene had changed, and he found himself suddenly, and somewhat reluctantly, an advocate of peace. The nation was only now beginning to shake off the rust of a long repose, and to make great preparations for continuing hostilities, it was natural that there should be on the part of the public a certain reluctance to suspend them; but it was doubtful how far this feeling should be indulged if the terms of peace would prevent the aggressions of Russia, not only against Turkey, but in other quarters, and leave no opening for future dispute Thus far in his advocacy of peace he was ready to go, but no farther, and he trusted the negotiations would be brought to a satisfactory conclusion

On the 5th of May the treaty of peace was debated in both houses, and every article was scrutinized and commented upon with a freedom of opinion that forms the best characteristic of a British parliament It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that each article had its eulogist and opponent. Into those conflicting opinions, however, it is not the duty of the historian to enter

until time has tested them, and separated the false from the true. In the House of Lords, which was filled to overflowing by an eager audience, the Earl of Ellesmere moved the address upon the treaty; and in the classical eloquent speech which he delivered on the occasion, there were two subjects upon which there could be no diversity of opinion. One was a just tribute to the peaceful but painful heroism and self-devotion of Miss Nightingale, whose part in the war could not be too highly commended. "My lords," said the noble speaker, "the agony of that time has become a matter of history. The vegetation of two successive springs has obscured the vestiges of Balaklava and Inkermann Strong voices now answer to the roll-call, and sturdy forms now cluster round the colours. The ranks are full, the hospitals are empty. The angel of mercy still lingers to the last on the scene of her labours, but her mission is all but accomplished Those long arcades of Scutari, in which dying men sat up to catch the sound of her footstep or the flutter of her dress, and fell back on the pillow content to have seen her shadow as it passed, are now comparatively deserted She may probably be thinking how to escape, as best she may, on her return, the demonstrations of a nation's appreciation of the deeds and motives of Florence Nightingale" The other part of the well-merited eulogiums of the eloquent peer was upon Lord Raglan, from whose head-quarters during the awful winter of complicated trials, "had radiated a moral force, a serene and unquenchable spirit of faith, and trust, and duty, which did resist, and which alone could have resisted, the combined influences of weather, privation, and fatigue, superadded to the constant changes of a defective military position, threatened in front, flank, and rear, by a brave, an able, and outnumbering army. The spell prevailed not even discomfiture, far less disgrace—for discomfiture, and even destruction under such circumstances might have come without disgrace—fell on the banners of England" It was a noble and true, as well as a brave-hearted testimony in behalf of a departed hero, whom it had become too much the fashion to identify with some of the worst errors and mischances of the war. "I am sure," added Lord Ellesmere, in allusion to the return of peace, "that from Balaklava and Kadikoi to the ravine of the Tchernaya and the heights of Inkermann, while England's renovated battalions are shaking the earth with their tramp, and extorting alike from constant allies and former foes that ungrudging admiration which true soldiers love to feel even for 'foemen worthy of their steel'—amidst that pomp and circumstance of war's display without its terrors, and the interchange of hospitalities between reconciled antagonists—there will be a branch of myrrh in the festival goblet, when the cup is fullest and the revel is at its height, which will make the draught bitter but wholesome. There will be a thought and a sigh for one who should have been there. They will miss among the crowds of officers of many nations the armless sleeve, the noble form, which in the hour of battle they had never far to seek—that countenance which by its winning expression was in itself a passport to the soldier's heart Yes, there will be a thought and a sigh for him who established and maintained the footing of England on that soil, and but for whom, as I devoutly believe, the graves on Cathcart's Hill would have been now, like the *tumuli* which record in that country the reign of extinct dynasties and forgotten sovereigns, the sole memorial of the achievements and the fate of an English army"

After this speech, which was listened to throughout with profound sympathy, the Earl of Ellesmere moved the address congratulatory of the peace, which was to the following effect, and after much discussion passed by both houses —

"To assure her majesty that, while we should have deemed it our duty cheerfully to afford her majesty our firm support if it had unfortunately been found necessary to continue the war, we have learned with joy and satisfaction that her majesty has been enabled to re-establish peace on conditions honourable to her majesty's crown, and which fully accomplish the great objects for which the war was undertaken

"To express to her majesty the great satisfaction which we feel at finding that, while those alliances which have so mainly contributed to the vigorous and successful prosecution of the war, have been equally effective in the consolidation of peace, powers which have not taken an active part in the war have combined with the belligerents to give additional firmness to the arrangements by which the repose of Europe is in future to be protected from disturbance

"To state to her majesty that we rejoice that, notwithstanding the great exertions which the late war has rendered necessary, the resources of the empire remain unimpaired

"To express our hope that the peace which has now been concluded may, under the favour of Divine Providence, long continue to shed its blessings over Europe, and that harmony among governments and friendly intercourse among nations may steadily promote the progress of civilization, and secure the welfare and happiness of mankind."

To this address, which was presented to the queen by both houses at Buckingham Palace on the 8th of May, the following was her majesty's reply:—

"I receive with sincere pleasure the loyal and dutiful address which you have presented to me on this occasion.

"I heartily thank you for your cordial co-operation in the measures which I considered necessary for the prosecution of a war, which, in conjunction with my allies, I have been enabled to conduct to an honourable and successful termination, by the full accomplishment of the objects for which it was undertaken

"It is most satisfactory to me to feel that peace has been re-established on a basis which affords the best security for its permanence, and I trust that, by God's blessing, it may long continue to promote the progress of civilization, and the happiness and welfare of mankind"

The rest of the sitting in both houses during that day was chiefly occupied in passing a vote of thanks to the officers of the navy, army, and royal marines who had taken part in the operations of the late war, and to the officers of the several corps of militia, for their zealous and meritorious services both at home and abroad. In the lords, the vote was moved by Lord Panmure, the secretary of war; and in his enumeration of the services both on land and sea, he gave a succinct view of the late conflicts and their results Beginning with the navy, he observed that in the Baltic it had maintained the most difficult of all blockades for two years without the loss of a single ship It had reduced one of the strongholds of the enemy; it had swept the sea of every vessel belonging to Russia; and confined to port the whole of the large navy which that power could command. In the Black Sea, it had attacked the fortresses of Sebastopol and Kinburn, and by the operations in the Sea of Azof had rendered the most valuable assistance to the army. During the course of the war, it had also furnished transport to 435,000 men and 54,000 horses. He then reviewed the services of the army from the date of its landing at Varna, its courage in the field, and its endurance and fortitude under privations and disease; and he compared its condition during the winter of 1854 with its present state, to show the efficiency into which it had been brought through the efforts of its officers and commanders. In point of health it could bear comparison with the army at home. He then read from official returns an account of its losses from every cause, which amounted to 270 officers and 22,467 men. This was an amount which, compared with the losses of the enemy, gave us cause of thankfulness that our share had been such a light one. In the commons, where the same motion was made by Lord Palmerston and seconded by Mr. D'Israeli, the latter bore the following eloquent testimony to the worth and valour of our enemies —"While I would join with the noble lord in the fullest expression of thanks, even to our allies—if formally we might offer them—let us remember that there are some who were not our allies, who were not the soldiers of our sovereign, to whom it would be not only generous, but, in my mind, wise to do justice The father of poetry has told us that the strength of a conqueror cannot be more surely estimated than by the character of him whom he has conquered. Sir, the men whom the forces of the queen and her allies had to meet in the great struggle which is now concluded were no common men. The legions that triumphed under Suvaroff and conquered at the Borodino, although defeated at Sebastopol, have proved themselves foemen worthy of the united chivalry of England and of France. In doing this justice to our late opponents we are, in fact, only placing the achievements of our fellow-countrymen and our allies in their true aspect and proper position. Sir, I have great pleasure in seconding the motion of the noble lord; and if it were not presumption, I would express my opinion that when the verdict—I will not say of posterity—but that when the calm and unimpassioned verdict of the time in which we live is given upon these events, it will be acknowledged that in the late struggle our country has shown all those qualities which maintain a nation's greatness, and which prevent the decline and fall of empires."

CHAPTER XXI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1857—1858.

VICTORIA.

The Crimean war followed by the Indian revolt—Dangerous increase of native soldiers in the Anglo Indian armies—Danger to be apprehended from the Bengal army—Its mutinous spirit on the subject of greased cartridges—Conspiracy among the sepoys at Barrackpoor—Breaking out of the rebellion at Berhampoor—The rebels in that quarter disarmed—Mode of disseminating a rebellious spirit through the provinces—Report that the Hindoos were to be forced into Christianity—Alarm occasioned by it—Proclamation of government refuting the report—The rebellion breaks out at Meerut—The mutineers defeated and driven to Delhi—Their sanguinary excesses in Delhi—Mutiny of the city—Murder of the Europeans there—Suppression of the rebellion at Meean Meer—The rebels disarmed at Ferozepore—Measures of government to suppress the rebellion—Advance of British troops for the recovery of Delhi—They defeat the rebels at Badulee Ke-Serai—They defeat them again near Delhi—Blockade of Delhi by the British—Rebellion breaks out at Fetteghghur, Allahabad, and Bundelcund—Cruelties perpetrated on the British by the rebels—Rebellion at Azimghur and Benares—Redeeming circumstances in the rebellion of these two places—Sharp measures for the suppression of the mutineers at Benares—Rebellion at Lucknow—Preparations of the British in that quarter to resist it—They are closely besieged in the residency—Extent of the rebellion throughout India—Its breaking out at Cawnpore—Nana Sahib—His previous history—He attacks Cawnpore—Murder of the Europeans there on their surrender—General Havelock sets out for the recovery of Cawnpore and relief of Lucknow—His rapid and splendid career—His numerous victories—He enters Cawnpore—His severe chastisement of the rebels in Cawnpore—He sets out for the relief of Lucknow—He gains a victory at Unao—His three victories at Busherat Gunge—He falls back on Cawnpore—He defeats the rebels at Bhitoor—Siege of Delhi—Commencement of active operations against the city—Storming of Delhi—Capture of the king and his sons—Execution of the king's sons—Aid given to the British by native soldiers and chiefs.

SCARCELY had Britain congratulated herself on the successful termination of the Crimean war, and begun to enjoy the return of peace, than she was startled by the tidings of a new arena that had been opened, and by a fresh demand upon her military energies and resources. In this case, also, it was to be no war with aliens, but with a people who were living under our sway, while the prize at stake was the fairest, richest, and largest portion of our foreign empire, which had broken out into rebellion, and was on the point of being lost to us for ever India had risen in deadly revolt against our rule, while its leaders were those native armies whom we had trained to victory, and by whom our eastern supremacy had been hitherto maintained. The tidings were received with a shudder of dread and sad foreboding Was India, then, to be lost to us even as America had been? Had the season arrived when these rich kingdoms of the East, after having been enjoyed successively by Portugal, Holland, and Britain, were to pass, as they had been wont, into the hands of new masters, or be thrown back into their ancient anarchical independence?

The nature of our hold upon India was so anomalous, that the reflective had constantly doubted of its permanence. Our conquests had been chiefly effected by native armies, and continued to be ruled by their instrumentality; but it was unreasonable to think that the mere military allegiance of the sepoy would be always superior to those ties of nationality which connected him with the vanquished. And even if he remained insensible to the calls of patriotism and religion, it could not be expected that he would be always superior to the inducements of selfishness and ambition He had learned his own strength, and been taught how to use it, so that he might now conquer on his own account, instead of winning kingdoms for alien taskmasters. As if also to teach these men their own strength and resources, the native armies in our service had now increased to an alarming amount as compared with the European soldiers. Each of the three presidencies, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, had its own army, but while they mustered in all 300,000 men, of these there were only about 43,000 who were British Of all these armies, the most efficient for useful service, as well as the most prompt for revolt, and the most to be feared in such an event, was the army of Bengal, consisting of 118,600 native, and only 22,600 European soldiers. Its cavalry were for the most part Mahometans, men imbued with all the pride and bigotry of the Koran, its infantry were the *élite* of Hindoostan, being chiefly recruited from the people of Rajpootana and Oude, the most warlike and high-spirited of the Indian races, and by whom the utmost purity of the Brahminical caste was supposed to be inherited. It was from this army accordingly that most danger had for some time been apprehended. A single random spark would be enough to set its whole religious bigotry in a blaze. And

even already, a deep cause of offence existed in the Bengal army, on account of the annexation of the kingdom of Oude by the East India Company in 1856. The people of Oude regarded this transference of their national independence, such as it was, with indignant silence, while their countrymen in the army shared in their feelings By this act they thought not only that their national rights were trampled under foot, but their religious superiority as Brahmins of the highest class regarded with equal contempt, and destined to a similar overthrow.

These and other such causes, which had been gathering and growing for years, had already matured into a deep and widely-extended conspiracy for the overthrow of the British dominion in India, but the particulars of the plan, and the persons who devised it, are still involved in obscurity It is supposed, however, that the court of Persia was the principal focus of the conspiracy, and that the Mahometans of the north of India were its chief agents and disseminators Those men, who might be termed the Norman aristocracy of Hindoostan, owed an especial grudge to the British by whom they had been supplanted, and they endeavoured to work upon the credulity of the Hindoo soldiery, by assuring them that the British intended to overthrow their creed, and compel them to become Christians. This was enough to remind them of the conversions of Tippoo Sahib, who propagated Islamism by fire and sword It is supposed that these Mahometan intriguers intended to replace the old King of Delhi upon the throne of his ancestors, and to rule under his name, and it is known that they were endeavouring to incite Dost Mahomed, the King of Cabool, to prepare for the invasion of the Punjab, as soon as the revolt of the Bengal army, upon which they had calculated, should leave that territory defenceless Even these representations might have been ineffectual with the Hindoo soldiers, had they not been apparently confirmed by an act of the British government itself. This was the affair of greased cartridges, that served as the commencement of rebellion and signal of outbreak The Enfield rifle, an improvement upon the Menié, had been introduced at the commencement of 1857 into the Bengal army, and as greased cartridges were necessary for its effective use, these were issued to the troops along with the weapon. A report immediately started up and flew abroad, that the grease employed in the preparation of these cartridges consisted of a preparation of the fat of cows and pigs—the first of these animals being the objects of Hindoo adoration, and the last of Mahometan abhorrence. The first occasion on which the rumour was heard was the following. At Dumdum, where there was a school of practice for the new Enfield rifle, a sepoy soldier, a Brahmin, was asked by a man of low caste to be permitted to drink out of his lotah, or vessel of water, to whom he replied, "I have scoured my lotah, and you will pollute it by your touch." "You think much of your caste," said the other angrily, "but wait a little, and the Europeans will make you bite cartridges soaked in cow and pork fat, and then where will your caste be?" The sepoy reported these words to his comrades, and they quickly reached Barrackpoor, at which several native regiments were stationed. It was in vain they were assured by the government that no such grease had been used in the preparation of the paper in question, and that if they had scruples in the matter, they were at liberty to procure their own ingredients at the bazaar. The report still continued to strengthen at Barrackpoor among the four native regiments stationed there, and on the 6th of February, a sepoy revealed to an officer the plot of his companions, who were alarmed with the fear of being compelled to abandon their caste and become Christians. From his revelation it appeared that these regiments intended to rise against their officers, and after plundering or burning down their bungalows, to march to Calcutta, and there attempt to seize Fort William, or failing in this, to take possession of the treasury

This state of things was too alarming to be neglected, and measures were taken by the British commanders and officers to still the apprehensions of the native soldiery They were publicly addressed on parade with the assurance that there was no design to make them Christians; that they could not become such without being able to read, and to understand the rules that were written in the Christian's book, and that nothing but their own free choice and request, after they had so learned, could admit them to the privilege of baptism. The issue of the obnoxious ammunition was stopped, and plans were suggested by which the cartridge might be used by tearing off the end, instead of putting it to the mouth and biting it. Native officers were also appointed to learn the process of cartridge-making in which the forbidden articles were to be excluded. But the alarm had grown too strong to be put down by such assurances or concessions a rebellion was inevitable even where the original cause had dwindled into a mere pretext or watch-word. The first open manifestation was at Berhampoor, on the morning of the 26th of February, when the 19th regiment of native infantry were ordered out on parade. Percussion caps were about to be issued to them, but these the soldiers refused to receive, declaring that it was still doubtful how the cartridges were made; and on the evening of the same day they assembled on

parade by their own authority, broke open the *bells* (small oval buildings) in which their arms were piled, and having taken possession of the weapons and ammunition, carried them off to their lines. Their commander, Colonel Mitchell, ordered them to pile arms and disperse, and on their refusal, called up the cavalry and artillery; but they still refused to obey until these troops were withdrawn, which was done accordingly. For this concession, the colonel was tried by a court of inquiry, and censured. It was resolved also to disband this dangerous regiment, and accordingly it was marched off to Barrackpoor, where the 52d and 84th queen's regiments were stationed to disarm them But on the 29th of March, two days previous to the disbanding, while the 19th was at Barrackpoor, the rebellion commenced in bloodshed. A sepoy of the 34th regiment of native infantry, having intoxicated himself with *bang*, discharged his musket at Lieutenant Baugh, and shot that officer's horse; the lieutenant fired a pistol at his assailant, but missed him, and was wounded in return by the madman, as was also the sergeant-major of the corps, who went to the lieutenant's assistance The mutineer, whose name was Mungal Pandy,[1] was seized, tried, and sentenced to be hanged, and on the scaffold he expressed his regret for the crime, and tried, but in vain, to persuade his fellow-soldiers to return to their duty As for the 19th regiment, it was drawn up on parade in the square of Barrackpoor, surrounded by the two British and several native regiments—and for a moment it was doubted whether the latter might not side with the 19th, and offer battle to the 52d and 84th But no such outbreak occurred the rebels surrendered their arms, and were marched off under an escort of cavalry to Chinsurah, bewailing their infatuation, and petitioning when too late to be readmitted to the service.

It was not, however, by such checks that the spirit of revolt was to be suppressed, or even retarded; it was diffused like a pestilence far and near by mysterious agencies which the authorities could neither detect nor surmise. One of these was the transmission of a kind of little unleavened cakes, called *chupatties*, a symbol which the Europeans did not understand, but which seems to have been as significant to the natives as the fiery cross to the Highlanders of Scotland, and used for a similar purpose. A *chowkodar*, or village policeman of Cawnpore, gave two of these cakes, the common food of the poor, to another chowkodar in Futtehghur, telling him to make ten more, and give them to five of his brethren of the nearest station, with a similar charge to each; and thus at every hour these runners were multiplying among a class of men who were spread over India, and whose mischievous errand was least liable to be suspected.

A Chowkodar or Village Policeman [2]

The circulation of *chupatties* commenced in Oude and elsewhere in the beginning of 1857, and European conjecture was utterly at a loss to penetrate this Indian mystery, which subsequent events made only too intelligible. Reports also were industriously spread in the bazaars that the missionaries had petitioned the Queen of Great Britain to enforce the use of the greased cartridges, in order to compel the Hindoos to become Christians They even pretended to give the very words of this petition, which, they alleged, were the following —"Tippoo made thousands of Hindoos become of his religion, while your majesty has not made one Christian Under your orders are sepoys of all castes. We therefore pray you to adopt this plan—namely, to cause to be mixed up together bullocks' fat and pigs' fat, and to have it put upon the cartridges which your sepoys put into their mouths, and after six months to have it made known to the sepoys how they have thereby lost their caste, and by this means a certain road will be opened for making many Christians." They added, that the queen was highly satisfied with this petition, and had given her assent to it. Notwithstanding the absurdity of this report, it was so well suited to the credulity and ignorance of the people, and gained such belief, that the governor-general, Lord Canning, in council, was obliged on the 16th of May to issue a proclamation on the subject, disclaiming any attempt to interfere with the castes or religion of the people, and warning

[1] Hence the name of *Pandies*, which was afterwards given to the rebel sepoys by the British soldiers in India.

[2] From *Asiatic Costumes*, a series of coloured engravings from drawings taken from life

them against the arts of those who attempted to withdraw them from their allegiance.

But this proclamation was too late, and even had it been earlier it would have been equally useless. The rebellion had already broken out in full violence, and in those districts where it could be least resisted Of the European regiments in the presidency of Bengal, the greater part were dispersed over the whole extent of our Indian empire, and isolated among a hostile people. One important military station was Meerut, thirty-five miles to the north-east of the city of Delhi, between the Ganges and the Jumna, where there were cantonments on an extensive plain near the town, consisting of barracks and lines for European and native infantry, cavalry, and artillery. At this place were two regiments of native infantry and one of light cavalry, comprising in all 2700 men, and an European force of one regiment of infantry, one of dragoons, and a troop and company of artillery, numbering 1717 men, the whole being under the command of Major-general Hewitt On the 6th of May, when cartridges, which, to avoid offence, had been made for the purpose, were offered to the native cavalry, eighty-five troopers refused to receive them They were tried by a court-martial for their disobedience, eighty were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for ten years, and five for six years, and on the 9th, after their sentences were read to them on parade, they were put in irons and conducted to jail. But their companions sympathized in their rebellion; their jail-guards were sepoys, and the European troops were posted at the distance of three miles from the native camp. Everything seemed to tempt a rescue, accompanied with violence and lawlessness. On the following morning, which was Sunday, the native regiments rose in mutiny, fired upon their officers, and after making a rush upon the prison, from which they rescued not only their fellows, but upwards of 1000 convicts who were confined there, they set the building on fire. The wildest license now prevailed in Meerut, where the excesses of the rebellious sepoys were aided by the liberated prisoners, the Europeans were attacked wherever they could be found, and several British officers, with their wives and children, were massacred with circumstances of aggravated atrocity. While bungalows were blazing in every direction, and the streets filled with the hurrying rush of the murderers, and shrieks of the dying, the two British regiments in their remote encampment were preparing for church parade; but as soon as the alarm reached them, they marched against the native lines, assailed them with volleys of grape and musketry, drove the mutineers from the encampment, and pursued them in their retreat, cutting down a considerable number on the way. But as the chase was conducted by only a party of carabineers and riflemen, and as the night was very dark, the main body of the mutineers, consisting of the 3d light cavalry and 20th infantry, were enabled to make good their retreat to Delhi.

Such was the day of horror which prevailed over Meerut and its neighbourhood on this memorable 10th of May; the scene was now to be shifted to Delhi, where three regiments of native infantry and a battery of native artillery were stationed, but not a single company of British soldiers. At an early hour on the morning of the 11th a handful of horsemen, not above thirty or forty in number, came galloping in headlong speed to the city, though their approach excited no alarm But they were an advanced party of the light cavalry, who had fled from Meerut; and they were the harbingers of the atrocities that were to follow, and the chief actors in their commission They rushed in at the Calcutta Gate unchallenged, and had no sooner entered the city than, raising the cry of "*Deen, deen*," their shout equally for a battle-charge or a massacre, they attacked and cut down every European they met in their way. The military cantonment was about two miles distant, and from this place, in consequence of a notice sent to the brigadier, the 54th native regiment with two guns were sent to quell the mutiny. They steadily marched to the city and promptly entered by the Cashmere Gate, but here the mask was dropped, for no sooner did the insurgent body of light cavalry approach than the sepoys withdrew from their officers, leaving the latter exposed to the fierce horsemen, who came upon them at full gallop, and shot them down with their pistols After this the murderers and sepoys fraternized, and as the main body from the retreat of Meerut continued to pour in, Delhi was now in possession of the rebels —nothing remained to the British but the powder magazine, with two officers and three or four subalterns in charge of it. But such as it was, it was the only refuge left to the British dominion in Delhi; and while the work of murder was going on within the city, where the shameful atrocities of Meerut were exceeded, not only upon strong men, but helpless women and unoffending children, the rebels assailed the magazine with their whole united force. The place was gallantly held by the handful within, and the first attacks repelled by volleys of grape; but thousands still pressed forward, and scaling ladders were applied, so that the walls were on the point of being won. But calculating upon this chance, Lieutenant Willoughby, who was in charge of the magazine, had laid a train to that

department which contained the gunpowder; it was fired at his signal; and instantly the building, with hundreds of sepoys, were sent flying into the air. During the smoke and confusion the few defenders managed to escape, with the exception of the gallant Willoughby, who, scorched, blackened, and all but killed by the explosion, succeeded in reaching Meerut, but only to die soon after. While this hasty siege had been going on, such of the British residents, both gentlemen and ladies, as had escaped the first onset of the murderers, endeavoured to find a rallying point, for either shelter or an honourable death, and the greater part repaired to the Flagstaff Tower, in front of the cantonments, where a company of the 38th native infantry and two guns were stationed The tower itself was strongly built, and might have resisted an attack, while several officers of the 38th had still hope that their soldiers might be recalled to a sense of duty But at a quarter before four o'clock in the afternoon, while they were remonstrating with them, a glare was suddenly seen in the distance, it was the explosion of the magazine in the city; and as if it had been a signal gun to action, the sepoys rushed to their arms, and the Flagstaff Tower, no longer a safe place of shelter, had to be abandoned by its inmates, who retreated, some to Kernoul, and others to Meerut. Another attempt was made to hold a small fortified bastion called the Main-guard, within the Cashmere Gate, that was soon filled not only with men, but with women and children, and reinforcements were sent for from the cantonments, but at five o'clock these treacherous guards, on whom they had depended, suddenly opened a fire upon them, and commenced a massacre from which only a few escaped. Even the palace, to which many of the Europeans fled, was no protection. There sat the old titular sovereign, weighed down but not softened by the load of more than fourscore years; there, too, were his sons, to give active spirit to his relentless apathy, and encourage the murders that were perpetrated in his name; and all who fled to its courts in the vain hope of safety, or were allured thither by promises of protection, were there murdered, not only, as was alleged, by the express commands of the princes, but even in their very presence. Within a day or two not a British resident was left alive in Delhi.

While the conflagration was thus kindled in which our whole Indian empire was so soon to be enveloped, the electric wires which extended across Hindoostan from Calcutta to Lahore, with branch lines to the principal military and civil stations, were in active operation. On the 11th of May, a telegram announced to the authorities at Lahore the revolt of the previous day at Meerut, and these news were followed on the 12th by an account of the massacres and occupation of Delhi. When the tidings arrived Sir

THE FLAGSTAFF TOWER, DELHI —From a photograph

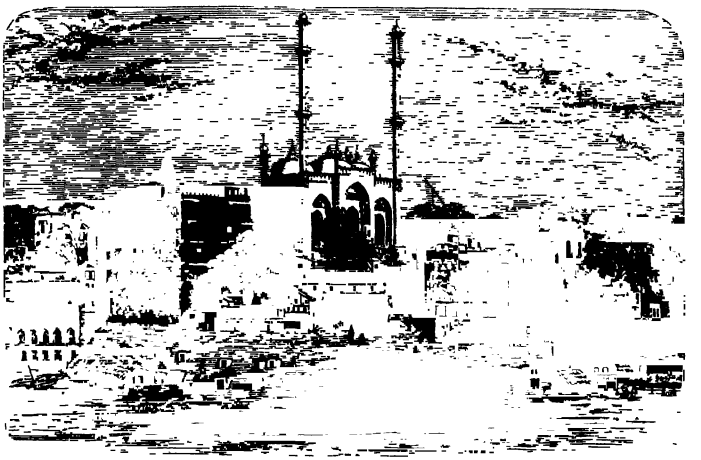
John Lawrence, the chief commissioner of the Punjab, was absent at Rawal Pindee; but the judicial commissioner, Mr Montgomery, at this crisis fortunately assumed the direction of affairs, and promptly repaired to Meean Meer, the military cantonment of which was six miles distant. It was well that he did so, for at this station, where there were three native regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, with the 81st British regiment and some artillery, the sepoys had matured a plot to seize the fort at Lahore, break open the jail, and massacre all the Europeans. Their design was discovered, and measures were concerted between Mr Montgomery and Brigadier Corbett, the commander at Meean Meer, to defeat it. On that evening a ball was to be given by the residents to the officers of the 81st, and to lull suspicion the ball was allowed to go on. But on the next morning the troops were drawn up on parade, ostensibly to hear a general order read; the five companies of the 81st, with their artillery, were stationed in the rear of the native regiments; and the latter, after a few sentences addressed to them, were commanded to pile arms. The sepoys for a moment hesitated · but they found that twelve guns were pointed at them loaded to the muzzle with grape-shot; that at a

single word of command, the lighted matches would be applied, and slowly and moodily they yielded to the necessity, and piled their arms, which were instantly removed in carts by the European soldiers

The rapid action of the telegraphic wires was equally effectual in other quarters. At Ferozepore, south of the Sutlej, was a very large magazine of military stores, but the 45th native regiment of infantry, which was stationed at this place, had put themselves in communication with the rebels of Meean Meer, and agreed to act with them in the revolt But on the same day (the 13th), when Brigadier Jones was advertised of the proceedings at Delhi, he quietly moved the native troops out of their entrenchments, and filled their place with a detachment of the 61st British infantry, and twelve pieces of cannon Thus finding themselves suspected, the sepoys endeavoured to effect their purpose by open violence, and to win back the entrenchments by scaling-ladders, with which they had been previously furnished, but their attempt was repelled and the magazine saved On the same eventful day, also, when the report of the disarming of the rebels at Lahore was transmitted to Peshawer, the principal officers of that quarter decided upon the formation of a moveable column, whose head-quarters were to be at Jhelum, and which was to "move on every point of the Punjab where open mutiny required to be put down by force" By these decisive proceedings the most important limb of the conspiracy was lopped off, and the best of its strength paralyzed. It was from the Punjab that the greatest danger was apprehended, both from the military spirit of the Sikhs, and the recentness of their subjugation, which still rankled in their memories. Other less important attempts at mutiny, which were on the eve of breaking out in other parts of the country, were either suppressed or abandoned. The next movement on the part of the British government was to be the recovery of Delhi, for which the securing of the Punjab was a necessary step, and accordingly, Sir John Lawrence, Mr Montgomery, and the other officers in that quarter, bestirred themselves in raising fresh troops, Mooltanese, Sikhs, and men of the hill tribes, who had not been infected by the mutiny, and were ready to serve against any power on the inducements of good pay and plunder. At the same time, Lord Canning, the Governor-general of India, recalled the troops stationed in Persia, and sent for reinforcements from Bombay and Madras, from Burmah and Ceylon, from the Eastern Settlements and the Mauritius, and above all, from England, to put down a rebellion in which so many kingdoms were united, and to maintain which so many armies were in the field.

The commander-in-chief in India during these proceedings of the terrible outburst, was General the Honourable George Anson He was at Simla when they commenced, having retired thither to avoid the heat of the plains, but as soon as the alarm reached him he proceeded to Umballa, where he collected as many troops as could be mustered, and proceeded towards Delhi But he died at Kurnool, from an attack of cholera, on the 27th of May. He was succeeded in the command by Major-general Reed, who was worn out with age and sickness, so that this new commander-in-chief was obliged to devolve his charge upon Major-general Sir Henry Bernard, at Alleepore, on the 8th of June, and when he was within a single march of Delhi. Such were the effects of succession by the rule of seniority at a season when the prime of strength, activity, and promptitude was loudly and suddenly called for The main body under Reed, which was joined to Bernard's own forces, was still further increased by Brigadier-general Wilson, who had marched up from Meerut to join them, defeating on his way in two attacks a strong body of the Delhi insurgents, who had attempted to intercept him, and capturing twenty-six of their guns, and on the 8th, a little after midnight, General Bernard advanced from Alleepore, and found the enemy awaiting him in a strongly fortified position at Badulee Ke Serai. His light artillery could make no impression against the heavy cannon of the rebels, but they were driven from their entrenchments by a gallant bayonet charge of the 75th regiment, and they fled, leaving their guns behind them. Having thus far cleared the way, the British army advanced to the attack upon Delhi, and for this purpose General Bernard divided his force into two columns, one of which, under the command of General Wilson, advanced upon the city along the main trunk road, while the other, headed by himself, proceeded through the cantonments which the rebels had burned and destroyed, and upon a ridge beyond which he found them posted in a strong position, well defended with artillery. In this, as on other occasions throughout the war, they were turning the lessons they had learned against their instructors; but it was merely as humble imitators, and as schoolboys in rebellion against their teachers: the genius of the master-spirit to strike out new paths, or even to follow up the old to their highest result, was equally wanting among them, and hence the disadvantage under which they constantly laboured, notwithstanding their overwhelming numbers and vast resources Their position was taken in flank and rear, and carried by a rapid flank movement to the left on the part of General Bernard, and the rebels, abandoning their guns, were fain to take to flight, while

General Wilson's column pressing forward, over high walls and through gardens, drove the fugitives back into the city. The British troops having then re-united, established themselves before Delhi in a camp about two miles to the north of the city, with the old cantonments in their front, the river Jumna on their left, and a canal in their rear. Here upon ground high and rocky, and admirably suited for the siege, they were obliged to stand on the defensive for months,



BENARES, from the River —From an original drawing by T Longcroft, Esq

owing to the smallness of their numbers, and the immense force of the rebel sepoys within the city The entire amount of the European army who thus established themselves upon blockade before Delhi did not exceed 3000 bayonets, with a detachment of Ghoorkas, who during these encounters aided the British, and served them with admirable courage and fidelity.

During the course of these events that led to the siege of Delhi, the instances of revolt in the several portions of our Indian empire continued to multiply in still closer succession, but to these, important though they were, we can only devote a brief notice At Futtehghur it was thought advisable, when the rebellion had approached the neighbourhood, to send off the ladies and the children for safety to Cawnpore; and they were embarked in boats upon the Ganges, when, on hearing false reports of the safety that was still to be enjoyed at Futtehghur, a considerable part of them were tempted to return. Here, however, the mutiny broke out on the 18th of June; the fort in which the Europeans had taken refuge was attacked, and, after a desperate but fruitless resistance, its inmates, to the number of 100, including women and children, embarked on the Ganges on the 4th of July, soon after midnight, but were fired upon from the banks by the sepoys, and in consequence of the stranding of one of the two boats, nearly all on board were killed or drowned, while those who escaped landed at Bhitoor, only to be murdered by Nana Sahib, who had his residence there At Allahabad, where the mutiny broke out in the beginning of June, the circumstances that accompanied it were still more atrocious; for there the European officers, to the number of fourteen, were butchered on the parade ground by their own sepoy soldiers, the military station was destroyed by fire, and for several days the city was wholly given up to plunder and havoc, in which 100 Europeans were killed This state of outrage continued until troops were sent up from Benares, by whom the place was recovered, and a severe chastisement inflicted on the rebels. A similar outbreak took place at Jhansi in Bundelcund on the 4th of June, where such of the British residents as could not make their escape from the town retired into the fort, determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. Although they were only fifty-five, including women and children, they maintained the defence four days under an incessant fire of cannon and musketry, and only surrendered on the promise that all their lives should be spared. But no sooner had the rebels got possession of the fort than they violated their promises, and put all their prisoners to the sword. On the 3d of June the revolt broke out at Azim-

ghur, nearly opposite to Benares, but accompanied with such circumstances of forbearance as to make this act, as compared with the other outbreaks, almost seem a virtue; for although the mutineers plundered an escort conveying treasure to Benares, they formed a square with the officers within to protect their lives, and brought carriages for the safe conveyance of the women and children, whom they actually escorted ten miles on the road to Guzeepore! At Benares, where a rebellious *emeute* commenced as soon as the news of the outbreak at Azimghur arrived, a small company of 200 British soldiers maintained themselves against nearly eight times that number of Sikhs and sepoys who suddenly rose upon them, and held their position in the mint until British reinforcements were sent to their aid, and Benares, the Athens of Brahminical learning, recovered from the revolters. It is gratifying to add, that while this conflict at Benares was at the hottest, seventy Sikh soldiers who had been placed in guard of the government treasury, amounting to six lacs of rupees, defended their trust to the last, and restored it entire to our troops when the insurrection was quelled. This rebellion, which had nerved the most timid to such deeds of daring and endurance on the part of the Europeans as will form a fruitful theme for future Indian story, had also its natural effect in hardening the feelings to the stern modes of suppression and retribution which had to be adopted, and caused deeds to be regarded with toleration which, at other seasons, could not even have been heard of without a shudder Writing on the 29th of June, a British resident mentions the permanent establishment of the gibbet at Benares, and adds—"Scarcely a day passes without some poor wretches being hurled into eternity It is horrible, very horrible! To think of it is enough to make one's blood run cold, but such is the state of things here that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the rigour with which the miscreants are dealt with"

When the rebellion commenced it was of the utmost importance to insure the safety of Lucknow, the capital of the lately annexed and still discontented kingdom of Oude, containing about 700,000 inhabitants Accordingly, after the 3d of May, Sir Henry Lawrence, who was acting as chief commissioner there in the absence of Sir James Outram, made active preparations for the defence of the residency, and among other measures, he repaired the Muchee Bhawun, an outlying citadel opposite the stone bridge across the Goomtee river, and considered as the key

THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW.—From a view in the Illustrated London News

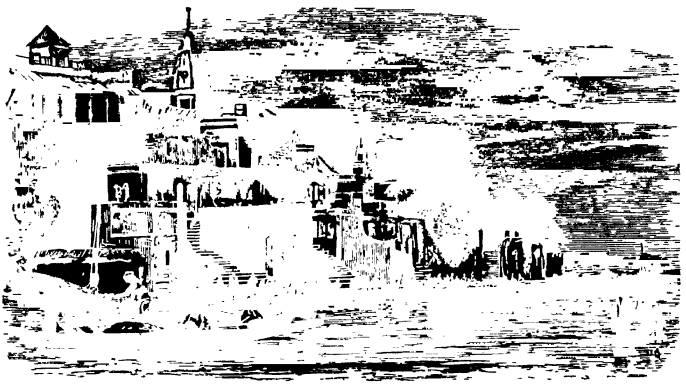
to Lucknow. The native force at Lucknow consisted of more than 4000 men, having about sixty European officers. the British troops did not number in all 1000. Here the mutiny, after seven or eight weeks of indignant threats and murmurings, broke out on the evening of the 30th of May, at the military cantonments which were at some distance on the north side of the river Goomtee, and the commencement was with the usual deeds of violence: the sepoys burned down some of the buildings, and fired into the messroom of the officers, in consequence of which two were shot dead; but on bringing up a part of the 32d regiment and the artillery, the rebels, after some loss, forsook the cantonments, and retreated towards Delhi. It was merely the first murmur of the storm that was to gather round Lucknow; and aware of this, Sir Henry Lawrence redoubled his preparations for the strengthening of the defences, and multiplying the means of resistance. The most active of the rebellious emissaries were hanged on a gallows erected in

front of the Muchee Bhawun; two members of the royal family of Delhi, and a brother of the ex-king, of Oude, were secured and imprisoned in that fortress; and thousands of coolies were employed with spade and pickaxe in repairing batteries, stockades, and trenches. Well might there be stir and bustle, considering the importance of the place, and the number of civilians and the helpless who would have to be protected, as well as Lucknow itself, from an infuriated and merciless enemy. Everything available for war was brought within the residency, and among these were 200 guns without carriages, which were discovered in a garden, and which now bristled upon the walls and ramparts of the British defences While thus employed, it was learned that a body of the rebels were advancing, and Sir Henry Lawrence, with 300 troops and a few guns, marched out on the 30th of June to oppose them, at the village of Chinhut, about eight miles from Lucknow But the mutineers were so numerous that Sir Henry was defeated with serious loss, and in consequence of this disaster, it was found necessary to withdraw the British troops from the military cantonments to the residency On the 1st of July orders were given to evacuate the place, and blow up the Muchee Bhawun. This was done accordingly, by which 240 barrels of gunpowder and 6,000,000 rounds of cartridges were lost, whether for attack or defence. The siege of the residency now commenced in earnest, and the defence made by the British is one of the most heroic episodes in the history of this disastrous rebellion Hemmed in and all but overpowered, they continued their resistance with unabated constancy, notwithstanding their hopeless condition, and the disasters that multiplied upon them from day to day. On the 2d of July their brave commander, Sir Henry Lawrence, was mortally wounded by the explosion of a shell, and died on the 4th, after appointing Major Banks his successor, and Banks was killed by a musket-shot on the 21st. In this critical situation the siege of Lucknow was continued, while the heroic defenders procrastinated their resistance in the hope of relief, which was finally afforded, but not till after many delays and difficulties, which will fall to be mentioned in the course of our narrative

In so complex an event as the Indian rebellion, it is difficult, especially within a narrow compass, to follow out the details of the different outbreaks, or even to comprise their names; and hitherto we have been obliged to present only the chief of them, as specimens of the whole. By the end of June the native troops had mutinied at twenty-two stations; and at two of these, we are told by the statements of this period, the rebellion had been signalized by the massacre of women and children. Of these stations, one of the most important in the history of this rebellion was Cawnpore. This town, situated on the right bank of the Ganges, where the river is about a mile in breadth, is 115 miles north-west of Allahabad, and fifty miles distant from Lucknow, on the opposite side, and is there connected with the Lucknow road by a bridge of boats The town itself, though large, is mean-looking and dirty, but being one of our principal military stations, its cantonments extended along the right bank of the Ganges nearly seven miles, forming in themselves a town of great size and very imposing appearance About ten miles higher up the river is Bhitoor, the residence of Nana Sahib, a miscreant whose name has constituted the foulest blot of this otherwise foul rebellion, and whose memory will therefore be permanently gibbeted in every future record of India. This man, a compound of cruelty, craft, and cowardice, was originally named Doondoo Punt, and was the son of a Brahmin from the Deccan, but having been adopted in the eastern fashion as a son by Bajee Rao, the displaced Peishwa of Poonah, Nana Sahib, on the death of the latter in 1852, claimed as his lawful inheritance the continuation of the pension of eight lacs of rupees which had been allowed by the British government to the peishwa in consequence of his surrender But this Hindoo form of succession, by which childless princes could have continued successors to their rights at pleasure, had been repudiated by the Company, and the native claims upon it, which had died out with the extinction of these sovereign pensionaries who had no son of their own blood, were disallowed Thus Nana Sahib, although already possessed of more than £4,000,000 by the death of Bajee Rao, was disappointed in his avaricious hopes, and he nursed the spirit of revenge in his fortified palace at Bhitoor, where he was allowed to retain a body-guard of 200 soldiers These circumstances, with his advantages of an English education, may account for the readiness with which he threw himself into the rebellion, the importance which he acquired in it as a leader, and the fiendish malignity with which he pursued it to the close.

The condition of Cawnpore at the commencement of the general outbreak was such as to cause serious alarm. The native troops in the cantonments consisted of three regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, mustering in all 3860 men, having 115 European officers, while the other British troops scarcely exceeded 170 Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler was in command of the station, and as the cantonments were on a plain, and without any defences, he proceeded to throw up a breastwork of earth round the hospital and

several smaller buildings, which served as a shelter for the Europeans when the storm arrived. And its coming was not long delayed. The native regiments rebelled, and went off in a body to Nana Sahib, who now found himself in a condition to take the field He therefore immediately marched upon Cawnpore, plundered the treasury, and took possession of the magazine, that unfortunately had not been destroyed; and thus furnished with the sinews of war, he commenced on the 7th of June the siege of the slight earthen fortress that had been hastily thrown up. It was a defence better suited to resist a temporary riot than to withstand an army



CAWNPORE.—From a drawing by W Carpenter, jun., engraved in the Illustrated London News

or hold out against a siege, and the astonishment was that it could have resisted for a single day, more especially when of the 900 persons contained within it 590 were women, children, and non-combatants But this brave garrison continued their resistance till the 24th, although the cannonade of the besiegers was heavy and their attacks frequent, and although the heat, fatigue, and privations endured in the defence were such as might have quelled the bravest At last, when courage had done its utmost, and endurance been wasted out, the garrison was induced to surrender, on the promise that they should be allowed to retire in safety to Allahabad. They were escorted by the rebels to the river side, but there the greater part of the boats prepared ostensibly for their embarkation were drawn up too high in the mud to be launched, and during the delay occasioned by this obstacle, three guns were fired from the Nana's camp, as the signal for the massacre to begin. Volleys of musketry were immediately opened upon the boats already launched, when they had reached the middle of the river, and out of the whole flotilla of about forty boats which were embarked on the 27th of June, only one escaped so far as to get ten miles down the river, when it was overtaken, and all within it were killed or taken prisoners except four men, who made their escape by swimming Of those who survived the massacre at the embarkation, and who were carried back to Cawnpore, the men were murdered, while the women and children were reserved for a more lingering death. All this was accomplished by the orders and under the direction of Nana Sahib, and when the foul work was accomplished, he issued proclamations in which he gloried in the deed, and justified his proceedings, by the charges he attempted to fasten upon the British government and its functionaries.

In the meantime Allahabad, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, was the place of rendezvous for the British troops that could be sent from Calcutta, Benares, and other quarters, and Colonel Havelock, who had arrived at Calcutta from the Persian war, was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and sent to the recovery of Cawnpore and the relief of the garrison in Lucknow This good and gallant veteran, who had entered the army in 1815, and who, notwithstanding his worth, had served twenty-three years before he attained the rank of captain, was now to exhibit, in one short and final campaign, such talents as might have won, and which now helped to recover, our Indian empire to its former rule. He arrived at Allahabad on the 30th of June, and set out from this place by a forced march under a burning sun, to attack the enemy. He was joined on the way by a body of troops under Major Renaud, which raised his force to 1400 British and nearly 600 native soldiers, with eight guns. On the morn-

ing of the 11th of July he found the rebels, to the number of 3500, strongly entrenched at Futtehpoor, having twelve pieces of cannon, with which they opened fire upon the British as they advanced. But their ardour was quickly damped by discharges of Enfield rifles, which killed them from a distance, and with a certainty, on which they had not calculated, they were speedily put to the rout, and they fled back to Cawnpore, leaving behind them their ammunition and baggage, and all their guns This victory was won without the loss of a single European killed, but twelve were struck down during the fight by *coup-de-soleil*, for they had made a forced march of nearly twenty miles before this four hours' engagement commenced The march upon Cawnpore was resumed, but on the 15th the victors were twice encountered by the rebels, first at the village of Aong, and afterwards at the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, eight miles from Cawnpore. In both engagements the revolted sepoys were completely routed, and Havelock pressed forward with the relief of Cawnpore all but within his grasp, when one of those atrocities was committed which are of unusual occurrence even in the wars of rebels and savages When Nana Sahib learned that the British had won the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, and were advancing upon him by a rapid march, he resolved to evacuate Cawnpore, but to revenge himself upon the victors, by defeating the purpose of their coming, he gave orders that all the women and children whom he had imprisoned should be murdered The infernal command was so faithfully executed by the ruffians who followed him, that not one woman or child was spared—all were mercilessly murdered, and their bodies thrown into a deep well by command of the Nana. After this atrocious deed, which was consummated on the 17th, he blew up the magazine at Cawnpore, and fled to his fortress at Bhitoor. In the meantime, the advance of General Havelock was retarded by a rebel army of 5000 men posted behind some villages in front of Cawnpore, but by a few skilful manœuvres, and the gallant daring of the 78th Highlanders, the enemy, although so greatly superior in numbers, and notwithstanding their desperate attempts to rally, were driven at every point from their positions and guns, and sent fleeing in wild confusion. The British entered Cawnpore in triumph—but where were the fruits of their victories and toils? They found nothing but the slaughter-house, on the walls of which the blood of the murdered was still warm—the well in which their limbs were still quivering with the recent death-agony It was a sight over which the brave conquerors wept like women, until their tears were dried up by the burning desire of vengeance. Wherever a rebel was caught, unless he could prove his innocence of the deed, he was instantly hanged. As for the chief rebels, they were compelled, previously, to cleanse a certain portion of the pool of blood, that was still two inches deep, where the murders had taken place —for to touch blood was, with high-caste natives, to incur damnation, however plentifully they might cause it to be shed—and when they shrank back in abhorrence, the lash of the provost-marshal drove them forward to the task. "No one," writes Havelock indignantly, "who has witnessed the scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre, can ever listen to the word 'mercy' as applied to these fiends The well of mutilated bodies—alas! containing upwards of 200 women and children—I have had decently covered in and built up as one large grave" And fearful would have been the doom of the chief offender if he had but ventured to wait the arrival of the British at Bhitoor But Nana Sahib, the murderer of women and children, had performed a consistent part by running away from his strongly fortified palace, and in company of his numerous cutthroats, although they mustered 5000 men, with whom he might have made a decisive stand On the 19th Bhitoor was occupied by the British, the evacuated fortress was destroyed, and thirteen guns found in it were carried away

The relief of Lucknow was the next task to be attempted, and leaving General Neill in command at Cawnpore, Havelock crossed the Ganges into Oude, and resumed an exhausting march at the height of the rainy season, through an overflowed country, and under the heat of a withering sun. On the 29th of July he was confronted by a rebel army near the town of Unao Their position was truly formidable, for their right was protected by a swamp that could neither be forced nor turned, their advance was drawn up in a garden inclosure, which had purposely or accidentally assumed the form of a bastion, while the rest of their forces were posted in or behind a village, the houses of which were loop-holed. The flooded state of the country on the British right, and the swamp on their left, made an attack upon the enemy's front unavoidable. It was gallantly made, although at every disadvantage, and with complete success the village was set on fire, and its defenders driven out, and by a series of skilful movements on a narrow passage between the village and the town of Unao, the enemy, who were rallied, and drawn up in line upon the plain, were driven from their batteries, deprived of their guns, and put utterly to the rout After a brief rest of only three hours, that was more than needful by the fatigue of such a victory, the British advanced against Busherat Gunge, a walled town on the road to Lucknow, with wet ditches, and provided with

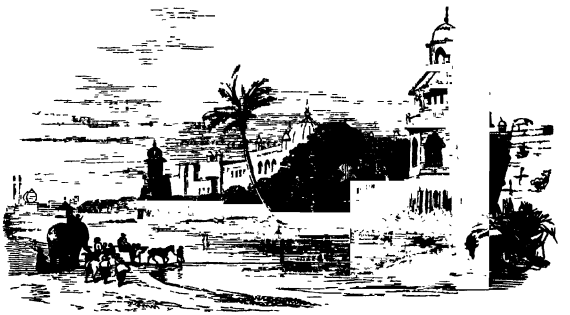
every means of a strong resistance. But in spite of these obstacles, and a heavy cannonade, the earthworks were scaled, the entrenchments broken through, and the town captured. Here, however, General Havelock was obliged to pause in his hitherto victorious progress, for he was encumbered with his sick and wounded, and cholera had broken out in his little army. He therefore fell back upon Mungalwar, about six miles from the Ganges, to recruit his troops and wait for reinforcements, for he declared that to advance upon Lucknow in their present condition was to march to certain destruction On the 5th of August, hearing that the enemy had again rallied at Busherat Gunge, he advanced against them and was again victorious, turning them both in front and flank, and driving them off the field with great slaughter He then made preparations to return to Cawnpore for reinforcements, and had already sent his baggage across the Ganges, when he heard that the enemy had rallied for a third time at Busherat Gunge, to abide yet another trial upon that fated spot With 4000 men and six guns, they now varied their mode of defence, but in vain, for Havelock, by a correspondent change in his attack, foiled all their arrangements, captured their redoubts, guns, and batteries, and drove them before him into a retreat that was soon changed into flight Wearied and worn out with so many successes, as well as wounds, sickness, and incessant action under a burning sun, the army now recrossed the river and returned to Cawnpore, but not to rest, for they were almost immediately dragged again into the field by a strong body of the enemy who had mustered at Bhitoor, and were threatening to descend upon Cawnpore Having united his force to that of General Neill, Havelock, on the 16th of August, advanced upon the rebels, who consisted of 4000 of the mutineers, joined with a portion of Nana Sahib's own troops, and who occupied a position which General Havelock described as one of the strongest he had ever seen But after an hour of hard fighting, the rebels were driven from their almost impregnable defences with heavy loss, and compelled to retreat to Seorajpore, and if Havelock had possessed a few cavalry, not one of the enemy would have reached that place Seldom, if ever, had so small an army made such marches and obtained so many victories in so short a space of time Between the 12th of July and the 17th of August it had fought nine battles, and been successful in them all. Reduced by sickness and the sword to 700 men, they now took up their quarters at Cawnpore, to wait the arrival of reinforcements under General Sir James Outram, without which it was impossible for them to march to the relief of Lucknow.

But leaving Lucknow for the present, we must now turn our attention to the important siege of Delhi, before which the small force under General Bernard had established itself on the 8th of June. The first purpose of the besiegers was merely to maintain their ground and hold the rebels of the city in check, until the arrival of reinforcements should enable them to become the assailants, and they successfully resisted the numerous attacks that continued to be made upon them from the city. Reinforcements, indeed, they continued to receive, but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the troops of rebels that poured into Delhi, now the great centre and stronghold of the revolt On the 5th of July General Bernard died of cholera, and was succeeded in the command by General Reed, who on the 16th was obliged from ill health to resign office to Brigadier Wilson By the middle of the month the besieging army had been raised to 9000 men, of whom half were Europeans, and in every encounter they succeeded in repelling the enemy with heavy loss One of these encounters was with a powerful body of the rebels, who had moved out of Delhi on the 25th of August, towards Nujifghur, about twenty miles off, with the intention of crossing the canal at that place, and attacking the British camp in the rear. Aware of this design, General Nicholson, at the head of 3000 men, made a day's rapid march, came up with them near Nujifghur, and attacked them with such spirit that he drove them across the canal with a single charge, capturing all their artillery, and blowing up the bridge, after which he returned in triumph to the camp with little loss This important success, with the arrival of fresh reinforcements of native soldiers, and a siege train from Meerut, on the 4th of September, encouraged the British to turn the blockade into an active siege, which was commenced on the 11th, as soon as the batteries were completed. And it was no easy undertaking, for this ancient city of the Moguls and chief capital of India was strong in its fortifications, that extended about seven miles in circumference, and included an area of about three square miles, while it was defended by a numerous army that expected little mercy, and fought with the courage of despair.

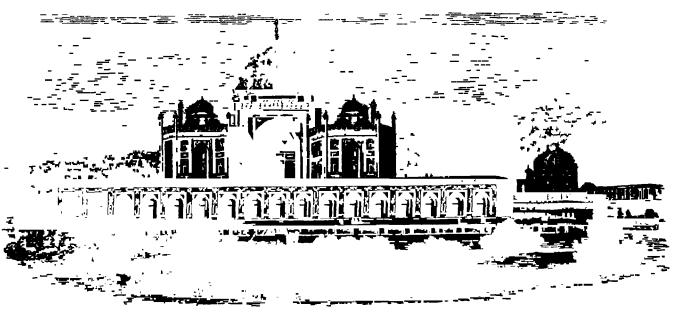
After a heavy bombardment of two days from fifty-four siege guns, by which some of the best defences of Delhi were shattered and their cannon silenced, the assault was ordered on the morning of the 14th. While no quarter was to be given to the mutineers, no harm was to be inflicted upon women and children, and the soldiers were warned of the necessity of keeping closely together, instead of straggling from their columns. In the advance of the four columns of attack it was neces-

sary to blow open the Cashmere Gate, to give an entrance to the city, and this hazardous deed was performed, at the almost certain risk of death, by a gallant handful who devoted themselves to the work. Through the gap, the first, second, and third columns rushed and formed within the ruined gate, but as yet the outer works only were won; a fierce resistance was maintained from the interior defences, and from the city, which retarded the advance of the besiegers for several days, and it was not till the 20th that the whole external defences of Delhi were in our possession, and the gate of the strongly fortified palace blown in. And now all resistance was at an end The old king fled from his palace, the inhabitants from the city, and the rebel soldiers from their bastions and ramparts—all that could escape were fleeing in confused crowds, some across the bridge of boats into the Doab country, some down the right bank of the Jumna, and some to the bottom of the Ganges and the Jumna, in their blind hurry to escape the vengeance of the conquerors Thus Delhi was won, but not without a loss to the besiegers of 1178 in killed and wounded on the first day of assault, and 177 in the intervening days to the 20th.

But before the hopes of the mutineers could be effectually crushed, it was necessary to obtain possession of the phantom of rebel sovereignty, the King of Delhi, and inflict justice upon his murderous family, and attempts were next made to discover the hiding-places in which they lay concealed Lieutenant Hodson, who was commissioned for the purpose, soon found the old man, who could not flee far, and brought him back to Delhi Learning that two of the king's sons had concealed themselves in the tomb of the Mogul sovereign Humaioon, a huge pile of buildings at some distance from Delhi, Lieutenant Hodson on the following morning repaired to the place of refuge, with a company of 100 soldiers. He sent two natives into this palace of the dead, to persuade the princes to come forth; and as soon as they appeared they were thrust into a carriage, and whirled off under a small guard towards Delhi. Lieutenant Hodson at the head of a few soldiers then entered the building, and there found above 5000 fugitives variously armed, whom he commanded



THE PALACE OF THE KING, DELHI
From the Hon C S Hardinge's Recollections of India.



THE TOMB OF HUMAIOON, NEAR DELHI —From an oriental drawing in the East India House

to throw down their weapons and surrender—with which order, being awed by his bold bearing, they instantly complied. He then returned to the city, but not far from the walls he found the carriage of the two princes, surrounded by a mob who were evidently attempting their rescue. Resolving that such offenders should not escape, Lieutenant Hodson dashed through the crowd, and exclaimed, "These are the men who have not only rebelled against the government, but ordered and witnessed the massacre and shameful exposure of innocent women and children, and thus, therefore, the government punishes such traitors taken in open resistance." With these words he shot them both on the spot The effect upon the mob was instantaneous,—electric; they submitted to the doom, while some Mahometans exclaimed aloud, "Well and rightly done! Their crime has met with its just penalty. These were they who gave the signal for the death of helpless women and children, and now a righteous judgment has fallen on them. Allah akbar!" The bodies were carried into Delhi, and thrown out in front of the Kotwallee, on the very spot where the blood of their victims had been shed, and thus, to the dullest of Asiatic perceptions, a display was given of a just and sure retribution, and of the full power of Britain to inflict it on all offenders Soon afterwards, two others of the king's sons, who had been equally guilty, were tried before a military commission, condemned to death, and executed By these terrible acts of justice all hope of the restoration of the Mogul dynasty, or even the pretext of it, which the mutineers had held out, was utterly destroyed. The last act of the recovery of Delhi was to appoint a flying column for the pursuit of the fugitives on the right bank of the Jumna, and into the Doab, and this was done on the 23d of September, the regiments that composed this force being known during the rest of the war under the name of Greathed's column, from that of Colonel Greathed, its commander

In this important capture of Delhi, it is worthy of note that the deed was achieved before a single soldier of the many thousands from Britain sent out for the recovery of India had landed upon its shores. What might not, therefore, be anticipated for the complete re-establishment of the British dominion when these troops had arrived? Another gratifying circumstance was the faithful devoted zeal of those native soldiers who remained true to their colours during all the weary months of siege, and the hearty co-operation of the Rajah of Putteeala, and Jheend Rajah, the former in quelling the revolt of Umballa, and the latter in the operations of the siege. Their services, as well as those of several khans, showed that all India was not against us—that there were many who could rightly appreciate the benefits of British rule, and maintain it in the field even against their own misguided countrymen They were thanked by the governor-general in council, and in the proclamation delivered afterwards it was stated, "These true-hearted chiefs, faithful to their engagements, have shown trust in the power, honour, and friendship of the British government, and they will not repent it"

CHAPTER XXII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1857—1858.

VICTORIA.

Condition of the British garrison in Lucknow—Their difficulties and disasters during the siege—Their courageous resistance—Their hope of relief disappointed—General Havelock advances to their aid—His successful entrance into Lucknow—He reinforces the garrison and enables it to hold out—Sir Colin Campbell's masterly advance to the relief of Lucknow—His entrance into the residency—He extricates the garrison—Death of General Havelock—General Windham's battle with the rebels at Cawnpore—His troops driven back—They are relieved by Sir Colin Campbell—Jung Bahadoor joins the British—Diminished range of the rebellion—Sir Colin Campbell's capture of Lucknow—Excesses of the native auxiliaries at the capture—Campaign of Sir Hugh Rose in Central India—His victories and captures—His attack on Jhansi—Jhansi taken—Desperate resistance of the fort and city—Further victories of Sir Hugh Rose—Tantia Topee and the Ranee of Jhansi leaders of the rebels in Oude—Oude disarmed—Severe policy of the governor-general for the subjugation of the province—The commissioner of Oude remonstrates against it—Its condemnation by the East India Company—Resolution of the British government to substitute the rule of the crown for that of the Company over India—The resolution introduced into parliament—Protest of the Company against the proposed change—Difficulties opposed to it in parliament—Lord John Russell's fortunate interposition—Successful progress of the measure—A sudden arrest upon it—Lord Ellenborough in consequence resigns office—The India bill at length passed—Preamble of the bill transferring the government of India to the crown—Successful continuation of the war in India—General pacification of the country promoted by the transference of rule—Royal proclamation to the natives of India—Lenient conditions offered by it—Difficulties in the pacification of Oude—Resistance of the ex-Queen of Oude—The rebellion in Oude quelled by Lord Clyde—The revolt of India subdued.

AFTER the capture of Delhi, the great object of interest was the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, whose condition was every day becoming more perilous. Already they had endured a long and harassing siege, in which active courage and patient endurance had been equally tried to the utmost; and upon any day, or at any hour, no alternative might be left to them but surrender. We have already mentioned the diligence with which the half-ruined building called the Muchee Bhawun had been repaired and fortified, and how necessary it was found, almost immediately after, to undo the work, by evacuating and blowing up the fortress. After the disasters of the 30th of June, Sir Henry Lawrence, the commissioner, had found that it would be impossible to maintain both the Bhawun and the residency, and that to leave the former in the hands of the enemy would be to give them the means of commanding the latter defences: he therefore destroyed it, and withdrew on the 1st of July, confining himself exclusively to the residency, in the hope of maintaining it until relief arrived. But on the following day he was mortally wounded by the fragment of a shell that alighted in the chamber where he was reclining on his bed, worn out with anxiety and sickness. Major Banks, whom he appointed his successor, was equally unfortunate, being killed by a musket-bullet on the 21st of July. Deprived successively of their two brave leaders, the situation of the little garrison was perilous in the extreme. The neighbouring mosques and noblemen's houses, which Sir Henry Lawrence, from a regard to religious buildings and private property, had spared, although he was urged to destroy them, were manned by the enemy's sharpshooters, who kept up an incessant fire; and as they were within pistol-shot of the British barricades, every part of the residency was exposed to the muskets of about 8000 men, who discharged their volleys wherever a gap was found, or a living object was visible. Thus even the women and the children were comparatively under fire in the recesses of the innermost apartments, and the sick in the hospitals were exposed to the same mischievous annoyance, by which several lives were lost. Nothing could exceed the pertinacity of the enemy, who surrounded the British post with batteries mounting from twenty to twenty-five guns, which were protected by barricades that defied every attempt to silence them by musketry, and who constructed mines under the principal defences of the residency, by which its defenders were constantly in danger of being blown into the air. Every art of warfare which they had learned in the British service was adopted by the mutineers, who were confident in the thousands they could muster for the attack, and in the miserably limited means and numbers of those who resisted. But those who had such overwhelming odds to confront were

true to the long-established reputation of their countrymen; and never in our Indian wars were British valour and British indomitable resolution more conspicuous than in the defence which this small party maintained against such an ocean-tide of opposition at Lucknow. Exposed to incessant cannonade, and the fire of musketry, they never lost courage· kept on the alert by continual night alarms, in which, from the fewness of their numbers, all were obliged to be on the watch, they never allowed themselves to be surprised To sleeplessness was added the nightly toil of moving heavy guns, repairing breaches, and other fatigue-duties, but every day found them awake, and ready for its active calls and dangers. When opportunity offered, they even assumed the aggressive, and in five sorties which they successively made, they spiked two of the enemy's heaviest guns, and blew up several of the neighbouring houses, from which the fire had been especially dangerous. But wofully were their numbers thinned, not only by the casualties of such a defence, but by scanty and coarse provisions, which added small-pox and cholera to the list of their other calamities. And what the while of the heroines of Lucknow? They too have erected for themselves an imperishable record, and strong men became stronger at the spectacle of their unfearing, uncomplaining endurance. Many of them were made widows in the siege; and at the bedsides of the sick and the wounded, where every one was a Miss Nightingale, they found in active Christian duty the best sources of Christian consolation and hope.

But human endurance, which in this instance seemed to be boundless, has its limits; and from

THE INTERIOR OF THE ALUMBAGH, NEAR LUCKNOW.—From Lieutenant Mecham's Siege of Lucknow.

day to day many a wistful eye had looked into the far distance for the expected relief, only to be disappointed, while the messengers whom they sent out for tidings never returned At length, on the twenty-sixth day of the siege, the garrison were cheered by a letter from Havelock's camp, informing them that the troops were on their march, and in five or six days would probably reach them But six days elapsed, and no aid arrived They did not learn until thirty-five long days had passed that the relieving force, after such strenuous efforts and signal victories, had been obliged to fall back upon Cawnpore But their relief from Cawnpore was to issue at last, and not an hour later than the march could be commenced. At that city Sir James Outram, justly called by Napier the "Bayard of India," arrived on the 16th of September, with the reinforcements for which Havelock had been so anxiously waiting; and although, as superior officer and chief commissioner of Oude, Sir James might have himself undertaken the relief of Lucknow, he chivalrously resigned the whole glory of the enterprise to General Havelock, who had already achieved such deeds in the attempt, offering to accompany him as a volunteer Thus invested with a mission on which his generous heart was so keenly bent, Havelock crossed the Ganges at the head of 2500 men, among which were the gallant 78th Highlanders, to whom his previous victories were chiefly owing, and seventeen guns. The enemy, after retiring at his approach, attempted, on the 21st (September), to make a stand at Mungalwar, but after a four hours' fight they were defeated, and Havelock pressing forward, was within three miles of the residency of Lucknow, when on the 23d he found the enemy advantageously posted, with their left resting on the Alumbagh, an isolated building with gardens and inclosures, and their centre and right drawn

up behind a chain of hillocks. But the strategetic skill and rapid movements of General Havelock, seconded as they were by the gallantry of Sir James Outram, were again successful; the enemy were defeated once more; and after halting his troops, that had marched three days in a heavy deluge of rain, and been scantily provisioned and badly lodged, the victorious commander effected his decisive advance upon the residency. What remained was a terrible march, along a road cut by trenches and crossed by palisades, with the houses loop-holed on either side of the way, and where progress was to be made at one step by detouring and the next by fighting, while night was fast coming on, but aware of the value of every moment, and dreading the consequences of delay to the besieged, whose danger was now at the climax, Havelock and Outram put themselves at the head of the 78th Highlanders and the Ferozepore regiment, with which they charged and surmounted every obstacle, entered the residency, and were welcomed by a long-drawn sigh of relief, that was followed by shouts of almost delirious triumph. Deliverance had reached the garrison—but through what a fiery furnace it had come to them! No wonder that Havelock himself looked back upon it with astonishment, accustomed as he was to dare all but impossibilities "Our advance," he writes, "was through streets of flat-roofed, loop-holed houses, from which a perpetual fire was kept up, and thus each forming a separate fortress. To form an adequate idea of the obstacles overcome, reference must be made to the events that are known to have occurred at Buenos Ayres and Saragossa. I am filled with surprise at the success of the operation, which demanded the efforts of 10,000 good troops. The advantage gained has cost us dear The killed, wounded, and missing, the latter being wounded soldiers, who, I much fear, some or all have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe, amounted, up to the evening of the 26th, to 535 officers and men." Among those who thus fell was the brave General Neill, a name distinguished in this unhappy war, who was killed on entering the gate leading to the Doolie Square. From the number of the fallen out of this small relieving force, an idea may be formed of the importance of the object at stake, and the earnestness of those who were engaged in the enterprise.

Though much had been done, the garrison of Lucknow by this last exploit had been reinforced but not relieved. A sufficiency of troops had arrived to lighten the labours of the overwearied defenders and insure their safety for the present, but not to withdraw them from the place around which the coil of siege, after the momentary interruption, was drawn as closely and strongly as ever. Finding it impossible, therefore, to extricate the women, children, and non-combatants, General Havelock and his companions in arms

General Sir Colin Campbell.—From a photograph by Herbert Watkins.

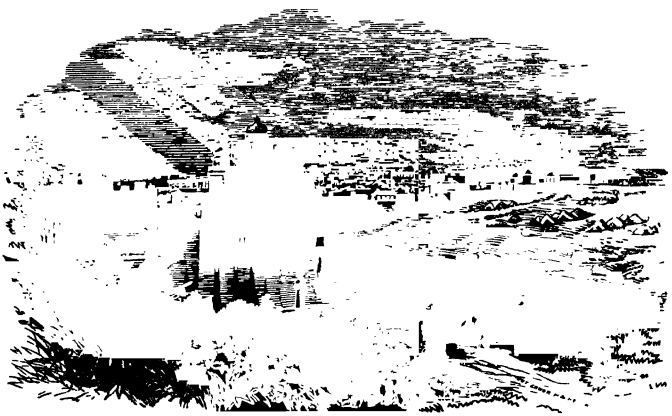
resolved to remain with them and abide the brunt of conflict until General Sir Colin Campbell, the newly appointed commander-in-chief, should be able effectually to relieve them This distinguished hero of the Crimean war had arrived at Calcutta from England on the 14th of August; but as he was obliged to wait the coming of reinforcements from home, it was not till the 9th of November that he was able to set out from Cawnpore for the effectual relief of Lucknow. Even then, important and difficult as was the task, his force amounted to only 4550 men and thirty-two guns. On the 12th he arrived at the Alumbagh, and there his difficulties commenced, as the residency was to be reached through the heart of the city, where every street, house, and wall was a fortress, a march along which would have been enough to have destroyed thrice the numbers he commanded. But he had been previously informed of all the localities of the city and suburbs, and the positions of the enemy, and he availed himself of this knowledge by making a detour to the right, as Havelock had done. It was effected with equal success, although against obstacles equally formidable, and, after a series of desperate skirmishes, he reached the residency on the 17th, his arrival being aided on the part of Havelock and the garrison by a sally, in which the enemy was routed and the way cleared for his entrance. And now to remove the women and children, the sick, wounded, and civilians, for he saw that the residency must be abandoned! This was a still more difficult task than to lead armed men into the place. But this also was suc-

cessfully accomplished. By a series of masterly feints Sir Colin distracted the attention of the enemy; and while he kept them massed together in the expectation of an immediate attack, he quietly removed the helpless during the afternoon and night of the 19th, along a line of posts which he formed on the left rear of his position, and conveyed them in safety to Dilkoosha, a palace belonging to the Kings of Oude, after which the troops of the garrison followed on the 22d, and all reached Dilkoosha in safety, without the loss of a man. In like manner the whole of the treasure and all the European guns were carried off in safety. So completely the while was the enemy deceived, that their fire was kept up on the old British positions many hours after they had been abandoned. Altogether it was one of the most masterly retreats under trying disadvantages which the history of modern warfare has on record. Only one event occurred to mar the joy of the rescued, and this was the death of the brave Havelock, who expired at Dilkoosha on the 24th, by an attack of dysentery, under which his enfeebled frame, worn out with such excessive exertions, rapidly sunk. Undistinguished during a long course of military service since 1815, except among his friends, who knew him to be a master of strategy in all its branches, he had no sooner attained a separate command, and found his right sphere of action, than he crowded within little more than two short months such a series of victories as would have sufficed for a lifetime, and made any commander illustrious In that brief period he combined the rapidity of Napoleon with the caution and foresight of Wellington, and upon his own limited field was as successful as either, while the tidings of his victories, which reached home in rapid succession, made all men wonder who this new hero was, and why he had been neglected so long The queen created him a baronet, but it was three days after he had expired at Dilkoosha, and thus the wreath that should have decked his brow could only be planted on his grave.

Sir Colin Campbell was now in full retreat to Cawnpore, where the ladies, children, and civilians, a helpless band of 2000 souls, might be left in safety before further military operations could be undertaken, and he had reached Bunnee on the evening of the 27th November, when he heard a heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore, for which he could not account, as he had received no news from that quarter for several days. But there a desperate battle was going on, and the British arms were in danger. During the absence of Sir Colin, General Windham occupied the military cantonments which lay to the south of that city; but on learning that the Gwalior contingent of rebels were advancing to attack it on the north, he marched on the 26th to encounter them before they could reach Cawnpore, and found them drawn up on the opposite bank of the Pandoo Nuddee, the bed of which river was at that time dry. The disparity between the two armies was alarming, for while General Windham's force consisted of only 1200 infantry, 100 cavalry, and eight guns, the rebels were about 25,000 men, well provided with artillery They were gallantly charged, and their advanced troops were driven back; but on their main body coming up, General Windham retired his troops to the canal. On the following day the rebels commenced the attack with a heavy cannonade, that was kept up for five hours, under which the British were obliged to withdraw to their entrenchments after severe loss, while their tents and camp stores, which they were compelled to leave behind them, were burned by the enemy. It was this firing that arrested the attention of Sir Colin Campbell, and surmising that General Windham was attacked, he hurried forward to the rescue On reaching the scene of conflict in the evening, he found the British shut up within their entrenchments, and the rebels in possession of the city. It was necessary to dislodge them, but before the attempt could be made, the helpless survivors of Lucknow under his charge had to be conveyed across the Ganges by a single bridge which the enemy had not destroyed, and it was not until the 30th that the last cart had crossed the bridge, while two or three days more were spent in having them safely forwarded to Allahabad. He was now in readiness for the fight; but his arrival had made the enemy cautious, and it was not until they had been reinforced by the rebels of Oude and the followers of Nana Sahib that they ventured, on the 6th of December, to make a decisive stand. But they were effectually beaten, with the loss of all their guns and ammunition, and wherever they attempted to rally they were met by British detachments, and so thoroughly routed and dispersed, that this Gwalior contingent as an army could no longer be found. Nor did Nana Sahib, who had sent reinforcements to the rebels, escape a merited chastisement; for troops were sent to Bhitoor who destroyed all his remaining property, discovered and seized his treasures which were concealed in the wells, and soon left him too poor to continue long his rebellion with any hope of success While one powerful rebel chief was thus reduced to comparative helplessness, our government in India had obtained an effective ally in Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, the prime minister of the King of Nepaul. This prince having offered his aid to the governor-general, which was gladly accepted, crossed the frontier with 10,000 Ghoorkas, among the most warlike

of the population of India, and in his advance he, on the Juanpore frontier, twice encountered and defeated a rebel army. He then, at the close of the year, established himself at Goruckpore, to check the rebels of Lucknow in any attempt they might make in an easterly direction after Sir Colin Campbell should have driven them from the city, an event which was anticipated as likely soon to take place. Indeed, all fear and foreboding as to the result of the Indian mutiny was now at an end. Reinforcements had been sent from Britain in such numbers that no native army could confront them successfully in the field; the British soldiers were confident in the valour and skill of their well-tried illustrious leader, while the rebels were so daunted by repeated defeats, that their courage and confidence were on the wane. The revolt was now in a great measure confined to Rohilcund, to the territory between Agra and Allahabad, to Bundelcund, and to Oude, while the great metropolis of the insurrection after the fall of Delhi was the populous, warlike, and strongly-fortified city of Lucknow. To strike a mortal blow, therefore, at the head of the evil, by the final conquest of this place, was the aim of the commander-in-chief after he had effected the liberation of the garrison.

All being in readiness for this important enterprise, Sir Colin Campbell commenced operations by sending forward two regiments on the 1st of January, 1858, to prevent the rebels from destroying an iron suspension-bridge across the river Kallee Nuddee. He then commenced his own march two days after to Futtehghur, where he remained till the 1st of February, restoring order in the disaffected districts of the Doab, after which he proceeded to Cawnpore, for the purpose of crossing the Ganges at that place; and to clear



CHUTTUR MUNZIL PALACE, LUCKNOW.—From a photograph engraved in the Illustrated Tim

his line of march, strong detachments were sent forward, by one of which, commanded by General Franks, a brilliant victory was gained over an army of rebels 21,000 strong, who were encountered and completely scattered at Badshahgunge, about two miles from Sultanpore. On the 5th of March Sir Colin was before Lucknow with his whole force collected, and his siege train brought up, the right of his line resting on Bibiapore and the Goomtee river, and his left stretching towards the Alumbagh. With such a force as was now arrayed against the devoted city, the issue could not long be doubtful. On the 9th the attack commenced, and by the 21st all the strong defences of Lucknow were stormed and won; the rebels were fleeing in every direction, and a scene followed such as only a rich eastern city could exhibit, when a large portion of the victors are barbarians inflamed with the feelings of hatred, avarice, and revenge. It was now the hour of triumph for the Asiatic allies of the British, and they did not neglect the opportunity. "Those stately buildings," says an eye-witness, "which had never before been entered by European foot, except by a commissioner of Oude on a state day, were now open to the common soldier and to the poorest camp follower of our army. How their splendours vanished like snow in sunshine! The destruction around one, the shouting, the smashing noises, the yells of the Sikhs and natives, were oppressive." After a painful description of the spectacle, the writer adds, "It was late in the evening when we returned to camp, through roads thronged with at least 20,000 camp followers, all staggering under loads of plunder—

the most extraordinary and indescribable spectacle I ever beheld—coolies, syces, kitmutgars, dhooly-bearers, Sikhs, grass-cutters, a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on heads and shoulders looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brass pots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarfs, embroidered dresses, all the 'loot' of ransacked palaces. The noise, the dust, the shouting, the excitement were almost beyond endurance. Lucknow was borne away piecemeal to camp, and the wild Ghoorkas and Sikhs, with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current, as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth." On the whole, it seems to have been but a renewal of the capture and sacking of Jerusalem, Babylon, or Nineveh, as they were exhibited nearly 3000 years ago, when war was comparatively young, and the passions of men at the wildest. How unfortunate it was for the British that the necessity of their position should have united them with such allies, and made them in some measure responsible for their deeds!

In noticing the leading events of this war, it would be unpardonable to omit the campaign that was carrying on in Central India by Sir Hugh Rose, at the head of the Malwah or Nerbudda field force of about 6000 men, of which 2500 were British. At the end of January Sir Hugh captured Ratghur, situated on a pear-shaped hill, and surrounded with precipices, except at the narrowest part, by which, however, the access was very difficult. Although one of the strongest forts in Central India, its difficulties were surmounted and the walls stormed in three days, and such of the rebels as escaped were obliged to use ropes to aid their descent down the rocks. He then advanced to the relief of Saugor, where an European garrison and about a hundred women and children had been closely besieged for more than half a year; and on his arrival the enemy were glad to raise the siege. Soon after, the Garakota fort, situated between the Giddaree and the Sonar rivers, yielded almost without a blow, although it was so strong that it might have withstood a siege for months against the whole assailing force. Sir Hugh Rose having thus dislodged the rebels from their most available defences, commenced at the end of February his march upon Jhansi, on the way to which there was a mountain-ridge with three passes, that formed the means of a military advance upon Jhansi. Judging that of these three Sir Hugh would select the pass of Narut, the most difficult of them all for his march, as the one least apt to be guarded, the rebels had barricaded and blocked it up with masses of rock, and stationed in it the Rajah of Banpore, with a force of 8000 or 10,000 men. But Sir Hugh, making merely a feint of attack upon the Narut, threw his real advance on the 3d of March upon the pass of Nudinpore, where an entrance he knew was most practicable, although the enemy occupied it in considerable force. The rebel sepoys who lined it were driven from their shelters and through the gorge into the village of Nudinpore, which they had fortified, and where they attempted to make a final stand, but they were soon compelled to flee from it to the jungle, after this the forts of the passes were speedily taken, and Sir Hugh Rose was master of the whole country between Saugor and Jhansi, to the east of the Betwa river.

The attack of Jhansi itself was now the great object of enterprise. It was the richest city in Central India, and one of the most culpable in the massacres and plunders of the rebellion, so that there was scarcely a house in which there was not some booty that had been taken from the English. Its fortress also was strong, not only by its natural position, but the resources of art; and its walls, which were built of granite from sixteen to twenty feet in thickness, were well embrasured for cannon and loop-holed for musketry, while the place was defended by a garrison of 12,000 men, headed by a fearless virago, the Ranee of Jhansi. Altogether, the siege was one of the most desperate undertakings of the war, but the capture of fort and city was certain to be followed by the downfall of the rebellion in Central India. Seven flying camps of cavalry were established round the city, which was about four miles and a half in circumference; and as the fort could only be breached from the south, where it was strongly fortified by a ditch, mound, and wall, batteries were erected against this quarter, and a heavy cannonade opened upon it on the 21st of March. But desperate was the resistance of the men of Jhansi, who were conscious of their crimes, and apprehensive of a just retribution. By the 30th of March the defences both of city and fort were dismantled by the British artillery, but as the ammunition of the besiegers was running short, they resolved to attempt Jhansi by escalade. The assault was made on the 2d of April, and the city was successfully entered by two storming columns, who fought their way through every obstacle until they met and were concentrated in the palace. "This was not effected," says Sir Hugh Rose in his graphic description of the siege, "without bloody, often hand-to-hand combats. One of the most remarkable of them was between detachments of her majesty's 85th regiment and 3d Europeans, and thirty or forty Velaitie sowars, the body-guard of the Ranee, in the palace stables under the fire of the fort. The

sowars, full of opium, defended their stables, firing with matchlocks and pistols from the windows and loop-holes, and cutting with their tulwars, and from behind the doors. When driven in they retreated behind their horses, still firing, or fighting with their swords in both hands, till they were shot or bayoneted, struggling even when dying on the ground to strike again. A party of them remained in a room off the stables, which were on fire, till they were half burned their clothes in flames, they rushed out, hacking at their assailants, and guarding their heads with their shields." Such frantic deeds of despairing resistance, of which the foregoing is a specimen, were multiplied over the streets and buildings of Jhansi before it was taken; and it was well that there was nothing less than the utmost of British courage and firmness to confront them. When all was hopeless both for city and fortress, the Ranee gave the signal for flight, by mounting a gray horse, and making off with only four attendants, with a body of British cavalry in full pursuit, and on the night after, the rebels fled from the fort, leaving it wholly defenceless, but not until they had lost 5000 men in the siege and storm. The city was treated with more humanity than it had deserved or expected, and the British soldiers, after the storm had ceased, were to be seen everywhere sharing their rations of food with the wives and children of those who had been the murderers of their countrymen.

After the fall of Jhansi, the capture of Calpee was the next enterprise to be attempted, and Sir Hugh Rose, directing his march in this direction, encamped at Golowlie, on the Jumna, about three miles from Calpee, where he was attacked on the 22d of May by the rebels, who advanced upon him with great spirit and confidence; but after a hard fight their left wing gave way, and their whole army was put to the rout. On the following day he commenced an attack upon Calpee, in the form of a regular siege, expecting a stout resistance; but after firing a few shots, the enemy took fright and fled from the town, leaving it in the hands of the British, who there discovered a subterranean magazine containing an immense quantity of gunpowder and cannon, which had been stored for the maintenance of the rebellion. Besides these successes, other victories which had been gained by Generals Roberts and Whitlock made Sir Hugh Rose imagine that Central India was now completely cleared of the rebels, and that there would be no further occasion for the services of his troops in that quarter. This he announced to them in a farewell address, in which he complimented them on their gallant meritorious services during the arduous campaign. But his hopes were premature, for the war was not yet ended: the leader of the rebels at Calpee, whose name was Tantia Topee, had retreated before the fall of the town, and in him the British found the ablest and most impracticable of all the chiefs of the rebellion. He retired to Gwalior, the capital of Scindia, whose troops he persuaded to fraternize with the rebels; and when the fugitives of Calpee fled, they joined these new allies, and drove Scindia from his capital to the British cantonments at Agra, after which they placed Rao Sahib, a nephew of Nana Sahib, upon the throne of Gwalior. These events called Sir Hugh Rose again into the field; but before his arrival, the principal rebels and Tantia Topee had left Gwalior, taking with them all the treasure they could find, and leaving the Ranee of Jhansi to abide the encounter, at the head of her rebels of Calpee and the mutineers of the troops of Scindia. Sir Hugh found them occupying the Moorar cantonment in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, dislodged and defeated them, and drove them in headlong flight into the capital On the 19th of June, the rebels rallied upon a range of heights in front of the town, being headed by the Ranee of Jhansi, who was dressed in male attire, and fought gallantly like a common soldier; but they were defeated with the loss of twenty-seven guns, and also of their brave Amazonian leader, who is supposed to have fallen in the battle, as she never afterwards appeared Scindia was thus restored to his capital and throne, and the rebellion in Central India being now at an end, the troops of Sir Hugh Rose were parted into garrisons for Jhansi, Gwalior, and other parts of the country

With the fall of Lucknow, its capital, the kingdom of Oude might be considered as disarmed; and it now became necessary to determine the line of policy that was to be followed out in the government of this dangerous and rebellious province. This was soon announced by Lord Canning, the governor-general, then at Allahabad, in a proclamation which he issued on the 3d of March His first object, he declared, would be to reward those who had been steadfast in their allegiance, and who had aided and supported the British authority; and after this, the nature of the reward was announced, and the persons who were to enjoy it Six talookdars (land-owners) of Oude, including two rajahs, were named, and it was declared that these were henceforward to be the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when the province came under British rule, with such additional rewards as the government should judge fit to confer upon them —but that with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province was confiscated to the British government, to be disposed of according to its own judgment. To those talookdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers,

who should make submission to the chief commissioner of Oude, surrendering their arms to him and obeying his orders, an indemnity from punishment should be granted, provided that their hands were unstained with English blood murderously shed, but for any further indulgence they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British government. Those among them who should promptly come forward and support the chief commissioner in the restoration of peace and order, were to have their claims of restitution to their rights liberally considered; but those who had participated in the murder of Englishmen and Englishwomen were to be excluded from all mercy Such was the proclamation sent to Sir James Outram, the chief commissioner, who neither relished its terms nor the ungracious power with which it invested him, and he lost no time in writing from his camp at Chinhut to Lord Canning, remonstrating upon the impolicy of the measure. There were not, he declared, a dozen chiefs and landholders who had not participated in the rebellion, and those who were thus to be summarily dispossessed would betake themselves to their domains, and continue their resistance. Hitherto, he alleged, they had been most unjustly treated under our settlement operations, and hence, when the rebellion was at its height, and their country overrun by the rebel soldiery, they had made common cause with the insurgents, and this being the case, they ought now to be treated rather as honourable enemies than as rebels These, and other such considerations, were urged by Sir James Outram, but with little effect, for although Lord Canning added a short clause more definite in its promises of restitution to those who should give their aid in the establishment of peace and order, no abatement was made to the right of wholesale confiscation, and the punishment of general dispossession.

Had these resolutions been adopted at an earlier period, and when the progress of our Indian conquest was in full career, they might have been passed without question and acted on without scruple. But now the case was different. We had almost lost our hold of India, and this by the severity of our rule, originating in over-confidence in our power. Such was the general feeling at home when tidings of this widely-spread and all but universal rebellion in our eastern empire had arrived in England; and while reports followed of the victories which our arms were achieving in the East, the popular triumph was accompanied with the surmise that the rebellion had been provoked, and that justice must be done to India. This was manifested even in the India House, when the original draft of Lord Canning's proclamation had arrived; and a despatch, in the form of a letter from the secret committee of the court of directors of the Company, was sent to his lordship, animadverting upon his resolutions, and enjoining their mitigation. We had annexed the kingdom of Oude to our own dominion without just cause, and notwithstanding its past services and fidelity to our alliance; we had deprived it of its king, and imposed upon it our own rule, and administered its revenues, without regard to those whom the change had reduced from wealth and distinction to utter destitution. Under these circumstances the hostilities carried on in Oude had rather the character of a legitimate war than that of rebellion, and its people were to be regarded rather with indulgent consideration, "than made the objects of a penalty exceeding in extent and in severity almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation." And in conclusion they added, "We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude. We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people. there cannot be contentment where there is general confiscation."

But the days of the Company itself were already numbered, and this humane appeal was a graceful close to its existence The great subject of importance in parliament during the session of 1858 was the suppression of the rebellion in India, and the means of retaining the country under our rule, and for this even the important question of parliamentary reform was postponed. The consideration of the re-settlement and better government of India was brought forward by a motion from Mr. Vernon Smith, the president of the board of control, for leave to bring in a bill "for enabling the East India Company to raise money in the United Kingdom for the service of the government of India." And then followed the question asked by Mr T. Baring, "What was the government of India?" "The East India Company," he added "was supposed to be a dying body; who then was to have the control over the money? The house ought to understand who was to raise the money, and who were to spend it If the government of India were to be vested in the crown, India should have the benefit of the credit of this country." The bill, reducing the loan from £10,000,000 to £8,000,000 was passed, but still the questions were asked, "What was the security? What were the future liabilities of the consolidated fund in regard to the finances of India?"

As it was now certain that measures were about to be introduced by ministers for altering the form of government in India, the Company

drew up a long, elaborate, and able petition to parliament, setting forth its past services and exertions for the benefit of India and the empire at large, and deprecating the withdawal of their powers, and the transference of their rule into other hands. It was presented by Earl Grey to the House of Lords, and by Mr. Baring to the House of Commons; but notwithstanding their appeals in its behalf, Lord Palmerston introduced on the 12th of February the government scheme for the new administration of Indian rule. Against it Mr. Baring moved an amendment, that "it is not at present expedient to legislate for the government of India." Of the debate itself upon so important a subject, and in which the personal interests of so many were at stake, it would be impossible to give within our limited range even a bare epitome, ranging as the arguments did not only over the abstract merits of the question, but the whole history of the administration of the Company in India from its commencement to the present hour After the debate had been twice adjourned, the amendment on the 18th was negatived by 318 to 173. In consequence of the downfall of the Palmerston administration, and the formation of a new government under the Earl of Derby, the progress of the question experienced a short delay; but on the 26th of March it was introduced as "the India bill No. 2, for the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the crown," the bill of Lord Palmerston, which was not yet abandoned, being described as No 1. The bill No 2 was introduced by Mr Disraeli, the new chancellor of the exchequer But during the adjournment for the Easter recess, this new bill was closely scrutinized, and with such general reprobation, that there was no hope of its passing into law, at least without considerable alteration. The influence of the government was also felt to be so seriously damaged by this failure, that it was thought they could not meet parliament again upon the subject except under a serious disadvantage. But from this dilemma they were so adroitly relieved by Lord John Russell, that it was supposed his interposition was the result of a preconcerted design. As soon as the chancellor of exchequer had made his statement at the re-assembling of the house, announcing among other things that the second reading of the India bill would be proposed as soon as possible after the budget, Lord John announced his proposal:—it was, that they should not proceed at once with the India bill of the government, nor with the rival bill of Lord Palmerston, but to take resolutions in a committee of the whole house, and thus practically to obtain a consultation between the queen's ministers and the House of Commons on the principles of the future government of India. The proposal was eagerly accepted by the ministers, and by none more gladly than Mr. Disraeli himself, who a few days afterwards laid on the table of the House of Commons a set of propositions which were to be moved in the shape of resolutions.

The settlement of the question being thus simplified, the chancellor of the exchequer moved on the 26th of April that the house on the 30th should resolve itself into a committee, to consider the foregoing resolutions. This was agreed to; but on that day, when the house had resolved itself into a committee, Lord H. Vane moved a resolution, "that the change of circumstances since the first proposal by her majesty's late advisers to transfer the government of India from the East India Company to the crown, renders it inexpedient to proceed further with legislation on the subject during the present session." But so little was the idea of further delay relished, that the motion of his lordship was negatived by 447 to 37. The chancellor of the exchequer then moved the first resolution, that "it is expedient to transfer the government of India to the crown," which was agreed to without a division. The second resolution, which affirmed the expediency of providing that "her majesty should have and perform the power and duties relating to the government of India by one of her principal secretaries of state," was also agreed to, merely substituting in lieu of the last phrase, the words, "one of the responsible ministers of the crown" All at once, however, a crisis occurred which threatened not only to scatter the India bill to the winds, but to unseat Lord Derby's cabinet Early in May, a copy of Lord Canning's proclamation to the inhabitants of Oude was published, and this was quickly followed by the publication of the condemnatory letter addressed by Lord Ellenborough, the president of the board of control, to the governor-general. But the most awkward part of the case was, that while the proclamation was presented entire to the House of Commons, it was given with some omissions to the lords. Lord Ellenborough explained the causes of this discrepancy as originating in mere accident, but neither parliament nor the public would be so answered; and harsh as Lord Canning's measures had been in the Oude affair, it was thought that the censures passed upon them by Lord Ellenborough had been harsher still. They had not only condemned a public man absent at a post of great responsibility, and under circumstances of no common difficulty and peril, but by their publication of both documents had prejudiced the question, and endangered the administration, who would be thought to have sanctioned this act of their colleague. Under such circumstances, Lord Ellenborough made what expiation

he could by resigning office. Even this self-devoted sacrifice, however, was insufficient to allay the storm which continued to rage in parliament till the Whitsuntide recess, and from which, not only a change of ministry was apprehended, but a reconstruction of parties, or even a dissolution of parliament. But the agitators themselves became at last ashamed of the form the discussion had assumed, by which the subject was narrowed to the case of the province of Oude and the indiscreet act of Lord Ellenborough, and the question resumed its original aspect on the 7th of June when the parliament had re-assembled

In the foregoing sketch, enough has been stated to show the difficulty with which the settlement of this important subject was attended We cannot even advert to the discussions that followed, in which every step was followed by a pause or a conflict all this was only commensurate with the importance of the great question of the future government of our Indian empire, in which so many mistakes were to be amended and so many evils redressed. It was felt that upon the issue our dominion of the East was to be permanently established—that by a single blunder it might be lost to us for ever The India bill finally passed the House of Commons on the 8th of July, and that of the lords on the 23d, and received the assent of the crown on August 2d, the last day of the session. There is a solemnity and vastness of meaning in the simple words by which the transfer is announced in the first clause of the bill, to which the grandeur of the decrees of the Roman senate can present no parallel —

"The government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all the powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said Company, in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said Company, and all rights vested, or which, if this act had not been passed, might have been exercised by the said Company in relation to any territories, shall become vested in her majesty, and be exercised in her name; and for the purposes of this act, India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid."

While these discussions were going on in the British parliament, the progress of the war in India was such as promised both a speedy and successful termination. A strong garrison was left in Lucknow to control the city and its neighbourhood, while a campaign was opened against the district of Rohilcund, to which the Lucknow rebels had retired. Every fort that was assailed by the British was taken, and every enemy in the field put to the rout—and hence the little interest that belongs to the narrative of this closing portion of the war. It reminds us of the monotony of the Roman armies, every advance of which was a conquest, and every battle a victory, and where a chance incident of defeat or disaster is welcomed by the reader as a change and a relief. In all these proceedings, also, were to be recognized the masterly intellect and military skill of Sir Colin Campbell, who directed each movement, and who, for his able services, was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Clyde The progress towards a general pacification was likewise promoted by the transference of the government of India to the British crown, and the natives were induced to reverence a sovereign power, more especially when aggrandized by remoteness and invisibility, in preference to the authority of men who were present, and known to be subjects like themselves. Accordingly, when a royal proclamation, which was transmitted to India, was published by the governor-general on the 1st of November, it called forth several native addresses to the queen, expressive of their loyalty and attachment.

In this proclamation it was announced to the native princes of India, that all engagements which had been made with them by the Company would be scrupulously maintained and fulfilled, that no extension of territorial possession was sought, and that no aggression upon it should be tolerated, or encroachment upon that of others sanctioned It held itself bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bound it to all the other subjects of the British empire Upon the important subject of religion, in which the rebellion had originated, the declaration was explicit "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law, and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure." It was added, that all of whatever race or creed were to be freely and impartially admitted to such offices in her majesty's service as they were qualified to hold. Those who inherited lands were to be protected in all rights connected there-

with, subject to the equitable demands of the state, and in framing and administering the law, due regard was to be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India. With regard to the late rebellion, a general pardon was granted for past offences, except to those who had taken part in the murder of British subjects, or who had given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt, but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration should be given to the circumstances under which they had been tempted from their allegiance. To all others still in arms against the government, an unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion was promised, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits, and compliance with these conditions before the 1st day of January next. Having thus dealt with present difficulties and offences in the spirit of peace and conciliation, the proclamation thus announced the purposes of the new change of rule "When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people"

The chief difficulty that still remained was the pacification of Oude, without which our government of India could not be fully re-established, and to effect this, such decisive measures were adopted, as could only be justified by the necessity of the case, and the warlike dangerous spirit of the people A proclamation was issued by Mr. Montgomery, who had been appointed chief commissioner of Oude, ordering that all talookdars, zemindars, and native inhabitants of the province should deliver up to the servants of government at the nearest police station, within one month from that date, all their cannon, firearms, weapons, and ammunition, under pain of fine and imprisonment for one year, *with flogging;* and if a landholder, of the confiscation of his lands" The next step was to suppress the rebels who were still in the field, which was no such easy achievement, for they had made Oude their place of shelter and rallying point for their final stand, and were likely to defend it with the fierceness of despair They had also for one of their chief leaders, the ex-queen of Oude, a woman of fearless courage and unyielding spirit, who issued a counter-proclamation to the people, warning them not to trust the promises of the British government, and analysing the proclamation of our sovereign, paragraph by paragraph, with all the shrewdness and caustic severity of a well-practised literary reviewer. The winter campaign was opened in November, and the Oude chieftains surrendered their hill-forts, or were driven from them after a short and useless resistance. One of these forts was Shunkerpore, which Bainie Madhoo, an insurgent chief, held out against the approach of Lord Clyde The commander-in-chief ordered him to surrender unconditionally, promising that in this case he should have no cause to repent of his submission, and to this, Bainie Madhoo returned for answer the following curious proposal —"If the government will continue the settlement with me, I will turn out my father. He is on the part of Birjies Kuddr, but I am loyal to the British government, and I do not wish to be ruined for my father's sake" In justice however it must be owned, that this unfilial tender was only a feint, for on the following night the chief abandoned the fort with all his followers, and outstripped the pursuit that was sent after him.

This unexpected surrender of the fort of Shunkerpore, for the reduction of which the whole British force had been concentrated, enabled Lord Clyde to separate his army into divisions for the prosecution of the war on every side, and such success attended all his operations, that the rebels, everywhere beaten, had no resource except to surrender, or betake themselves to the hills of Nepaul, where little else than a churlish welcome and precarious shelter awaited them Thither Nana Sahib was driven after a ruinous defeat, to become an outcast and a hunted fugitive, and to this quarter also his brother, Bala Rao, betook himself, after attempting a final stand, in which his troops were beaten and dispersed, almost without resistance Thus, with the close of the year, the rebellion in Oude, its last stronghold, had terminated, and an army, originally numbering 150,000, been routed and dispersed with comparatively little loss to the victors Resistance indeed continued to be made, but it was the hopeless resistance of broken bands and fugitive chiefs, lurking among the fastnesses of Nepaul, beyond the British dominions, and urged by hunger or revenge, and with every attempt their numbers were diminished and their range circumscribed, so that what had lately been armies, were little more than troops of brigands, whose outrages the nearest military station was strong enough to suppress The British empire was re-established in India upon a basis more august and imposing than before; let us hope that it will also prove more authoritative and enduring, and that the change from the rule of a Company to that of the sovereign, will

be conjoined with that parental solicitude and clemency on the one side, which is the source of loyalty and filial affection on the other. May the people of Hindoostan be no longer mere thralls and aliens, but British subjects in reality as well as in name. May the cruelties of conquest and the iniquities of usurpation be cancelled and forgot in a happy futurity for India!

CHAPTER XXIII.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1830—1858.

Difficulties in writing the history of religion as it now exists—Political history of the Church of England in the present day—Hostility of dissenters to the Established church—Their petition for its dis-establishment—Their petition to deprive the bishops of their share in the government—Petitions to admit the dissenters to university honours and privileges—Petition of the dissenters against church-rates—Extension of the means of spiritual instruction—Trial on the Lady Hewley bequests—Decision of the House of Lords on the subject—General alarm at the aggressions of Popery—England divided into sees by the pope—Precarious condition of the principle of church establishment—Demand for the revival of convocation—Origin of Puseyism—Its progress and Popish tendencies—The Oxford tracts—Opposition to Puseyism by the Archbishop of Canterbury—Defeat of Puseyism in the trial of Mr. Gorham—Doctrines of Puseyism—Its claims in behalf of the apostolic succession, and efficacy of the sacraments—The Plymouth Brethren—Origin and progress of the sect—Their creed, form of worship, and polity—Beginning of the Row heresy in Scotland—Its transplantation into England and adoption by Mr. Irving—Its fanatical manifestations—Its final transition into the "Apostolic Catholic Church"—Its creed, government, and forms of worship—The Mormons or Latter-day Saints—Origin of the sect—Their creed—Their form of church government—Interest attached to Scotland in the religious history of this period—Growing increase of the Evangelical party in the Scottish church—General awakening of the public mind to its religious rights—The Voluntary controversy in Scotland—Overtures from the Evangelical party against patronage in the presentation of church-livings—Contest between the Evangelical and Moderate parties on the subject—The veto-law proposed in the General Assembly—Its conditions—Its establishment in the Scottish church—Rapid progress of church extension—Opposition of patronage to the veto—Commencement of the conflict at Auchterarder—The trial removed from the church tribunal to the Court of Session—Decision given against the church—Similar case of Lethendy—Recusancy of the Strathbogie presbytery to the award of the General Assembly—Consummation of their resistance—Their deposition by the church—The crisis of the conflict between church and state—Final rejection of the claims of the Scottish church by the House of Lords—Convocation of the clergy at Edinburgh—Their resolve to terminate their connection with the state—Incredulity of statesmen about this decision—Meeting of the General Assembly in 1843—The Disruption—The seceding ministers constitute a General Assembly of their own—Address of Dr. Chalmers to the new General Assembly—Formation of the Free Church—General astonishment produced by the Disruption—Present condition of the Free church—Prosperous state of its finances—Missionary societies—Bible societies—Reduction of the price of Bibles in England and Scotland.

THE history of the national church during the present period may be briefly summed up. This brevity, although partly owing to the paucity of events that occurred during these thirty years, is still more necessary on account of the wideness with which the knowledge of them is diffused throughout every class of society, and the vividness and distinctness with which they are remembered. They are part and parcel of the existence of the present generation, and of them every reader can be an historian to himself. To touch, therefore, on but a few of them, however lightly, is enough to recall the subject to his own thoughts in all its amplitude and completeness. This brevity, however, is most of all demanded by the nature of the events themselves, which being still so recent, have rather the character of experiments awaiting their issue, than actions of which the character may be judged by their results. A generation, or even a whole century may have to pass away, before they can be tested by their full development.

In that department of the subject which may be called the political history of the church, the first circumstance that arrests our notice is the open and systematic hostility displayed by the dissenters against the Establishment, which they no longer recognized as the church of the nation, or deserving of the exclusive patronage and support of the state. The different classes of dissent were now sufficiently numerous and powerful to offer such a manifestation, and make their arguments heard; and however they might differ upon their several theological distinctions, they found, in this opposition to the Established church, a bond of common union, as well as the

GRAND DURBAR AT CAWNPORE, AFTER THE INDIAN MUTINY.

The mutiny being now practically at an end, the governor-general, Lord Canning, sought to establish the peace by a tour through the provinces. At the principal stations he invited the loyal chiefs to grand durbars or levees, where they were received with due magnificence, and presented with badges of honour in recognition of their services during the rebellion. The most imposing of these ceremonies was the Grand Durbar held at Cawnpore in November, 1859. The great tent was lined with yellow, and when the governor-general and all his officers had assembled the varied and brilliant uniforms made a splendid spectacle. Each of the invited rajahs offered his obeisance to the Viceroy, and presented a gift to the Queen, *and in return they had chains of honour fastened on their necks, but only in the case of the Rewah rajah was this honour bestowed by Lord Canning personally* Altogether this great ceremony demonstrated to the natives of India that the Sepoy rebellion was suppressed, and the authority of the Queen again established

GRAND DURBAR AT CAWNPORE AFTER THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SEPOY REVOLT

LORD CANNING INVESTING [illegible] WITH [illegible]

FROM THE PICTURE BY [illegible]

means of displaying their own weight and importance, which had hitherto been too little realized. In 1834, therefore, the conflict commenced, by numerous petitions from different bodies of dissenters to parliament against the exclusive privileges of the church, and praying for its total dis-establishment. But so bold a demand was premature; it roused the whole church party into alarm and active opposition, and such a shower of counter-petitions in favour of the church succeeded, that dissenterism was out-voted and silenced. It was only, however, that the mode of onset should be exchanged for others less obtrusive; and the next attempt was against the dignitaries of the church, who were to be deprived of their power in the state and their place in parliament. The great fabric of the national church was thus to be displaced stone by stone, instead of being thrown down by a single attack This mode of eversion was commenced in the same year by a motion of Mr. Rippon in the House of Commons, "to relieve the archbishops and bishops of the Established church from their legislative and judicial duties in the House of Peers." It was a gentle, unsuspected approach to the full measure of dis-establishment; and although it was out-voted by 125 against 58, yet the largeness of the minority was full of promise to the assailants, and encouraged them to go onward in their warfare.

Another ground of umbrage with the dissenters, was the exclusive possession which the Established church maintained in the universities, in which none of their party, however learned, could compete for the literary distinctions they had merited, without subscribing their adherence to the Establishment. The removal of this disqualifying distinction was the next attempt of the dissenters, who got up numerous petitions for the removal of the test requiring them to sign the Thirty-nine Articles before they could take degrees in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge As they had a considerable party within the colleges themselves, they endeavoured to have their application backed by petitions to the same effect from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and they were so successful that from the latter a petition subscribed by sixty-three graduates and office-bearers was sent, craving for the abolition of "every religious test exacted from members of the university, before they proceed to degrees, whether of bachelor, master, or doctor in arts, law, and physic." The motion, when introduced into parliament, was withdrawn, but leave was given to bring in a bill to that effect. The bill was passed in the commons, but rejected on the second reading in the lords, while the debates in both houses were sufficiently characterized, not only by abundance of classical zeal on either side, but also of political and religious rancour. The friends of the church were as keen for the old-established privileges of the universities as they had been for those of the bishops. To soothe the dissenters for their defeat in a measure which they had so much at heart, and in which the justice of their claim was so apparent, a ministerial bill was introduced to relieve them from the burden of church-rates; but unfortunately this ill-concerted plan only deepened their resentment In the ways and means for making up the deficiency they would not only have to pay their share, but assent to the justice of the rate itself, which formed the ground of their opposition. They had declared from the beginning that the connection between church and state was un-Christian and sinful, and therefore, in the present case, they would not pay a farthing, either directly or indirectly, to uphold a church establishment—it was with them a matter of conscience, and not a mere question about the saving of money. Another plan of conciliation similar in character had the same result It was an attempt to gratify the dissenters by a ministerial bill allowing them to celebrate the marriage ceremony in their own chapels, instead of being obliged to repair to the parish churches, but as it still required the banns to be proclaimed in the parish churches, the dissenters naturally refused even thus far to recognize and acknowledge any paramount authority in the Establishment. In the following year this difficulty was happily got rid of by Mr. Peel's bill, which, in the case of dissenters, dispensed with the proclamation of banns, making the attestation of a magistrate, before whom the parties should appear, to be sufficient for the purpose.

The non-payment of church-rates was the next subject on which the church was to be in conflict with dissenterism This was no doubt an attractive doctrine for many who cared little for the distinctions of creeds and sects, by which payment could be withheld and money saved upon purely conscientious principles; and accordingly, in several large towns, especially in Sheffield and Manchester, the payment of church-rates had ceased, while the law was insufficient to enforce it. To meet this deficiency in time to come, and especially to conciliate the dissenters, a plan was proposed in 1837 by Mr. Spring Rice, the chancellor of the exchequer. It was, to take the whole property of the bishops, deans, and chapters out of their hands, and consign it to the guardianship of a commission, by whose management such improvement might be effected, that after these dignitaries were sufficiently paid, enough would be saved for the purposes of church-rates. It was no wonder if at such a proposal the hierarchy were indignant: it would not only

commence a spoliation of the church that might go on unchecked, but reduce its chief functionaries to a state of pupilage that would lower them in the eyes of the community at large. Accordingly, in the lords, the prelates, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, protested earnestly against the proposal, which, after a very animated debate, was defeated. That such a proposal, however, should have been made, and from such a quarter, was proof of the critical position of the state church, and the progress that had been made by its opponents.

After this there was a temporary lull in the conflict between the two great parties, and in the interval a measure of general benefit was brought forward, upon which all parties could be in full accordance. It was the extension of the means of spiritual instruction, which were still found to have fallen greatly short of the increase of the population. The subject was brought before the House of Commons in 1843 by Sir Robert Peel; and he proposed a relief of the evil by the endowment of additional ministers, and the augmentation of small livings, to the amount in all of £48,000 per annum. From what source this money was to be raised was a ticklish question, considering the jealousy with which every grant to the church was watched; but for this difficulty Sir Robert had so carefully provided, that his plan was received with general acquiescence. He proposed that the sum in question should be derived, partly from the retrenchments which had been made upon the large or superfluous livings in the church, and partly from Queen Anne's bounty for the augmentation of small livings. The annual sum of £48,000, it was acknowledged, bore but a small proportion to the necessity of the case, and the purpose to be accomplished; but it was anticipated that this government movement would have the effect of stimulating private and individual benevolence, as had been the case in the government grant for church extension, by which the original sum might be more than doubled. Sir Robert Peel's proposal was passed with cordial unanimity.

In the following year the dissenters entered once more into the field, and with a grievance which was generally thought deserving of redress. At the close of the seventeenth century, and before the Puritan spirit of England had departed or merged into new forms, Lady Hewley had bequeathed several benefactions to chapels of Calvinistic Independents, for the comfortable maintenance of their ministers in all time coming. But the Calvinism of these chapels had slowly and insensibly dwindled into Socinianism, and Unitarian instead of Calvinistic preachers occupied their pulpits, and availed themselves without scruple of those comfortable endowments which had been left for the support of a very different kind of instruction. The period, however, for such passive endurance had gone by; the awakening of the different religious communities, which had been going on during the earlier part of this century, had roused both Presbyterians and Independents to a sense of their duties and their interests; and they found that their best-endowed charges were occupied by clergymen who, under the orthodox name of Presbyterians, inculcated the doctrines of Arius and Socinus. There could be also no mistake about the matter, as the tenets of these heresiarchs were boldly preached without concealment or reservation. A prosecution was accordingly commenced for the dislodgment of these pastors, and the recovery of the endowments to the purposes of the original founder; but the difficulty of arraigning a heresy, and the proverbial delays of the law, together with the sanction derived from the prescriptive right of possession, were so greatly in favour of the occupants, that after fourteen years of litigation, they still held their places. Nothing less than an act of parliament could decide the controversy, and accordingly, in 1844, a bill was brought into the House of Lords by the lord-chancellor, for "confirming the possession of religious endowments in the hands of dissenters," while the specific object was to ascertain to which of the two contending parties Lady Hewley's bequests rightly belonged. To settle all such cases for the present, and prevent their recurrence in future, the bill proposed to vest the property belonging to voluntary endowments of dissenting chapels in the hands of that community by which it had been held for the preceding twenty years. In favour of this measure it was argued that sects changed their forms and opinions through lapse of time, so that it was often difficult after half a century to identify them, and that a twenty years' possession was in such doubtful cases the best right of occupancy. By such a conclusion the purpose of the original donor was nothing, and the difference between the creeds of Calvin and Socinus a thing too minute to be detected. Notwithstanding a very keen opposition in both houses, the bill was passed by a large majority, and the endowed churches became the property of the present occupants. The dissenters were indignant at such a conclusion, and denounced it as a measure for giving undue favour and political support to the Unitarians.

These contentions between the two chief portions of English Protestantism might have been carried to greater lengths, and attended with more deplorable results, had it not been for the aggressions and advance of their common enemy. But since the passing of Catholic emancipation, which the Papists of Britain had ac-

cepted as only the first of a series of concessions, their demands had become more exorbitant, and their pretensions more menacing than ever, while government having committed itself in the first instance by yielding, was obliged to continue in the same course of conciliation Such was especially the case in 1845, when Sir Robert Peel brought forward his bill in parliament for the endowment of the Maynooth college. The demand was a signal to all classes of Protestants to forget for a while their minor differences, and unite against the common danger; and accordingly churchman and dissenter met on one common field, and agitated against the measure with equal cordiality But strong though they were in their union, they were unable to withstand the progress of that conciliatory spirit which was now the great political principle of the day, backed also as it was by some of the best of both parties, who measured the arms of Popery by the standard of their own moderation and sense of justice. The Maynooth grant was therefore passed, the particulars of which have been detailed in a preceding chapter; and as a state endowment of Popery, it remained a fruitful ground for opposition and protest, on which all other classes of religionists could be at one. Accordingly, the subject has continued to be a theme of parliamentary overture and popular petition to the present hour.

But if anything could tend to reconcile churchmen and dissenters, and make them forgetful for a while of their mutual feuds, it was the great Popish aggression of 1850 In this case, the Roman conclave, forgetful of its wonted caution, and trusting too much in the conciliatory spirit of our government, ventured to parcel out England into twelve Popish episcopal sees, as if the kingdom had already been wholly recovered to the spiritual dominion of Rome. This was a home appeal to the state itself, and to the political forbearance upon the subject of religious differences on which our statesmen had placed such confidence it was a sudden flash of lightning by which the gulf was revealed, towards which they had been so contentedly marching It was now time both for religionists and politicians to unite when church and state alike were thus rudely assailed, and our civil as well as religious liberties proscribed by one and the same Papal bull. Accordingly, as if it had been an affair of yesterday, we can vividly remember the universal national indignation that was roused at the insult—the cordiality with which every class, party, and sect arrayed themselves as one compact Protestant phalanx against it —and the lubricous softness and dexterity with which Popery receded, and wound itself out of its dangerous position. But is the attempt conclusively abandoned? Or does the infallible church relinquish a claim which she has once advanced, and attempted to reduce to action? These are questions that still continue to agitate the heart of British Protestantism; and if they can only make it more wary of future danger, and more anxious for the cultivation of a spirit of Christian union among its own discordant members, this frustrated attempt of Romish usurpation will yet prove one of the best of national benefits to Britain

Amidst the rapid increase of dissenterism, and its growing hostility to establishments, an apprehension had been growing during the present period that the bond of connection between church and state would at no very distant period be dissolved But this was a consummation which the friends of the Established church could not contemplate without alarm, and to avert it every expedient was suggested, while not a few had been adopted. This was manifested in a more tolerant and conciliatory spirit towards the dissenters; the stricter lives of the clergy, and a more careful discharge of their duties; the retrenchment of the higher salaries of the church, and the increase of the means of spiritual instruction But still it was felt as if these remedies were in vain—as if the inundation was still advancing that would sweep away the barriers of state protection, and reduce all parties of religion to one common level. Among the various expedients suggested for the protection of the church a very common one was that of Convocation, in which the clergy assembled should meet, not in empty form as hitherto, but for permanent sittings, and with full power to legislate for the church in whatever its interests were concerned. But this *imperium in imperio* was too terrible for statesmen to contemplate; it would be a meeting before which even the "*omnipotence* of parliament" would stand rebuked, and in no long time might grow into a conclave as irresponsible and arbitrary as that of Rome itself. Nor were even the most anxious of the clergy less averse to such a measure. Independently of the invidious position in which it would place them with relation to the state on one hand and the community on the other, it would revive into fresh vigour all that contrariety of opinion and all those controversies which had prevailed in the church since the days of Elizabeth. Notwithstanding these considerations, Lord Redesdale ventured in 1851 to introduce into the House of Lords a motion for the "renewal of the synodical action of the church by the revival of convocation" As might be expected, the proposal had not the slightest chance against the arguments that were brought against it, and it failed accordingly. The Archbishop of Canterbury spoke

the mind of the more considerate of the clergy on this occasion. He feared that such a revival of convocation would only revive dissension and controversy. If the assembling of convocation, he added, were to end in reconciling some conflicting rubrics, or in supplying the deficiencies of others, the result would be little worth the cost. Thus far you would disappoint; go farther and you would excite. In stating the superior advantages of the Church of England as it now existed, his grace also said that during the last thirty years it had founded a thousand new parishes at home, and established twenty new episcopal sees in our colonies abroad.

But even more dangerous than the avowed antagonism of Popery and the hostile attacks of dissenterism, was the rise of a party within the church itself that divided the best of its members, and threatened to rend the whole fabric asunder. We allude to that innovation which, under the name of Tractarianism or Puseyism, had its origin about the commencement of the present period; which continued to grow from year to year in strength, numbers, and importance, and which attracts notice and excites alarm even at the present hour.

The divisions of Protestantism so prevalent in England, the land of universal toleration, had tended from the beginning to unsettle the faith of the weak or the inquiring, and throw them into that state of uncertainty in which an infallible church is welcomed as a relief. But although Popery was at hand to receive them, they recoiled from such an alternative, well knowing the price it exacted and the odium to which it would subject them, so that the conversions from the Church of England to that of Rome had hitherto been few and of small account. While matters were in this condition, a body of clergymen at Oxford, with Dr. Pusey, professor of Hebrew in the university, at their head, began to publish a series of pamphlets, under the title of "Tracts for the Times," which were continued at short but irregular intervals until 1841; and as these productions were written by men of high name, and were distinguished by great learning, talent, and eloquence, they arrested attention, and were very widely circulated. The opinions which at first they announced were sufficiently startling; but as they went onward, they increased in boldness, and inculcated a creed that was neither Protestantism nor Popery, but a compound of both, laying claim alternately to the independence of the former and the infallibility of the latter. During the eight years of their continuance, ninety of these tracts appeared, and a party in the church was formed, which, under the name of Tractarians, Anglo-Catholics, or Puseyites, was numbered by thousands. But it was not by tracts alone that the principles of this new creed were inculcated: they were also illustrated by novels, by poems, by poetry and architecture—by every means that could convey them into high places, and make them alluring to all who were of refined taste and sensitive temperament. The progressive growth of the system, its character under its full development, and the modes by which it was recommended, were nothing more, perhaps, than an undesigned and uncalculated result, but had it been a crafty device of the Jesuits themselves to bring back souls by whatever means to Rome, it would have been accounted a masterpiece of Jesuitism For however alluring it was at first, and however complete in appearance, it was soon discovered by many of its converts to be only a compromise, and having gone thus far, they felt as if consistency required them to complete the journey. It became accordingly a sort of half-way house, in which the pilgrims made only a temporary sojourn; and the numbers that went onward from it to Popery, both among the clergy and laity, caused this to be regarded as an inevitable result. The eyes of the public were opened, and an outcry so loud was raised against the movement that an answer was necessary, and in 1839, Dr Pusey, in a letter to the Bishop of Oxford which he published, endeavoured to show that the doctrines of the tracts had no such tendency, being fitted rather to check the progress of ultra-Protestantism, than support the cause of Popery. But the contrary of this continued to be manifested by the numerous secessions to Romanism, which were still on the increase, and the young students designed for the church who had embraced Anglo-Catholicism, felt that they could not take orders by subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles consistently with their present opinions. This was bringing matters to too conclusive an issue, and to satisfy the conscientious misgivings of such persons, Mr Newman published Tract 90 of the series, in which he endeavoured to prove that an Anglo-Catholic might subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles without any religious inconsistency. But it was an attempt to prove too much, the university condemned the tract; and public feeling was so strong that the series was discontinued. Mr Newman himself also refuted his own statements, and showed the impossibility of such a compromise, by seceding in 1845 to the Church of Rome, an example which was followed in the course of a few months by a considerable number of the clergymen of the Church of England, whom the tracts had infected with the doctrines of the new Oxford school.

It was now too late to deny or conceal the Romish tendencies of Puseyism, and accordingly

from this period those who held such opinions and still retained their livings adopted a more open course of action. Not satisfied with preaching the doctrines, they also introduced the forms

Rev Dr Pusey —From a print entitled a Recollection.

of Popery, and lighted candles upon the altars; bowing before the cross and using the sign of it, the intonation of the church service, and preaching in a surplice were introduced, under the plea, either that they were part and parcel of the earliest and purest period of our Reformation, or that they were in themselves decent and edifying, and conformable to the general practice of Christendom. Moreover, in the repairing of old churches and the building of new, a devout, scrupulous adherence was manifested to the peculiarities of mediæval religious architecture, and no building was regarded as the house of God unless it was a gospel of stone and lime—a revival of the devotional structures, with their quaint allegorical ornaments, that had taught the eyes of the people of England in the days of the earliest Plantagenets These were startling innovations; but the remissness of the prelates had been still more strange, for they either had looked on in utter silence or protested against them in little more than a whisper. But in 1845, when the evil had grown to a height, and toleration was no longer a virtue, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued a letter to the clergy and laity of his province, requesting them to beware of introducing changes without the general acquiescence of the people, and warning them of the risk of division from any such attempts. A check was the consequence; but, owing to the gentle style of the letter, the interruption was only partial and temporary—the tide rallied and returned in full strength; and not only several congregations in the country, but some of the richer ones in London, adopted those Anglo-Catholic practices which the Primate of all England had condemned.

A more decisive stand, originating in a personal grievance, was made in 1847. In that year Mr. Gorham had been presented to the living of Brampford-Speke, induction to which was refused him by the Bishop of Exeter, because in a lengthened examination, chiefly on the subject of baptism, he had refused to assent to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Mr. Gorham appealed to the court of archives, but there the prelate's decision was confirmed, upon which the case was transferred to the judicial committee of the privy council, who, after considerable delay and discussion, reversed, at the beginning of 1850, the decision of the inferior court. This was a discouraging blow to the Anglo-Catholics, and a large secession followed, so that during that and the following year, nearly one hundred clergymen abandoned the church and went over to the Romish communion. Previously, the example of the Church of Scotland at the Disruption had awoke among them the inquiry as to how far civil authority, and especially the right of the crown, extended in ecclesiastical matters and the government of the church, but the question assumed double vigour in consequence of this decision in the case of Mr. Gorham Hence the motion for the revival of convocation and the exercise of synodical action made in the House of Lords in 1851, of which mention has been already made. The supremacy of the sovereign as head of the English church is still the subject of Puseyite controversy, and while this party are opposed to it, they feel that by remaining in the church they acknowledge that supremacy, and expose themselves to the charge of inconsistency. This they endeavour to avoid by declaring that their submission is under the saving clause "as far as is permitted by the law of Christ" But the law knows no such exception, and allows of no mental reservations, and a royal edict would give them no alternative but submission or secession. In the meantime the controversy still goes onward, and the party is increasing in numbers and in boldness; but as fast as accessions are made to it the increase is balanced by an equal proportion of members who leave its equivocal communion for that of Rome.

Of the doctrines of the Anglo-Catholics, as they are given in the Oxford tracts and numerous publications of the party, a short sketch will suffice. Their avowed aim was to bring back the Protestant church both in doctrine and practice to a complete harmony with Scripture and the Anti-Nicene fathers, and reject everything which had accumulated since the first Nicean council in A D 325 Here, therefore,

Scripture alone was not recognized as the test and standard of religious truth: on the contrary, early tradition was admitted as an equal authority; and instead of conceding the right of private interpretation to every individual, they bound him to receive the meaning of Scripture solely as it was held, or said to be held, during the first three centuries of Christianity. "Catholic tradition," as one of the tracts explains it, "teaches revealed truth. Scripture proves it; Scripture is the document of faith, tradition the witness of it; the true creed is the Catholic interpretation of Scripture, or scripturally proved tradition, Scripture by itself teaches mediately and proves decisively; tradition by itself proves negatively and teaches positively; Scripture and tradition taken together are the joint rule of faith." In this way, as only the learned in theology have access to tradition, the clergy would exclusively become the authoritative exponents of Scripture, and dictators of the popular faith. In this way, also, from such a remote, unsatisfactory, and contradictory source, the germ of every subsequent corruption in the Christian church can be easily derived, whether for ritual or doctrine As the clergy were to be invested with such extraordinary power, it was necessary to find for them a divine commission; and this was done by the doctrine of apostolical succession. "Our ordinations," says Dr. Hook, "descend in an unbroken line from Peter and Paul, the apostles of circumcision and of the Gentiles. These great apostles successively ordained Linus, Cletus, and Clement, Bishops of Rome; and the apostolical succession was regularly continued from them to Celestine, Gregory, and Vitalianus, who ordained Patrick bishop of the Irish, and Augustine and Theodore for the English. And from those times an uninterrupted series of valid ordinations has carried down the apostolical succession in our churches to the present day. There is not a bishop, priest, or deacon among us who may not, if he please, trace his spiritual descent from Peter and Paul." By this revival of the doctrine of apostolical succession, which ecclesiastical history fails to establish, and which the wisest and most learned of our churchmen had gladly abandoned, the clerical claims to an authoritative right in the interpretation of Scripture was established, to the full satisfaction of Puseyism, while all other churches, except the Greek, the Roman, and the English, were thrown down to the level of mere schisms, and branded as heretical.

Another great source of clerical authority was the power of the sacraments as inculcated by the Anglo-Catholic teachers. The efficacy of these sacraments to procure divine grace and insure salvation was inherent, they alleged, in themselves; but to possess this efficacy, they must be administered by a priest who could lay claim to the apostolical succession. Thus the eucharist, when administered by the hand of such a clergyman, was in itself a communication of every spiritual benefit, which, if given by another, would only be an unmeaning ceremony or a downright profanation. But to invest the eucharist with this mysterious power, it was necessary for Puseyism to have recourse to the doctrine of transubstantiation; and this accordingly was done by the Oxford tractarians at an early stage of the controversy. They boasted of their church as being the sole depository of the body of Christ to his people, and Dr. Pusey alluded to their clergy as "intrusted with the awful privilege of making the body and blood of Christ." This, however, was felt to be dangerous language in a Protestant church, and from clergymen holding its appointments, so that a phraseology was adopted, by which the doctrine might be rendered less specific and repulsive. Accordingly, they stated that the body of Christ in the sacrament, although really present, is so only spiritually and after a transcendental manner, and not with the material qualities of a body, or with "bones and sinews," as the Council of Trent has asserted. But disguise the subject as they might by obscure words and unintelligible distinctions, their sacrament was a mass in which the real presence was contained, and to which the power of salvation was attributed. Another doctrine of Puseyism in connection with the sacraments, was that of baptismal regeneration, in which the graces bestowed by the "baptism of the Spirit" are attributed to that which is administered by water "Whosoever has been baptized," says one of the tracts on this subject, "was thereby incorporated into Christ." "Our life in Christ Jesus begins, when we are by baptism made members of Christ and children of God" "Baptism is the channel through which God bestows justification, and faith is the quality through which we receive it."[1]

Such were the principal doctrines of Puseyism as the system continued to expand, until it touched so closely the confines of Popery, that it was difficult to distinguish where the one ended and the other commenced; and in this manner a preparation was made for the absorption of a passive and negative system of belief into one that was active and positive But while so learned and so logical a creed was rising into existence in the halls of Oxford, the seat of Greek erudition, patristic study, and medieval taste, another, equally remarkable but for its opposite qualities of simplicity and nakedness, was commencing its existence in the illiterate seaport

[1] *Faiths of the World*, in the article "Anglo Catholic," by the Rev J Gardner, M D

town of Plymouth. We allude to the sect who, in consequence of the locality in which they first appeared, are known by the name of the Plymouth Brethren. This was in 1830, and in twenty years they had so greatly increased, that they numbered 132 places of worship, and 6000 or 7000 adherents. This indeed gives but a small proportion for each congregation, but the smallness of these congregational groups can be accounted for by the character of their simple polity, which is favourable to the assembling of little communities for social worship, rather than crowds for an imposing ritual, and the allurements of well-trained eloquence In doctrine, the Plymouth Brethren hold several of those extreme opinions which were so prevalent among some of the sectaries during the period of the Commonwealth All articles, creeds, and confessions they regard as a denial of the sufficiency of Scripture, a regular ministry and an established ritual they denounce as a refusal of the all-sufficient guidance of the Holy Spirit. All believers, they allege, are a spiritual priesthood, and every brother who possesses the gift of preaching is not only authorized, but also bound to exercise it for the edification of the church. In their meetings, therefore, any one who believes himself prompted by the Spirit may freely address the assembly, and should any one conceive himself so gifted as to devote himself exclusively to preaching, he must do it on his own spiritual responsibility, and exercise his office without appointment or ordination. Being thus independent of a regular ministry, the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are administered among them by lay brethren, and the last is observed among them once a week. As may be expected from the foregoing account, their idea of a Christian church is not that of an ecclesiastical organization, but a religious union and brotherhood—a body united under one spiritual head With this simple polity, which resembles that of the Quakers, they combine certain practical doctrines which, under a vitiated state of society, would be certain to lead to unhappy practical results. They allege, that as all true believers have been delivered by Christ from the law as a rule of life, the preaching of the law to such is worthless legalism, and a denial of that perfect work by which Christ has made his people free They also maintain that, being in a state of grace already, a Christian has no need to ask for blessings which he has already received, but only for an increase of them. These doctrines, and the completely republican character of their church government, have not only considerably increased the numbers of the community in England since the census given in 1851, but have been favourably received in America; and in that congenial soil, the Plymouth Brethren, from the rapid growth of their cause, appear to have found their best resting-place and home.

While Puseyism had been springing up in the Church of England, it is worthy of note that a similar system, with an equally Romish tendency, was originating in the Scottish church. Its first manifestations, which appeared in the parish of Row, and the town of Port-Glasgow, on the banks of the Clyde, occasioned it to be called the Row heresy; while its pretensions, which aimed at the infallible interpretation of prophecy, the gift of tongues, and the working of miracles, were a source not only of great popular attractiveness, but of wild fanatical excess. The delusion, however, was chiefly confined to silly women; and on account of such supporters, as well as from the overstrained fervour of its absurdities, it would have been confined to its own narrow locality, and soon have died out, had it not been adopted by a heresiarch whose talents and reputation were fitted to give it publicity. This was the celebrated Edward Irving, who, after delighting by his pulpit eloquence the British metropolis, where he had been settled towards the close of the preceding period, was now astonishing it by his daring and heretical theories Numbers of his excited followers, on hearing of the movement on the Clyde, hurried to the spot, to examine the portent, and judge of its reality; and as they had been previously hungering and thirsting for miracles, they quickly caught the infection, and hurried back to London, to communicate it to their fellow-worshippers. And strange was the exhibition now afforded by Mr. Irving's congregation that assembled at the Scots Church in Regent Square! The religious services were interrupted by the harangues of the inspired; women started up and in strange tones poured forth a jargon of words which none could understand, but which were assumed to be inspired by the same power that had imparted the gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost; even the lame were commanded to walk, and the dead to rise to life, by those confident thaumaturgists, who were astonished at the non-compliance of their patients, and in whom want of faith alone, they declared, had been the cause of the failure. And of all the deluded none exceeded Mr. Irving himself, whose morbid intellect it inspired with fresh activity, and to whose eloquence it furnished a new and exciting theme. The latter days, he declared, had come, the miraculous powers of the church were restored; the millennium itself was at hand. But the Church of Scotland could no longer tolerate the unsoundness of his preaching, and the extravagant displays of his congregation; and in 1830 he was deposed from his local cure as minister of the

Scots Church in Regent Square by the presbytery of London, and finally, in 1833, from his standing as an ordained minister, by the presbytery of his native Annan. For these exclusions, however, Mr Irving cared little, surrounded as he was by prophets and prophetesses, who were of higher account with him than presbyteries and general assemblies; and on his expulsion from Regent Square he betook himself to a building in Newman Street, which his people had fitted up as a place of worship, and where he organized his congregation into a separate and distinct church. They were now placed under a fourfold ministry of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors, Mr. Irving himself being ordained as the angel of the church of Newman Street. In 1834 he died at the age of forty-two, worn out by a life of intellectual excitement, and the feverish labours of his latter years in supporting and propagating the doctrines of his new system. His followers, who were numerous, had at first been called Rowites, from the parish in which the excitement had commenced; but this name, which designated a small class of people who soon became ashamed of their aberration, passed into that of Irvingites, from the name of their great leader this title also was soon abandoned for that of the "Apostolic Catholic Church," which they claim for their numerous and influential body, and by which they are now generally known. It may be stated, however, that in assuming this name they do not claim an exclusive right to hold it. They deny that they are sectaries or separatists of any kind, and consider themselves as members of the one church baptized into Christ; while their great mission, they allege, is to reunite the scattered members of the one true church, the body of Christ. The only standards of belief which they acknowledge are the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds. But while they profess to be guided by these in their interpretation of the Word of God, they have a boundless latitude in reserve, by the authority they attribute and the credence they yield to the dictates of their prophets, which they receive as inspiration. They also believe in transubstantiation, and hold that the elements of bread and wine in the eucharist are the real body and blood of Christ. On this account the consecrated elements are constantly kept in a receptacle or pix upon the altar and towards these the priests and people reverently bow on entering and leaving the chapel.

REV EDWARD IRVING
From a print by Meyer, after a drawing by A Robertson

In the government of the "Apostolic Catholic Church," and in its forms of worship as well as its doctrines, those changes have entered that might have been expected from the members of which it was latterly composed, and the nature of its organization. Hence the disappearance of its early presbyterianism, and the various phases it afterwards presented, according to the prophet or the inspiration that might for the time predominate. Their first ministry was fourfold, consisting of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors; and in the ordination of a pastor, he was first designated by the prophet, after which the apostles ordained him by the imposition of hands In this way, the sentence of deposition from the ministerial office pronounced by the Church of Scotland on Mr. Irving was removed by a prophet, when the former was to be appointed angel of the congregation in Newman Street. The same prophetic authority also decreed the appointment of elders and deacons the former being invested with a priestly character, and the latter with the right of teaching. Afterwards, in 1835–6, the apostles, twelve in number, retired to Albury, to formulate their new church, and after a year of study and discussion they produced a constitution modelled somewhat in the form of a Jewish tabernacle, so as "to give an idea of the true relation and adjustment of the machinery of the universal church." This, however, was still found insufficient, and in 1838 the apostles, by the command of another prophecy, spent two years in visiting most of the European countries, to collect from their several churches whatever portion of divine truth could be found valuable in each; and in 1844 they again departed upon a similar mission. It was no wonder therefore if both in its ritual and forms of worship, this "Apostolic Catholic Church" soon comprised the varieties of the Eastern, Western, and Protestant churches, with a

strong infusion from those several sects which arrogate to themselves a superior and more direct heavenly inspiration. As might have been expected also, the more pompous and alluring ceremonial of the Church of Rome has obtained the preponderance in these importations, so that in their form of worship the Apostolic Catholics could scarcely be distinguished from those "worshippers of the beast," upon whom Irving until the hour of his death had never ceased to pour such terrible denunciations Such a half-measure has produced the same effect that a similar process has wrought in Puseyism, by making this church a sort of resting-house on the way to Rome. Here, however, its transitions have not finally terminated, as it adheres to the doctrine of development, at least in ritualism, and holds out to its people the prospect of new rites and ceremonies more perfect still, which, in due time, will be revealed to their prophets and apostles

After this explanation, the principal features in the public worship of this church, as being of uncertain duration, may be briefly announced. In framing their liturgy, they endeavoured to "combine the excellence of all preceding liturgies," and while it largely partakes of the service-book of England as well as that of Rome, it is almost identified with the latter in its recognition of the real presence in the sacramental elements, its prayers for the dead; its intonations, chantings, and music, its variety of postures and evolutions The priests and the numerous sacerdotal officebearers, who of themselves almost form a congregation, are distinguished in their costume by the alb and girdle, the stole and chasuble, the surplice, rochette, and mosette, according to their offices and the functions to be performed, while a latitude is still given to the inspired men and women of the congregation to break forth upon the service with whatever divine revelation may at the moment be vouchsafed to them. Like the Puseyites also, they attach great importance to symbolical representations; and therefore while the walls of their churches are plentifully adorned with richly painted texts and allegorical figures, they have two lights burning upon the altar, to indicate the divine light by the institution of prophets and apostles, and seven before the altar, to represent the divine light communicated through the sevenfold eldership; while the incense which is burned during prayer, is to remind the people of the sweet incense of the prayers of the faithful ascending before the throne of God. So costly a ritual, and such a numerous priesthood, would be difficult to maintain, were it not that, besides free-will offerings, every member is required to give a tenth of his increase, that is, of his income of every description, for the support of the church and ministry. A church so alluring in its form of worship, and so gratifying in its promises of novelty and change, has secured many followers, and the party is numerous not only in England and Scotland, but also in Ireland, in America, and several places of the Continent.

But still further removed from the authority of revelation, and wilder in its origin, its character, and doctrines, is the sect which has sprung up during this period under the name of "Mormons," or "Latter-day Saints" It originated in America under the notorious Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont in the United States; and the sect was first organized at Manchester, in the state of New York, on the 6th of April, 1830. Into the history of this vulgar arch-deceiver, Smith, it is unnecessary to descend, it is sufficient to state that he pretended to have received his new gospel engraved upon thin plates of gold, from the hands of an angel; that, though it was written in an unknown and obsolete language, he was divinely inspired to read and interpret it, and that after he had delivered this Koran chapter by chapter to his first followers, the number of converts rapidly grew into congregations in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. As the doctrines they taught were subversive not only of divine revelation, but the rules of common morality and civil government, the sect was driven from the different states into Missouri, from which they were soon after obliged to emigrate to Illinois, where they built their famous city and temple of Nauvoo. But here the popular hostility followed them: in 1844 Joseph Smith himself was murdered by an insurgent mob; and finding themselves still unsafe, the Mormons finally retired in 1847 to the Salt Lake Valley, far in the interior of America, where they formed their state of Deseret, in which they are still located.

Notwithstanding their loose morality and the wildness of their religious tenets, these Mormons or Latter-day Saints displayed that fervent zeal for proselytizing by which every new sect is distinguished, and their missionaries were active in making converts not merely throughout each of the United States, but in several of the countries of Europe. Not only in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have their efforts been attended with great success, but even in England and Wales, in which latter countries, in 1851, they had more than 30,000 converts; and since that time their number has greatly increased, notwithstanding their frequent emigrations to the parent community in the Salt Lake Valley. In our own country, however, the extravagant doctrines of the Latter-day Saints are somewhat abated, and their worst practices repudiated or at least avoided, especially polygamy and the right of

self-government, which no European state would tolerate. Their principles of belief, as set forth by Joseph Smith, their hierophant, are the following:—

"We believe in God the eternal Father, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

"We believe that men will be punished for their own sins and not for Adam's transgression.

"We believe that through the atonement of Christ all men may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the gospel.

"We believe that these ordinances are: 1st, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; 2d, Repentance; 3d, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; 4th, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

"We believe that a man must be called of God 'by prophecy, and by laying on of hands,' by those who are in authority, to preach the gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.

"We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church—viz., apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, &c

"We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, &c.

"We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God

"We believe all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and we believe that he will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the kingdom of God

"We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the ten tribes That Zion will be built upon this [American] continent. That Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisal glory.

"We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.

"We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates; in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law

"We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men, indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul—'We believe all things; we hope all things,' we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek thereafter."

Notwithstanding the temperate appearance of this creed, it will be seen at once that all is not announced The Book of Mormon is to be received with the Bible as of equal authority, and even the revelations now existing are liable to be superseded by those which are still to follow. But of all these strange doctrines, as well as the flagitious license allowed by Joseph Smith and his successors, the European converts are kept in ignorance, until they have hastened to the land of promise in the far West, where they find themselves inclosed within the verge of a watchful and vigorous theocracy, from which they are not permitted to escape This government at its head-quarters consists of a presidency of three persons, a college of twelve apostles, and a council of twelve high-priests, with numerous local rulers under the titles of prophets, priests, elders, bishops, teachers, deacons, and evangelists or missionaries. The order of their priesthood is twofold, that of Melchizedek and that of Aaron; and every Mormon is required to give a tenth of his income for the support of the clergy, and a tenth of his time to the temple and other public works. Their sabbaths are merry festivals rather than days of solemn devotion, and are signalized by songs, dancing, and feasting Infant baptism they denounce as sinful, on which account the rite is delayed until the child is eight years of age, at which period he is reckoned accountable; he is then baptized by immersion; and regeneration, which is supposed to be begun by the rite, is perfected by the laying on of the hands of the Melchizedek priesthood, through which he is baptized by the Holy Ghost. Such importance, also, is attributed to this sacrament that they have a baptism by proxy, in which a person is baptized in lieu of a dead friend, by which the deceased secures in the other world all the privileges of a Latter-day Saint, unless he has committed the unpardonable sin. In the Lord's Supper, which is administered every Sabbath, they use water instead of wine, and the bishops carry round the bread and a pail of water, with a tin or glass cup, to administer the elements to the people both young and old, who receive them in their pews. That such a system should have obtained a footing in Britain might be wondered at, did we not know the hungering for religious novelty which forms a characteristic of the age, and the multitudes of ignorant and enthusiastic persons who will always be found in every community, however elevated its general character and however abundant its means of religious instruction. It must be kept in mind, also, that they have received the Mormon delusion in its simplest and least repulsive form. Recent events in America, where the system has suffered a ruinous blow, have led to the expectation that its ramifications throughout Europe, already languishing, must speedily expire. But even at the worst, although it has matched the wildness of the Anabaptist heresy of Munster in the sixteenth century, and been accompanied with similar outbreaks, it may

yet like it undergo a taming process, in which it will be as difficult to recognize the successors of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young as those of John of Leyden and Knipperdoling.

But the great scene of religious interest and the chief arena of church controversy and contention during this period was Scotland, where a keen conflict was waged, not by the church united against dissenterism, but by one great division of the church against another, and the result of which was not the mere formation of a new sect, but the rending of the church itself in twain. We allude to the Disruption, not only the most important event in the whole history of the Church of Scotland since the days of Knox and Melville, but fraught with consequences yet undeveloped to Christendom at large, as a great trial and experiment upon the connection of church and state, and the expediency of church establishments in general. To this startling and unexpected issue the long conflict that had been waged in Scotland against church patronage since the time of the union was to come at last, and the persistency of the Scottish character, after nearly a century and a half of disregarded opposition and protest, to be finally and fully vindicated

Since the commencement of the present century, a visible change had begun in the Scottish church, which had gone on during the whole of the preceding period It was the rise of the Evangelical party, with which the sentiments of the bulk of the people had been so long identified, and the depression of their opponents, the Moderates. And to this change the progress of events had naturally tended. That revival of liberal opinions which formed the great characteristic of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, was felt in the church as well as the state, and the people had become as indisposed to clerical, as they were to royal and political domination. They had also found that they could make their voice heard not only in the choice of their political, but their spiritual rulers and guides Another cause, and connected with the preceding, was the high talent and energy of the new leaders of the popular party; and in such men as Sir Henry Moncrieff, Dr. Andrew Thomson, and Dr. Chalmers, their claims were not likely to be either silenced or disregarded. A third cause was to be found in the acquiescence of the Moderates themselves to the new state of things, who either from choice or necessity yielded to the current which they could no longer hope to resist Not only was their opposition to the doctrines of evangelism less decided, but in many cases their most distinguished adherents became the advocates of those religious principles which their predecessors had been wont to oppose. In this manner the warfare against the Moderate party was no longer a controversy in behalf of Arminian or even Arian principles, but a contest for a higher style of orthodoxy, and a more constitutional system of ecclesiastical government.

While the Evangelical party had thus grown so powerful that at the commencement of this period they could almost counterpoise their opponents, there were new agencies at hand by the operation of which their strength and efficiency were greatly augmented One of these was the passing of the reform bill, which, by the recognition it gave to the popular choice in the right of government, was certain to give an impulse to that republican element which forms so essential a part of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. By this sweeping measure such a general spirit of inquiry was awakened, that even in remote Scotland, and amidst its ecclesiastical polity, hitherto so little regarded in high places, popular abuses could no longer hope to escape detection, or a parliamentary indifference to the popular will be safely continued Another source of strength was derived from the conflict of dissenterism against the Established church, which was waged in Scotland with greater ardour, and more decisive results, than those which had distinguished the same agitation in England. Animated by a consciousness of their strength, and by the new spirit that had been awakened against public grievances, the seceders of Scotland hoped that the time had come for the overthrow of the Established church, and the substitution of a clergy wholly supported by the voluntary benevolence, as well as elected by the choice of the people. This was called the Voluntary Controversy, which commenced in 1831, and reached its height in the following year The chief arguments of the dissenters were derived from the condition of the church as it had lately existed under the ascendency of Moderatism—a fertile store-house of weapons fitted for their purpose—and the case which it enabled them to make out bore a formidable appearance in behalf of their claims, and against the church establishment It happened also from such a mode of warfare, that the Moderates were compelled to be silent—they could not deny the evidence of facts, and the natural consequences that were deduced from them. In this emergency, the Evangelical party of the church came forward and maintained the brunt of the controversy, and this they did successfully, by showing that these evils were accidental abuses, not inevitable consequences They took their ground upon the principles of the church itself, as they were formulated by its standards before Moderatism was heard of, and in this position, which they could assume with a good grace, the perilous attack of dissenterism was met and repelled.

It was felt, however, by the Evangelical party, that however pleasant such a victory might be, the proper end had not yet been attained; and that so long as the evils complained of were continued, the opposition to church establishments was liable to be renewed And first of these was patronage, in which Scottish dissenterism itself had not only founded its strongest argument, but from which it had derived its very existence. It was of this evil, and the disregard of the people's choice, that the popular party had complained, and for its amelioration at least, if not its entire removal, the Voluntary controversy had been a very urgent warning. This was now to be the great subject at issue, and while the conflict of the church against the enemy from without was at its height, the internal conflict commenced which was to go on without a pause, until it ended in a final DISRUPTION. It was at the General Assembly of 1832, that this new beginning was made, by overtures from three synods and eight presbyteries, to the following effect:—"That whereas the practice of church courts for many years had reduced the call to a mere formality; and whereas this practice has a direct tendency to alienate the affections of the people of Scotland from the Established church; it is overtured, that such measures as may be deemed necessary be adopted, in order to restore the call to its constitutional and salutary efficiency." But here the Moderate party took the alarm, and the proposal was rejected by a majority of forty-two. At the next year's Assembly, forty-five similar overtures were presented on the subject of calls, an increase of numbers that compelled attention, and a long debate followed on the subject, in which it was clearly shown that the right of the people to the choice of a minister was established by the original constitution and laws of the church, and that no pastor should be intruded upon them contrary to their will. Upon the subject of these overtures two motions were brought forward. The first was by Dr Chalmers, in which he proposed that efficacy should be given to the call of a minister, by declaring that the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families, who were resident in the parish and communicants, expressed with or without the assignment of reasons, should be sufficient to set the presentee aside, unless it was clearly established that this dissent was founded in corrupt and malicious combination, or not in any personal objection to his ministerial gifts and qualifications, either in general, or with regard to that particular parish. The other motion, which was by Dr. Cook, the leader of the Moderate party, proposed that it should be competent for the heads of families to present their objections to the presbytery; that the presbytery should consider these objections, and if they judged them unfounded, or originating from causeless prejudices, should proceed to the settlement of the presentee, but if they judged them well founded, that they should reject the presentation. This last motion, which gave to a majority, or even the whole parish, no greater right than had belonged to any individual, was carried by a majority of 149 to 137. It was significant, however, that this majority, so small in itself, was obtained chiefly through the laic portion of the Assembly, as there was a majority of twenty ministers in favour of the motion of Dr Chalmers.

All being thus prepared for a successful aggression upon the law of patronage, the subject was again introduced at the Assembly of 1834. The public interest upon the question had been excited in no ordinary degree. it was the reform bill of the Scottish church, and upon its passing, not only the tranquillity of the nation, but the permanence of its ecclesiastical establishment depended. The 350 members of which this great representative meeting of the national church consisted, had its usual proportion of the lay element in its ruling elders, who were in number to the clerical as four to five, and as the Moderate and Evangelical parties were now nearly, if not altogether balanced, while every single vote was of importance, each member was at his post, and the Tron Church, Edinburgh, in which the meeting assembled, was thronged with anxious spectators. The motion, which was made by Lord Moncrieff, son of the Rev Sir Henry Moncrieff, the late leader of the Evangelical party in the church, was substantially the same as that of Dr. Chalmers in the preceding year, and was to the following effect —"That the General Assembly having maturely considered the overtures, do declare that it is a fundamental law of the church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and that in order to carry this principle into full effect, the presbyteries of the church shall be instructed that if, at the moderating in of a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation and in full communion with the church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned but that if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the presbytery shall proceed with the settlement, according to the rules of the church: and further declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove, as aforesaid, who

shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare in presence of the presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation: and resolve that a committee be appointed to report to an interim diet of the Assembly, in what manner, and by what particular measures, this declaration and instruction may be best carried into full operation." Such was the amount of modification that was sought in the law of patronage. It was merely a vindication of the old law established in the standards, and illustrated in the history of the Church of Scotland, that "no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people." But was the church competent in itself to enact a law by which patronage was made to depend upon the will of the people, and its presentations to be only available when confirmed by the popular acceptance? This was admitted even by the Moderates themselves, and the right was clearly explained by Lord Moncrieff in the speech with which he prefaced his motion:—"I want no more," said this accomplished master in civil and ecclesiastical Scottish law—"I want no more than what is contained in the act of 1690, qualified as it is by the act of Queen Anne, and the laws of the church by which that act is ordered to be carried into effect. The act of 1690 gave the election to the elders and heritors being Protestants. But did it rest there? No. It goes on to assert the powers of the church in a material point, ordaining that the heritors and elders are to propose the person to the congregation, and if they disapprove of him, the reasons are to be given in to the presbytery, by whose determination the collation of the minister is to be completed. The act of Queen Anne in 1712 repeals this act only so far as relates to the presentation of the minister by the elders and heritors; it alters nothing as to the manner in which the individual is to be presented to the congregation, and it is still in force on this point. Was it not recognized by the act of Assembly in 1736 and 1782? and is it not recognized in the constant practice of our presbyteries sending the individual to the congregation to preach before them?" The debate preceding the settlement of this important question lasted from eleven o'clock in the forenoon till eleven at night, and it ended in the success of Lord Moncrieff's motion by a majority of 184 to 138. Thus was the veto established as the law of the Church of Scotland.

Rev Dr Chalmers.
From a portrait by John Faed, R.S.A.

This recognition of a great popular right, which had been so long and so vainly demanded, was not the only triumph obtained by the Evangelical party. In the preceding year the Moderates themselves had recognized the churches erected and partly endowed by parliament as parochial charges, by investing their ministers with parochial authority, and the right to a seat in church courts. These privileges, which were granted to the churches lately established in the more destitute districts, and especially in the Highlands, had at the same time been sought for the chapels of ease, but this demand the Moderates rejected. These chapels had been erected by the congregations themselves, who also possessed the right of electing their own pastors; and it was thought that their admission into church courts would strengthen the popular party, more especially as a great increase of such chapels was confidently anticipated. The demand was renewed at the Assembly of 1834, and with greater effect. It was evident indeed that the new plan of church extension, at the head of which was Dr. Chalmers, needed such encouragement and support: for while six hundred dissenting chapels had been erected in Scotland during the course of a century, only sixty-three chapels of ease in connection with the Establishment had been erected, whose congregations had no sessional courts or share in the government of the church. The anomalous position of such ministers in a church of Presbyterian parity, and of congregations thus excluded from the common rights of a worshipping people, together with the urgent need of more churches, were so strongly enforced, that the admission of chapels of ease to the status of parish churches was decreed by a large majority of 152 to 103. The beneficial effects of this

measure were quickly manifested by the result. In one year alone, after the passing of the act of Assembly, sixty-four new churches were built or in the course of erection, being one more than the number that had been raised during the whole of the previous century.

The veto act was now established; but would its merely negative character be sufficient to neutralize a positive evil? And when it came into exercise, would the patrons themselves be ready to submit to the authority by which it had been passed? These inevitable questions were soon to be answered in a very unwelcome fashion. In 1834, the minister of Auchterarder, a parish in the south of Perthshire, died, and Mr. Robert Young, a licentiate of the church, was presented to the living by the Earl of Kinnoull, its patron But where was the parochial call, the most essential passport of a presentee? It was forthcoming indeed, but signed by no more persons than the earl's factor and two individuals, who had appended their names to the document commencing with, "We, the heritors, elders, heads of families, of the parish of Auchterarder"—which contained a population of three thousand souls! This would have been sufficient in the preceding century, especially if backed by a troop of dragoons, but these times had passed away, and this mere verbalism of a call was opposed by 287 out of 330 church members, who subscribed their dissent to Mr. Young's admission as their pastor Thus, by the new law he was decisively vetoed, and the presbytery, as in duty bound, rejected the presentation But Mr Young appealed to the synod, and on this higher court confirming the sentence of the presbytery, he appealed to the last and highest of all, the General Assembly. Here also the rejection, after being carefully considered, was confirmed by a large majority, and the presbytery of Auchterarder, thus justified, refused to induct the presentee. This ought to have been conclusive, more especially as by the veto-law, and during the whole course of these church-court trials, the civil rights of the rejected preacher to the manse, glebe, and stipend were recognized, independently of his discharge of the functions of a minister, so that he could claim them let whosoever might be elected as the pastor of Auchterarder. But this was an alternative the shame of which was too much for patronage to endure—and herein was felt the first great difficulty of the veto-law: like other half measures, it only complicated the evils which it had been designed to remove. The earl and his protegé removed their case to the Court of Session, thus acknowledging the right of a merely civil tribunal to enforce a preacher's admission into the ministerial office. Upon this monstrous footing indeed the decision of the court was not placed, although it virtually came to that conclusion; for it decreed that the presbytery of Auchterarder, by refusing to induct Mr. Young, had acted to the harm of the pursuers, and contrary to their duty and to certain statutes, and especially to the act of Queen Anne confirming the rights of patronage. They were not to be *forced* to invest him with the ministerial office, but only punished for refusing to do so. This decision was given in March, 1838, on the strength of which Mr. Young's law agent demanded that his client should be taken on trials for his induction, and on the refusal of the presbytery of Auchterarder to comply, he threatened its members with a prosecution for pecuniary damages. As civil pains and penalties thus impended over the presbytery, it was commissioned by the General Assembly to appeal to the House of Lords; but there, after a long discussion, the sentence of the Court of Session was confirmed. On receiving this decision, the General Assembly in 1839 decreed, by a majority of 204 to 155, that no further opposition should be given by the Auchterarder presbytery to the claims of Mr. Young to the emoluments of the benefice, but also, that the principle of non-intrusion as a fundamental principle of the Church of Scotland should not be abandoned or compromised. It was likewise resolved that, as by carrying this principle into effect it now appeared that the legal sustentation of the ministry may be suspended, and as they were desirous of avoiding any collision between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, a committee should be appointed, for the purpose of considering in what way the privileges of the national Establishment and the harmony between church and state may remain unimpaired, with instructions to confer with the government of the country if they shall see cause.

This case of Auchterarder was only the commencement of the warfare, and a new and still more severe trial of the veto-law was to succeed at Lethendy. The minister of this parish being old, infirm, and unfit for duty, Mr. Clark was appointed by the crown his assistant and successor. but when he was about to be ordained, a majority of the male heads of the congregation protested against his appointment, in consequence of which it was set aside in terms of the veto act. The old minister died, and the crown issued a new presentation in favour of Mr. Kessen, who was acceptable to the people. Encouraged however by the decision of the Auchterarder case, Mr. Clark obtained from the Court of Session an interdict against the appointment of Mr. Kessen; but this the presbytery rejected as illegal, and fortified by the authority of the General Assembly, they ordained Mr. Kessen on the 13th

of September, 1838. In consequence of this, Mr. Clark again appealed to the Court of Session, who pronounced the presbytery guilty of breaking the interdict, and summoned its members to their bar. They went accordingly, and were there punished with a severe rebuke, and warned that their next offence of the same kind would be visited with a still heavier penalty

The next trial which the veto had to encounter was that of Marnoch. This parish having become vacant in 1837, Mr. Edwards, who had been the minister's assistant for three years, received a presentation from the patron; but he had been so unacceptable to the parish, that when his call was presented, it was signed by only one parishioner who was entitled to vote, and the names of three heritors who signed by proxy; while against his admission was a protest subscribed by 261 heads of families, out of a roll of 300 communicants In spite of this rejection, Mr Edwards insisted upon his claim, and in this case he had the presbytery of Strathbogie to second him, who brought a charge of intriguing and caballing on the part of the parishioners of Marnoch before the synod of Moray; but the synod condemned the conduct of the presbytery as illegal, and ordered them to find the presentee disqualified by the rejection of the people for being minister of Marnoch. The presbytery then appealed to the General Assembly in 1838, on the plea that they only wished to interpose the highest authority of the church to justify their rejection of the presentee, upon which the assembly reviewed their previous proceedings, and authorized them to reject Mr Edwards. He was set aside accordingly, and a new presentation was given by the patrons in favour of Mr. David Henry. But with the whole church thus against him, Mr. Edwards would not yet yield. he appealed to the Court of Session, and obtained from it a decision interdicting Mr Henry from presenting himself to the presbytery for ordination, and the presbytery from proceeding to his induction. Encouraged by this powerful aid, the presbytery of Strathbogie resumed its opposition, by a vote for delaying proceedings until the question should be legally decided, against which decision an Evangelical minority protested, and appealed to the synod, by whom the case was referred to the final decision of the next General Assembly. But confident in the protection of the civil power the presbytery would not await the decision of the highest church court, and for their contumacy, the recusant ministers, seven in number, were suspended from their clerical office by an authoritative sentence of the Assembly's commission. Against this sentence the ministers appealed to the Court of Session, requesting them to remove it, and prevent the verdict from being published in their parishes, or the ministers of the Assembly from preaching in their churches, churchyards, or school-houses; but although much of this was beyond the power of a civil court, it did what it could to the utmost— it barred the churches, churchyards, and schoolhouses against the entrance of the ministers commissioned by the Assembly, so that they were obliged to announce its sentence of suspension, and preach to the people in the open air. But the seven still continued in the discharge of their clerical offices; and not content with this defiance of the church in its collective capacity, they proceeded to crown their rebellion by admitting the rejected presentee to the ministerial charge of Marnoch. They accordingly took Mr. Edwards on trials, found him duly qualified, and on the 21st of January, 1841, proceeded to his induction. The whole nation was astounded at their hardihood, and none more than the parishioners of Marnoch, who could scarcely believe the testimony of their senses when they saw the presbytery assembled in the church for ordination, notwithstanding their protest, and the high authority with which it was corroborated. Having seen that this was a reality, they arose and departed, leaving the strangers who had come from a distance as the only witnesses of those solemn services by which their souls were consigned to the care of a stranger whom they had so expressly rejected, and whose voice they would not hear.

The church had now arrived at a crisis where to pause or recede was equally impossible; and, had it been united, its advance would have been irresistible. But it was still a divided body, and the party so long in the ascendency and so lately held in check, were beginning to take courage in the prospect of state support, and prepare for a fresh encounter, with the civil power for their ally. When the Assembly's commission in March, therefore, passed a vote of sympathy with the parishioners of Marnoch, and when the Assembly itself in May, 1841, decreed a sentence of deposition upon the seven Strathbogie ministers, rescinded the settlement of Mr. Edwards, and ordered the presbytery to proceed with the induction of Mr Henry, the Moderate party rallied for fresh opposition. Invoking the state to aid and support them, and representing the opposite party as rebels, they identified themselves with the deposed martyrs of Strathbogie, whom they still recognized as ministers, and encouraged to hold out by preaching in their pulpits and assisting them in their clerical public duties. And by which of these parties was the Church of Scotland represented? Statesmen in London were at a loss to decide, and even their Scottish

advisers were in many instances bewildered. To enlighten them on this question a public manifestation was necessary; and accordingly an extraordinary meeting was held in the West Kirk of Edinburgh on the 25th of August, which was attended by 1200 ministers and elders, who unanimously passed a series of resolutions asserting the freedom of the church from secular control, and maintaining the principle of non-intrusion. This, it might be thought, was evidence enough of the prevailing spirit of the church, but unfortunately it failed to convince; and when a second appeal was made to the House of Lords upon the case of Auchterarder, in consequence of the Court of Session having decreed an action against the presbytery for refusing to ordain Mr. Young, the sentence was confirmed by the lords. This final decision was conclusive in every such case where nothing opposed the imposition of a minister upon a parish except his rejection by the people It was also decided by the House of Peers as an incontrovertible principle, that all church courts, even in their spiritual functions, were subject to the coercion of the civil magistrate

By this summary process the great controversy of the Scottish church for nearly three centuries was settled at once, and by a downright blow. But would the blow be submissively received? Would no reaction follow? The history of Scotland scarcely warranted such an illogical conclusion. Even at the best such a secession must ensue as would rend the church in twain, and make it a matter of indifference to which portion of the fragments the title of an Establishment should be awarded. Something, however, it was still necessary to do in order to avert such a national calamity; and accordingly a circular was issued by thirty-two of the oldest and most respected ministers of the church, inviting their brethren from every part of Scotland to a conference which was to be held upon the subject at Edinburgh. In reference to the late decision of the lords, the invitation stated. "Without entering into the legal merits or demerits of the judgment, its undoubted effect is to place us in a position where we may represent, with all deference to the legislature, that the specific statute rested on by the civil court has now for the first time, and in opposition to all former opinions, been so construed as to place it in direct conflict with the constitution unalterably secured to the national church of this country. We can, therefore, present this alternative to the legislature, and crave their own decision upon it—Whether they will destroy the constitution of the church or remodel this particular statute: and, so long as we have the faith of treaties and of coronation oaths for our securities, we may hope that the legislature will yet respect the privileges assigned sacredly and inviolably to our church, and which, both at the Revolution and at the union of the kingdoms, were declared to belong to her without any alteration for ever." This meeting, known as the Convocation, was held in Edinburgh on the 17th of November, 1842, and was attended by 465 ministers. The sittings were continued for a week, and the discussions were accompanied with careful deliberation and with devotional services. It was felt that the decisions of the civil courts were subversive of the constitution of the church, and, unless a remedy was devised, must end in its destruction But what, in such a case, would be the most efficient remedy? and what would be their duty if no such remedy was granted? A fresh "non-intrusion" measure was suggested, but speedily negatived as hopeless, while a holding-on to the Establishment under such repeated injuries would only provoke fresh aggressions that might end in a popular revolution. The gentler as well as safer course was to retire from an Establishment in which they could no longer remain with the approval of their own consciences and in consistency with their past professions This conclusion was intimated in two series of resolutions. By the first it was declared that the second judgment given by the lords in the Auchterarder case was subversive of all spiritual jurisdiction and fatal to the very existence of church government By the second series it was declared to be the duty of the church to terminate its connection with the state should no redress be granted. Having thus decisively committed themselves upon the issue, the ministers retired to their homes and prepared themselves for the worst

It was no wonder if these decisions were sufficiently perplexing to our statesmen, presenting as they did an alternative which statesmen have seldom to encounter. It was something new for them to be told that so large a body of churchmen, after so long a period of deliberation, had consented to renounce all the proverbial comforts of their position rather than recede from their principles; and they thought that when it reached the abandonment of manse, glebe, and stipend, the *argumentum ad crumenam* would prevail. In this belief they were fortified by representations from Edinburgh, which assured them that not forty, perhaps not even twenty of these clergymen would retire, when the crisis actually arrived. No hope of redress was therefore held out; and the day for the meeting of the General Assembly arrived, on which the protesters must redeem their pledges. It was the 18th of May, 1843—a day memorable in modern Scottish history; and St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, in which the Assembly was held, was filled with a crowd of anxious spectators. After

the usual preliminaries were finished, and when the business of the house should have commenced, the Rev Dr. Welsh, the moderator of the Assembly, stood up to address the lord-commissioner. But it was only to announce the final resolution of himself and his brethren, and to bid the Assembly a last farewell. "According to the usual form of procedure," he said, "this is the time for making up the roll, but in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and privileges—proceedings which have been sanctioned by her majesty's government, and by the legislature of the country; and more especially in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our constitution, so that we could not now constitute this court without a violation of the terms of the union between church and state in this land, as now authoritatively declared, I must protest against our proceeding further The reasons which have led me to this conclusion are fully set forth in the document which I hold in my hand, and which, with permission of the house, I shall now proceed to read." He then read the protest which had been prepared and sanctioned three days previously at a meeting of the brethren, and at the close, he laid it upon the table before the clerk of the Assembly, bowed to the lord-commissioner, and retired This final movement was the signal of departure, and a long train followed composed of city and country ministers, men of the highest distinction for worth and talent, and holding some of the best livings of the church and the universities; and of those ruling elders, the lay element of the Scottish ecclesiastical government, who had resisted every aggression of the state upon the rights of the church until resistance was unavailing The promise was fulfilled, the dreaded event had taken place, and those who remained in the half-emptied building gazed at the dissolving view as if yet only half assured of its reality. Nor was the popular feeling out of doors less lively, as soon as the long train appeared, and marched silently and slowly downward to the distant hall which had been hastily prepared to receive them in the anticipation of such a departure From the crowded street, from the crowded windows and housetops, a thunder-peal of approbation welcomed them, while many strong men sobbed, or turned aside under feelings too big for utterance The ministers who had thus left their all behind them were the chosen and cherished of the people; they had vindicated their high characters by the voluntary endurance of a penalty tantamount in modern ecclesiastical reckoning to that of martyrdom itself, and now, as homeless and bereaved men, they were going forth to the wide world ignorant as yet of what might await them This, then, was in very deed the Disruption'—a great ecclesiastical revolution which a grievance of two centuries had produced at last. And yet, unlike other great national changes, in which the popular feeling is wound up to the uttermost, it was a revolution at the climax of which not a blow was struck, not a threat uttered. But not the less was it pregnant with most momentous consequences, both to the present age and to generations yet unborn. It was a great silent movement, such as religious principle alone could have produced, and such a country as Scotland have exhibited.

As a new General Assembly was to be held, and a new church constituted by those who had forsaken the old, the departing members repaired to the appointed place at the Canonmills, a suburb lying at the foot of the hill at the northern extremity of Edinburgh The building which received them was a disused gas-work that had been erected upon the model of a Moorish palace or *hambra*, and in its chief hall 3000 expecting spectators were already assembled to welcome them A new moderator of the Assembly was to be elected, and Dr Chalmers, the father of the movement, was appropriately called to the chair; new church office-bearers were to be appointed, which was done with equal unanimity; and the usual religious solemnities were observed, and the business of the Assembly commenced, as if each member had already found his place after nothing more than a momentary interruption. At the opening speech of the venerable moderator, after a short history of the claims of the church and their rejection by the legislature, Dr Chalmers thus continued —"We now make a higher appeal from our constitution, which has been disregarded, to our conscience, which tells us that the ecclesiastical ought not to be subjected to the civil power in things spiritual We are therefore compelled, though with great reluctance and deep sorrow of heart, to quit the advantages of the British establishment, because she has fallen from her original principles, in the hope that we shall be suffered to prosecute our labours in peace on the ground of British toleration These are the principles that have occasioned the movements of this day, and brought us together on the present occasion And now, reverend fathers and brethren, it is well that you should have been strengthened by your Master in heaven to make the surrender you have done of everything that is dear to nature, casting aside all your earthly dependence rather than offend conscience, incur the guilt of sinful compliance by thwarting your own sense of duty, and run counter to the Bible, our great church directory and statute-book. It is well that you have made for the present a clear escape from this condemnation, and that in the issue of the contest between a

sacrifice of principle and a sacrifice of your worldly possessions you have resolved upon the latter; and while, to the eye of some, you are without a provision and a home, embarked on a wide sea of uncertainty, save that great and generous certainty which is apprehended by the eye of faith, that God reigneth, and that he will not forsake the families of the faithful. We read in the Scriptures, and I believe it will be found true in the history and experience of God's people, that there is a certain light, and joyfulness, and elevation of spirit consequent upon a moral achievement such as this. There is a certain felt triumph, like that of victory after conflict, attending upon a practical vindication which conscience has made of her own supremacy when she has been plied by many and strong temptations to degrade or to dethrone her. Apart from Christianity altogether, there has been realized a joyfulness of heart, a proud swelling of conscious integrity, when a conquest has been effected by the higher over the inferior powers of our nature, and so among Christians too, there is a legitimate glorying, as when the disciples of old gloried in the midst of their tribulations, when the Spirit of glory and of God rested on them, when they were made partakers of the divine nature and escaped the corruption that is in the world, or as when the apostle Paul rejoiced in the testimony of his conscience." The venerable and eloquent speaker did not forget that this was also an opportunity for warning, and therefore he solemnly added—"But let us not forget in the midst of this rejoicing the deep humility that pervades their songs of exultation—the trembling which these holy men mixed with their mirth—trembling arising from a sense of their own weakness: and then courage, inspired by the thought of that aid and strength which were to be obtained out of His fulness who formed all their boasting and all their defence. Never in the history of our church were such feelings and such acknowledgments more called for than now; and, in the transition we are making, it becomes us to reflect on such sentiments as these.—'Not me, but the grace of God in me,' and 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.'"[1]

Thus was the Free Church of Scotland constituted, and its first General Assembly held. The sittings continued from the 18th to the 30th of May, and during this period a great variety and amount of business was transacted. And foremost of these was the deed of demission, by which the retiring clergymen announced their abandonment of the Established church and the livings they held in it, which was subscribed by 474 ministers. A new machinery was needed for instant action, involving the erection of churches and schools, the sustentation of ministers and teachers, the support of missions at home and abroad—for all those schemes of evangelization, instruction, and active benevolence of which the ministers of the Free church, while in connection with the Establishment, had been the principal founders and supporters But never had Scottish ardour been so tempered with calculation and prudence as upon the present trying occasion. Instead of waiting and hoping to the last, and thus incurring the risk of being taken at unawares, the rejection of their demands by the state and the necessity of a separation had already been anticipated, and every preparation made for such an event, so that when it arrived, it by no means came upon them unprovided. Even before its arrival, 687 associations had been formed throughout the country, and by their exertions in raising funds, should a disruption be found necessary, £232,347 had been raised within two months, which, by the contributions that afterwards arrived from London, Ireland, and America, was raised to £366,719 There was thus a fund awaiting it, both for present emergencies and future action, of which the Free church could avail itself at the outset

In these associations and these contributions, the unmistakeable sympathies of the people had been announced, and the course they were likely to pursue, by which the ecclesiastical disruption should become a great national movement. In almost every case, the bulk of the congregation followed the retiring minister; the Established churches over the land were suddenly half-emptied; and in some of the more remote counties, such as Ross and Sutherland, the exodus was so complete, that little more was left of the old order of things than the ministers themselves, with their door keepers and church-officers and a few conservative heritors. But even more remarkable than the disruption among the clerical order at home, were the effects of it among the Scottish missionaries abroad—men whose spheres of action had been assigned, and means of labour furnished by that revived evangelical spirit of which this great movement was the result However remote from the seat of action, they had watched every proceeding with the most intense sympathy, and as soon as tidings of the crisis reached them, they formally abandoned their connection with the Establishment, and joined the Free Church of Scotland. This, too, was done so promptly, so spontaneously, and universally, notwithstanding their separation from each other, and lack of the means of mutual concert, as showed their convictions upon

[1] Buchanan's *History of the Ten Years' Conflict*, vol. ii. chap xiv. xv., Hetherington's *History of the Church of Scotland*, *Annual Register*, 1843, Martineau's *History of the Last Thirty Years*, *Disruption Memorials*, &c

which side the right lay, and how well prepared they were to follow it.

So signal a commencement took the whole British public by surprise. But it was not to them alone that the sensation was confined. Into every country where the report went forth, there was a feeling of astonishment not unmingled with sympathy and respect. They had read of the sacrifices and struggles at the Reformation, when princes abandoned their thrones, and communities perilled their national liberties, rather than abandon the cause of religion, and do violence to their consciences. But so long a reign of political utilitarianism had succeeded, that these sacrifices had been deemed the characteristics of an age that had for ever passed away—exploits that exclusively belonged to a romantic period of the world's history, and which men might read of, but could never hope to see again. But, lo! that season had returned; even the nineteenth century could furnish an army of martyrs and confessors; and thoughtful inquiring men, whom the tidings had roused in different continental countries, repaired to Scotland that they might witness the phenomenon with their own bodily eyes, and record it in their books. But all this only made the enemies of the Disruption more indignant, and they declared that it was nothing more than a spasmodic throe that would speedily be followed by utter prostration. In spite, however, of their angry predictions, the first effort was but the commencement of a permanent habit, and the Free church still exists as a solid reality An idea also of its steady increase may be formed from the fact, that it now possesses in Scotland 875 places of worship and numbers 846 ordained ministers, independently of those congregations which it has in England and Ireland, on the Continent and in the colonies It has two colleges, one at Edinburgh and another at Glasgow, besides a theological hall in Aberdeen, at which 194 students are educated for the ministry It has also a home mission, with an annual revenue now nearly amounting to £10,000, by which the most benighted of our districts are pervaded with religious instruction, and in the working of which the missionary students are trained for the practical duties of the ministry And even reduced to the secular but convincing criterion of pounds, shillings, and pence, the present condition of the Free church not only indicates the zeal and liberality of the people, but the stability of the cause. The following general abstract, showing the sums raised for the various objects of the Free Church of Scotland for the year from 31st March, 1858, to 31st March, 1859, is more illustrative of the subject than any amount of disquisition :—

Sustentation Fund, .	£110,435	7	6
Building Fund, . .	41,179	2	0½
Congregational Fund,	94,481	19	6
Missions and Education,	55,896	11	0
Miscellaneous, .	41,384	12	10
Total,	£343,377	12	10½

From the foregoing sketch of the history of religion in Britain during these thirty years, it will be distinctly seen that the age of apathy and indifference had expired; that the struggle of a new and better life had commenced, and that these convulsive efforts, painful though they might be, were proofs of vitality, and promises of a happy result. The cold dull repose of the valley of death had ended, and the moving of the dry bones was the needful prelude to the rising up of a living multitude. But while this stir was necessarily accompanied with much contradiction and contention, there was one great and holy object in which all sects harmonized, and upon the work of which they all heartily co-operated. It was that of missionary enterprise, which, having commenced with the present century, had been going on since the close of the preceding period with fresh impulses and a wider application. But the time has not yet arrived for writing the history of these missions, and we can only afford for them a passing notice. In England the following were the principal missionary institutions that arose during the present period, with the year of their establishment, and their field of operation :—

1840 Welsh Foreign Missionary Society—India
1844 The (Free) Presbyterian Church in England—China.
1844 The Patagonian Missionary Society—Patagonia and South America
1845 The Naval Missionary Society for the Loo Choo Islands.
1850 The Chinese Evangelization Society

In Scotland, the following missionary societies were originated, viz :—

1835 The United Presbyterian Synod Missionary Society — West Indies, West Africa, and Caffraria
1842 The Reformed Presbyterian Synod—New Hebrides
1843 The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland —India, Caffraria
1843 Home Mission of the Free Church

In Ireland—

1840 The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland—India [1]

The united expenditure of the British missionary societies averages nearly or about £600,000 per annum, an amount which is freely and cheerfully paid through the annual public appeal to British benevolence This cordial response on the part of the Christian public is the more to be admired, when we take into account the difficulties and discouragements with which missionary enterprise has hitherto been attended, and

[1] Dr Brown's *History of Missions*, Annual Missionary Reports.

the results as yet apparently so inadequate to such a numerous agency and liberal expenditure. But it is a trial of Christian faith; and it is patiently endured, in the full belief that the regeneration of the world is certain, however long delayed or obstinately resisted. Years of waiting and watching are not thought too much to be bestowed in fertilizing the desert, and rearing anew the cedars of Lebanon. We doubt not that the twentieth century will initiate a glorious missionary history to which the nineteenth was only a preparative.

While the missionary cause has been thus so active, its great instrument of action—the Bible—has accompanied all its movements, so that while no country has been too barbarous or remote for a Christian mission, no language has been deemed too rude or barren as a vehicle for Christian instruction There is scarcely, therefore, a language or a dialect into which the Scripture has not been translated, or region into which it has not been introduced. In this good work the British and Foreign Bible Society has attained a pre-eminence worthy of the public confidence it has secured, and the vast machinery it has been able to put in motion; and to give an idea of the latter, it is enough to state that, while it has been the parent of many others, there are between 8000 and 9000 auxiliary societies belonging to it, which are extended like a net-work over Great Britain and Ireland, among our colonies, and in foreign countries.

While the wants of the heathen have thus been so amply cared for, by making a copy of the Bible accessible, and its language intelligible to all, the same solicitude has been manifested for the ignorant of our own country. It was soon felt that for every cottage to have a Bible, and every cottager to be able to read it, was a hopeless wish, so long as the book itself was made so costly that the poor would not purchase it, or at least could not, without a heavy sacrifice. An agitation for cheap Bibles was the consequence, and it commenced in Scotland in 1839, when the profitable monopoly of the queen's printers to print the Bible had expired. The renewal of their patent was successfully resisted, chiefly through the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Adam Thomson of Coldstream, and by a decree of parliament a board was established in Scotland for granting licenses to print the authorized versions of the Scriptures. The effect of this has been, that the Bible, formerly one of the dearest, is now one of the cheapest books in circulation In England, indeed, the monopoly of printing the Bible still belongs to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to her majesty's printer for England; but in consequence of a controversy on the subject in 1840–1, the prices of Bibles and Testaments have been so greatly reduced as to place them within the reach of the poorest of the English community

In this brief sketch of the history of religion from A D. 1830 to the present day, we have only adverted to some of the leading points, and that, too, in a very scanty and cautious manner. But for this reluctance we are certain that the reflective reader will forgive us Reminiscence and suggestion are what he chiefly demands when the subject has become so personal to himself, and to this modest limit we have endeavoured to confine our view, more especially as it is the history of action still going onward, and the result of which is still unknown. To our successors we bequeath the duty of recording its development

CHAPTER XXIV.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM IV. (A.D. 1830), TO THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA (A.D. 1860).

Difficulties in the detail of Progress during the present period—Commercial position of Britain at the commencement of this period—Causes of her commercial pre-eminence—The cotton trade—Improvement in its manufactures—Extent of the cotton trade—Its effect in the increase of our manufacturing towns—Attempts to benefit our other manufactures at the expense of that of cotton—State of our linen and woollen manufactures—Our iron manufactures—Coal used instead of wood in the smelting of iron—Invention of the hot-blast—The coal trade of Britain—Relative money value of our exports and imports—Shipping and men employed in them—The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1851—Preliminary minor exhibitions—Universality of the invitation to the Industrial Exhibition of 1851—Erection of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park—Its opening on the 1st of May—Desire to perpetuate the plan of the Exhibition—Erection of the new Crystal Palace at Sydenham—Its various collections—Its elevating, intellectual, and industrial tendencies—Improvement in the application of steam power—Desire to extend locomotion by steam to land as well as sea conveyance—The first experiments in land travelling by steam—The Stephensons—The Liverpool and Manchester railway—The first locomotive employed on it—Rapid multiplication of railways—The railway mania—Its effects—Railway travelling and its profits—Its dangers shown at its commencement—Parliamentary enactments for the safety of railway travelling—Highways and canals partially superseded by the railway—Increase of the means of comfortable living effected by industrial improvements—Statistics of this increase as compared with former periods—The grain and cattle markets of Britain and their supplies—Necessary inequality in the distribution of this abundance—Continued increase in the numbers and destitution of the poor—Facilities of Britain in furnishing means for the unemployed—Our colonies, and their adaptation to every class—Increase of emigration to the colonies—Our Australian colonies—The gold discovery—Its attractions to emigration—Immense returns from the Australian gold fields—Their effects in the rapid growth of these colonies—Persons fitted to succeed as emigrants—Wonderful effects of emigration upon the Irish—Immense remittances made by them to their friends in Ireland—Condition of the lower classes in Britain during the present period—Their increasing numbers and deterioration—Causes of this increase—Defective education for the lower classes—Restrictions on the transfer and sale of land by the strictness of the law of entail—Consequent decrease of our independent yeomanry—Decrease of our small farmers—Disappearance of our open air field-sports and pastimes—Multiplication of rural ale-houses and civic haunts of dissipation—Statistical amount of pauperism during the present period—Gross immorality in its mode of life—Prevalence of infanticide—Criminal convictions—Comparative criminal statistics of 1817 and 1857—Interposition of government to the growth of crime—Remedies of social science applied to the lowest orders—The national vice of drunkenness—Its hold upon the lowest orders—Institution of temperance societies—Their beneficial effects—Remedies for the classes immediately above the lowest—Cheap publications—Their origin, character, and purpose—Their good effects on the working and middle classes—Improvement of public education—Normal schools—Associations for public improvement—Progress of science—Electricity—Invention of the electric telegraph—Extent of its operations—Its modes of communication—Electricity applied to the service of the fine arts—Invention of the art of electrotype—Photography—Its origin—Invention of the daguerreotype and calotype processes—Their improvements, application, and uses—Chemistry—Its extensive application—Its important uses in agriculture—Astronomy—Recent extension of astronomical discovery—Its discoveries applied to the improvement of navigation—Astronomical societies and observatories in Britain—Zeal of private students in the science—Lord Rosse's telescope—Star-clouds—Their perplexing character—Geology—Recently reduced to a science—Antagonistic theories of the earth by Hutton and Werner—Their followers, the Vulcanists and Neptunists—Smith's discoveries in the secondary rocks of England—Rapid improvement and extension in geological research—Practical application of the science—Geography—Revival of the attempt to find a north-west passage to India—Expeditions to the polar regions—Their discoveries and failures—Hopelessness of the attempt to discover the north-west passage—Explorations in Africa—The travellers Denham, Clapperton, Lander, &c.—Expedition to Negroland by Richardson, Overweg, and Barth—Communications between the Cape of Good Hope and the interior of Africa—Discoveries of Dr Livingston—Expedition of Burton and Speke to the lake Tanganyika—Geographical discoveries of travellers in the interior of Australia—Discoveries in North America—Trigonometrical survey of the British Islands and India—Improvements in hydrography—Application of the improvements of science to the art of war—Its greater destructiveness—Probable results of the change—Exclusive cultivation of science during the last thirty years—Its effect upon literature—Present state of literature in Britain—Eminent writers of the last period who have been continued to the present—Authors in literature exclusively of the present period—Increase of female authorship—Predominance of novel-writing in the present day—Causes of this predominance—General character of our present novel-writing—Principal authors in this department—Female novelists—Periodical literature, magazines, and reviews—The newspaper—Influence of newspapers in the government of every country—Especial adaptation of the newspaper for Britain—Universal demand for it—Origin and history of newspaper writing in Britain—Restrictions imposed on newspapers by a government tax—Effects of these restrictions—Their removal—

Consequent multiplication of newspapers—Poetry—Its present scantiness among us contrasted with the previous abundance—Causes of this dearth—Our living poets—Predominance of the poetry of action over that of words—Tennyson—His principal poems—His successful attempt to revive the ancient romance in poetry—Resources afforded to modern literature by our public libraries—Libraries of the universities—Library of the British Museum—Its origin, growth, and contents—Its accommodations for general study—Public libraries of Scotland—Progress of the fine arts—Painting—Discouragements of historical painting in Britain—Promise given of its revival in the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament—Unsatisfactory result—Prevalence of *genre* painting in the British school of art—The pre-Raphaelite school of painting—Its effects in producing greater correctness—Present state of our national school of painting—Influence of photography on art—Means used for the improvement of the public taste—Picture collections thrown open to the public—The National Gallery—Sources of its accumulation—The Turner, Vernon, and Sheepshanks collections—The National Portrait Gallery—Its regulations and tendencies—The Hampton Court collection and Greenwich Naval Gallery—The Scottish National Gallery—Art-Unions—Their effect in cultivating a general taste for art—Establishment of schools of design—Necessity for their establishment—Their beneficial effect upon our manufactures—Progress of sculpture—Our public monuments—Progress of architecture—Imitative tendency of our architects—Progress of music—Attempts to popularize it—The Volunteer movement—Reviews in London and Edinburgh—Effects of the movement—Conclusion

WE now approach the last portion of our task—the history of the progress of the living generation—with misgiving of heart and a reluctant step. For let the character and spirit of the record be what it may, a history of the present period cannot fail to disappoint and to offend Every man has viewed the period for himself, and in relation to his own principles, interests, or prejudices, and amidst such a contrariety, each reader will find that something has been omitted, something exaggerated, something misrepresented It was not thus when we dealt with past events and with the dead, or described a state of society in every way inferior to the condition of the present day. The sympathy that could be excited for departed worth, and the self-complacency that could be flattered by the superiority of the living over the dead, are, in this case, exchanged for the feelings of a present struggle, of which every one has a personal share and his peculiar point of observation. In such a difficulty, the utmost we can attempt is lightly to touch the more important points of the subject—to be suggestive rather than communicative—and content ourselves with pointing out the path to be trod, rather than attempt to lead the way, and be the *cicerone* of every stage of the journey. To this limited duty we are also necessarily confined by the magnitude and complexity of the subject, for which whole volumes, instead of a single chapter, are usually found insufficient

When the present period in the history of national progress had arrived, Britain had fully realized the important character for which she was destined by her commerce and manufactures she had become the metropolis of the world. To this high position her whole career for years and for ages had been pointing. Her insular situation, which gave her the command of the whole ocean for her highway; her fertile soil, which served as a capital with which she could advance her mercantile successes or encounter their reverses, the national character of her people, in which the interfusion of several races was combined with a harmonious blending of their activity, industry, perseverance, and inventiveness—all these had been the natural preparations for a destiny of which Tyre, Carthage, Palmyra, Holland were but imperfect types. And all these advantages, so greatly surpassing whatever had been possessed by former commercial states, were crowned by the nature of her laws and the character of her government. The imposts of feudalism, the restrictions of monopolies, the various taxes which an earlier age had imposed upon industrial activity and enterprise, had one by one been removed, and at no time more than during the earlier part of the present period. But more than all these combined, was the inviolability of property, and the liberty of the subject, which formed the great characteristics of the British constitution. Men might traffic where they listed, and afterwards enjoy the fruits of their industry without check or interference. Mercantile communities might construct works and invest sums to any amount, of which the distant returns could only be realized by their heirs, without the dread that all might be swept away, by either those anarchical or despotic revolutions to which other governments were liable. The vine and fig-tree under which our commercial wealth so confidently reposed were not the growth of a night, and though the passing winds might shake their branches, they could not loosen their roots. Such was the commercial conviction of our country amidst those national changes upon the Continent, by which governments had been subverted and dynasties overturned; and in this confidence, an extent of traffic had been undertaken, and an amount of capital sunk, that will form a rich inheritance for future generations.

The chief article of all this manufacturing

industry, and commercial enterprise and wealth, is cotton, which being sent to this country in its original state, is fabricated into every kind of clothing which luxury or comfort can demand, and sent out to every part of the earth. An inquiry therefore into this great staple of our trade demands our first consideration.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century, the boundless wealth contained in this branch of traffic began to be surmised, and the national ingenuity, aided by the resources of science, was on the stretch to devise expedients by which the tedious processes of preparing cotton manufactures might be simplified and improved. The methods invented for converting the raw material into yarn, and weaving the yarn into webs of every colour, texture, and variety, are among the noblest specimens of human ingenuity, and their reward is exhibited in the statistics of our cotton trade, as compared with its nature and results in former periods This change has especially been perceptible since the year 1814 It was then that the remarkable fall commenced which has taken place in the price of cotton goods in general Of this change it is enough to state, that, whereas in 1814, 100 yards of calico would cost 16*s.* 6*d*, 650 yards can now be had for 20*s.* 6*d* The cause of this change has been partly owing to the great fall in the price of the material, but the main cause is to be found in the immense multiplication and improvement of our machinery The same cause, instead of diminishing, has only proportionably increased the value of this department of our commerce, by extending the use of our cotton fabrics not only among the women of Britain, but over the whole world This advantage, also, we are still enabled to retain, notwithstanding the rivalry of other nations, through our abundant resources of iron and coal for the application of steam, and the superiority of our power-looms and other cotton-working machinery.

Of the progress of our cotton trade an estimate may be formed, by the quantity of raw material imported into Britain during fourteen years of the present period. In 1840 it amounted to 592,488,010 lbs, in 1845 to 721,979,953, in 1854 to 887,335,904, and in 1858 to 1,034,342,176 To turn this raw material to account, our cotton manufactures alone are calculated to employ 542,000 weavers, spinners, bleachers, &c, and 80,000 engineers, machine-makers, smiths, masons, joiners, &c. The value of the products of this cotton manufacture is estimated at about £52,000,000 per annum, of which £17,000,000 are expended in wages to the several above-mentioned craftsmen, leaving a satisfactory profit to their employers.

The power of the cotton trade has been manifested in the increase of our principal cities during the present period, as well as the general wealth it has created. Thus, Liverpool, which in 1831 had a population of 165,175 inhabitants, had increased in 1851 to 375,955. Glasgow, which in 1831 had 202,426 inhabitants, and in 1841 274,533, had increased in 1851 to 347,001 inhabitants. Manchester and Salford, which in 1831 had a population of 227,808, had in 1851, 367,232 inhabitants But even the smaller cotton manufacturing towns of England have increased with equal rapidity. Thus the population of—

	Inhabitants.		Inhabitants.
Preston was, in	1780, 6,000	In	1851, 69,542
Blackburn	1801, 11,980	,,	1851, 46,536
Bolton	1801, 17,416	,,	1851, 61,171
Wigan	1801, 10,989	,,	1851, 31,941

Of the larger towns in the above enumeration, few have profited by the cotton trade so greatly as Glasgow, which was one of the first to avail herself of this source of commercial prosperity. It has been mainly through its prolific agency at the outset, and the great development of her iron and coal trade which followed, that her population, which at the commencement of this century was about 75,000, now falls little short of half a million, while in wealth as well as population, she is now virtually the capital of Scotland. The manufacture of muslins, which commenced in Scotland in 1825, has been since that period carried on almost entirely by Glasgow houses, one of which alone in 1857, when this department of industrial enterprise had reached its height, employed 500 men and 1500 women in the city, and from 20,000 to 30,000 females, partly in Ayrshire and other districts of Scotland, but mostly in Ireland

The rapid predominance in the manufacture of cotton above every other commodity, created alarm in the minds of over-prudent statesmen, who foresaw, in this use of a foreign product, the depreciation of our own home-produced material, upon which the industry of our country had so long been exercised, and its commercial character mainly founded What was to become of our linen and woollen manufactures, if the demand for their cloths was to be superseded by the other cheaper produce? The short-sighted expedient was adopted of laying a tax upon calico-printing, in order to bring up its price to that of linen and woollen stuffs Accordingly, so early as 1774, a duty was imposed upon it of 3*d.* per yard, which in 1806 was raised to 3½*d.* But a more intelligent and liberal spirit had commenced with the present period, under which any kind of restriction upon any branch of manufacture and commerce was to find little favour; and on the entrance of Mr. Paulett Thompson into office, as vice-president of the board of

trade, in 1830, this tax upon calicoes was repealed. The effect of this wholesome measure was speedily apparent. In 1829 only 89,862,433 yards of all descriptions of printed goods were exported; but in 1841 the exportation of printed cottons alone amounted to 329,240,892 yards, of the declared value of £7,772,735. But bounties upon the articles of commerce were now as ungracious as restrictions, and therefore, during the same year in which this calico-tax was taken off, the bounty on the exportation of linen as well as of several other articles was withdrawn

Of our linen manufactures a brief notice will now suffice. It was natural that they should yield to the predominance of cotton, more especially after the state patronage was withdrawn from them, and accordingly, the trade in linen, although still important, is not so great as in former periods. Throughout the United Kingdom the linen manufacture employs 133,000 hands, while its annual value is estimated at £10,000,000.

In our former notices of the mercantile progress of the country, the importance of its woollen manufactures was distinctly stated these indeed constituted the chief source of its wealth, and as such were still worthy of cultivation. they also continued to be indispensable, as their products will be needed, let whatever other articles be used along with them, in furniture and clothing It was fortunate also that the resources of improved skill and new materials were at hand for cheapening the price and thereby extending the use of woollen fabrics. The first step in this direction was made about the year 1834, when goods which had been manufactured from wool alone began to be made of worsted weft and cotton warp, by which the trade was greatly increased Another improvement that followed in 1836 was the introduction of the wool of the alpaca or Peruvian llama, and subsequently the introduction of mohair, or goat's wool of Asia Minor. The final step was to combine silk itself with this mixture of common wool, alpaca, and mohair, and this, with the application of improved machinery, has so benefited our woollen manufactures, as to insure for them a ready market in every part of the world. The continued importance of this department of manufacture is attested by the fact, that there are 1282 woollen factories in England and Wales, of which 807 belong to Yorkshire alone Of this county, the great woollen mart of the kingdom, the town of Bradford may be considered the centre and capital, where the worsted manufactures are most abundant, and have been best cultivated and improved. The fruits of this industry have been shown in the statistics of the town In 1801 Bradford contained only 13,264 inhabitants, but in 1851 they had increased to 103,782. In the first of these years it possessed no more than three mills, but in the last it had upwards of 160 in active operation

Scarcely inferior in national importance are our iron manufactures, in the working of which Britain was inferior to other countries until nearly the middle of the last century, on account of timber only being used in the process of smelting, and the consequent failure which took place in this kind of fuel, so that more than two-thirds of the iron used in our island had to be imported from abroad. And yet, even so early as 1619, Edward Lord Dudley had invented a process for smelting iron with pit-coal instead of timber; and in that year he took out a patent for the purpose, but the works erected by his lordship were destroyed by the ignorant rabble, and himself almost ruined by the loss. Thus affairs continued until the great scarcity of wood revived the memory of Lord Dudley's attempt, and about the year 1740 pit-coal was once more used in the making of iron at Colebrookdale, and two or three other places And even then, thirty more years had to elapse before coal instead of timber came into general use. The progress of this change may be estimated from the following brief statement. In 1740 the quantity of pig-iron made in England and Wales amounted to about 22,000 tons, in 1788 it had risen to 68,000, in 1796 to 125,000, in 1806 to 250,000, and in 1820 to 400,000 tons. From the growing use of iron for many purposes not originally contemplated, and especially from the multiplication of steam-engines, and the construction of railroads, the produce of iron throughout England, Scotland, and Wales, which in 1825 amounted to 615,236 tons, had risen in 1848 to 2,008,200 tons In 1857 the continuing rise had brought up the amount to 3,659,447 tons. The greatest improvement of our own day in the smelting of iron has been the invention of Mr. J B Neilson of Glasgow Formerly, the air of the blast furnaces was uniformly at the temperature of the atmosphere from which it was taken, and the effect was, not only to produce a lower degree of heat, but to supply a quantity of moisture which is prejudicial to the process of smelting This moisture, which is always more or less in the atmosphere, is most prevalent during the summer, and from this cause, the furnace could not work so well in that season as in winter. But by Mr Neilson's invention of the hot-blast, the air is previously dried and heated to a high temperature, the consumption of fuel is lessened to a tenth of what was formerly used in heating the furnace; while the absence of moisture has a beneficial effect on the quality of the iron. This discovery, first used in Lanarkshire, and the rich

strata of ironstone and coal with which that county abounds, have proved a mine of wealth to the district, and a source of prosperity to Glasgow, by which that city has now become the second in the empire. The money value of our pig-iron, which in the present year is more than 3,500,000 tons, has been estimated in round numbers as worth £14,000,000, but the bar-iron that may be formed from it will amount to £19,000,000. Nearly a third of our iron is principally used in Great Britain and Ireland, in consequence chiefly of the great demand in railways, the building of iron ships, and the forging of iron cables; but our exports of all kinds of iron in 1857 amounted to 1,539,386 tons, worth in declared value £13,603,337.

This immense iron manufacture could not have been carried on without that almost exhaustless supply of coal that lies side by side with those metallic strata which are dependent upon its igneous powers The use of British coal has therefore been in correspondent demand with the requirements for steam travel both by sea and land, and this increase of the coal trade is still rapidly going onward in consequence of the general adoption of steam agency in every European country, and the removal of the duties on its exportation This consumption of coal in iron manufactures alone will be understood by the fact, that three tons of coal are required for the production of every ton of wrought iron. The total of coal exported from the United Kingdom in 1857 amounted to 6,483,416 tons, valued at £3,019,228. The coal shipped coastwise in the United Kingdom during the same year was from 9,000,000 to 10,000,000 tons. The coal imported into London alone in 1858, by common roads, railways, and canals, was 1,213,464 tons, and by sea 3,266,446 tons. And when will this richest, most useful, and most necessary of mines be exhausted? It is an important national question, which was answered by Dr. Buckland in the House of Commons in 1829, when he confirmed the statement that the coal-beds of South Wales alone contained fuel enough to supply England for 2000 years. And yet, if even all the coal of our island should last for only half that period, Britain will have attained, as a nation, a longevity of which no other country can boast But upon such a distant futurity what heart, however patriotic, would dare to calculate?

Having thus given in detail our principal manufactures, which constitute the staple of our national stability and strength, we conclude by presenting a summary of them in the aggregate, by which their amount and importance will be more clearly recognized. In 1854 the total declared value of the exported produce and manufacture of the United Kingdom amounted to £97,298,909. Of this the value of £64,400,587 was sent to foreign countries, and £33,698,313 to India and our colonies. In 1855, the value of the manufactures exported was £95,346,429; in 1856, £115,544,154; and in 1857, £121,769,396.

Other articles, not the produce or manufacture of Great Britain and Ireland, constitute a portion of our national commerce, and must be taken into account. Including these in the table of exports and imports, the progress of our commercial industry and wealth during the present period may be estimated from the three following years.—

	Exports.	Imports.
There were in 1831,	£69,691,302 11 7 .	£46,245,241 6 6
,, ,, 1840,	110,198,716 0 0 .	62,004,000 0 0
,, ,, 1850,	190,101,394 0 0	105,101,607 0 0
,, ,, 1857,	285,863,927 0 0 .	136,215,849 0 0

Turning from the mere money value of these articles, to the occupation they gave to men and shipping, the accounts of the same years are thus summed up.—

		Vessels.	Tons	Men.
1831	British and Irish,	12,248 ..	2,006,397	119,143
	Foreign,	5,158	758,368	39,769
1840	British and Irish,	17,635 .	3,101,650 .	170,339
	Foreign,	10,326 .	1,331,365 .	79,550
1850	British and Irish,	30,576 .	6,044,562 .	317,810
	Foreign,	14,259 .	2,233,860	115,195
1857	British and Irish,	37,014	5,519,154	284,135
	Foreign,	..23,469	4,863,191	

In these brief statements, the adventurous enterprise, the wealth, the stability of the nation can be best recognized. they are the official returns of those silent campaigns and bloodless achievements upon which the power of Britain is founded, and by which her fame will be best perpetuated to the admiration and wonder of every future age And now, then, for the grand review, in which the victorious armies of commerce should be mustered for public parade, its banners displayed, its trophies inaugurated! Such a parade, after careful preparation and upon an adequate scale of grandeur, was to be given in the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, in the memorable year 1851.

It is interesting to notice the first steps of a design so magnificent in its conception and so important in its consequences. They date no earlier than 1756—about the same time that the Royal Academy opened its public exhibitions in painting, engraving, and sculpture. It was then that the productions of art and skill were collected and displayed in London, for the purpose of stimulating public industry and inventiveness, and although these exhibitions were on a limited scale, they were found so useful, that the plan was adopted in France, and there continued with the happiest effect, even when it had long been abandoned in England. In the former

country, the exhibition was so excellent in 1844, and the benefits of the previous displays so apparent, that the English roused themselves from their remissness, and during the years 1847 and 1848 they re-opened their exhibitions, chiefly at the instigation, and by the aid of the Society of Arts, by whom the plan had been revived. So great was now the recognized importance of these industrial displays, that they became a subject of national consideration; and it was felt that something more was necessary than France or England had as yet attempted, to give them their proper development and effect. At this point, a happy idea occurred to his royal highness Prince Albert, the consort of our beloved sovereign. it was to gather together into one place the best specimens of contemporary art and skill, and the natural productions of every soil and climate, instead of the mere local or national productions of France and England. It was to be a whole world of nature and art collected at the call of the queen of cities—a competition in which every country might have a place, and every variety of intellect its claim and chance of distinction Nothing great, or beautiful, or useful, be its native home where it might—not a discovery or invention however humble or obscure—not a candidate however lowly his rank—but would obtain admission and be estimated to the full amount of genuine worth It was to be to the nineteenth what the tournament had been to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—a challenge at once and welcome to all comers, and to which every land could send, not its brightest dame and bravest lance as of yore, but its best produce and happiest device for the promotion of universal happiness and brotherhood. It was further adapted to the free, generous, enlightened spirit of the nineteenth century, that it was to belong exclusively to the people themselves of every nation, instead of being supported and controlled by their respective governments. And that nothing might be wanting to its character as a great competitive trial, the sum of £20,000 was set apart for the expense of prizes which were to be awarded to the successful competitors.

This world-wide proclamation went forth into every country, and was met with universal welcome. it was a challenge such as men had never heard, to an emprise in which every nation might hope to be the victor. There was accordingly a stir and a preparation which in its nature formed a new era in the history of national contests. Little time was to intervene, for the great competition was to be opened in London on the 1st of May, 1851. But the place for the specimens and the spectators!—what single tent could lodge the army of Xerxes and all its equipments? This question occurred somewhat of the latest, and the directors of the Exhibition were non-plussed: they found on calculation that no building on earth would suffice to contain a tithe of it. After many expedients had been proposed and rejected, Mr. Paxton came forward with his simple plan, which effectually solved every difficulty. It was, to erect a huge building in the style of a garden conservatory, in which iron and glass should be almost the sole materials, wood being introduced only in the fittings. This method, so new, and so startling for its simplicity, was at once adopted, and the result was a building in Hyde Park nearly twice the breadth, and fully four times the length of St. Paul's. Never before had architecture combined such vastness of extent and adaptation to a specific purpose with such simple means, and when the building was finished in the short space of five months, the world was astonished to see the place where but yesterday, as it were, there had been nothing but trim walks and green sward It seemed to realize the magnificent conception of the greatest of our poets—

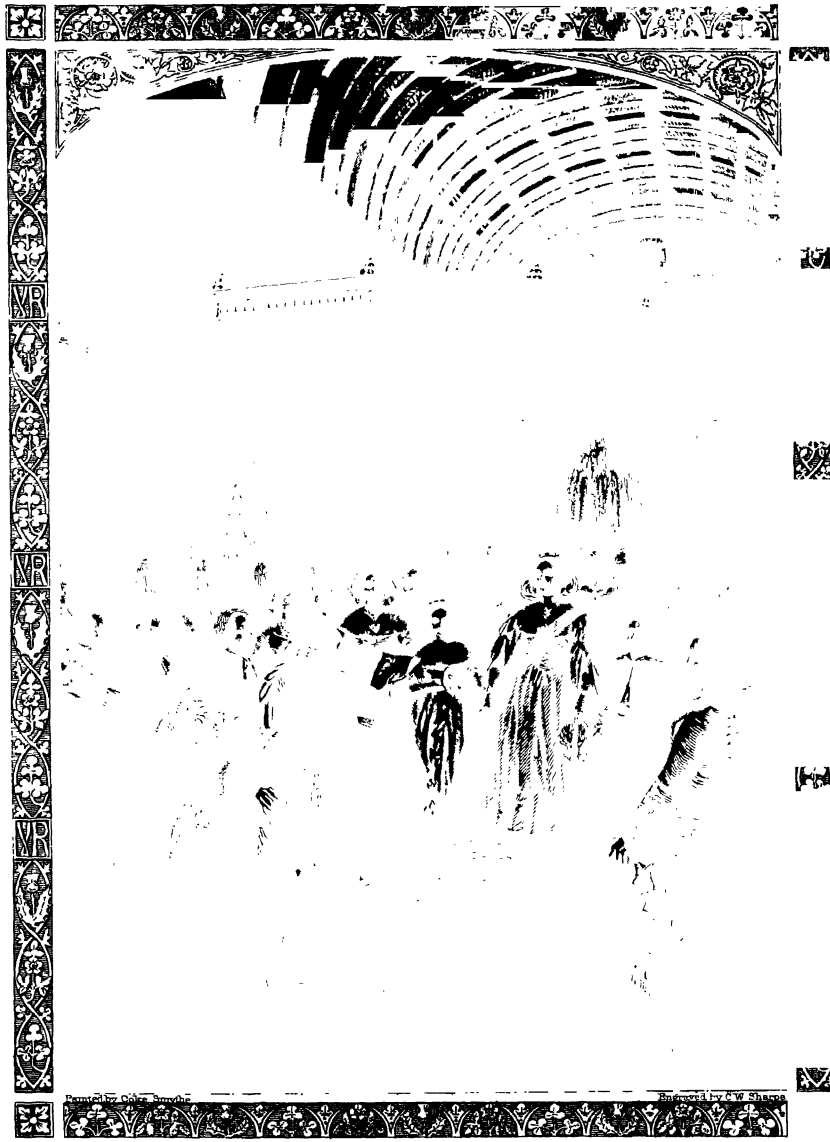
> "Anon, out of the earth a fabric huge
> Rose like an exhalation"

With its iron framework that rose towards the sky in dark slender lines, and its walls of glittering crystal that seemed to float in mid-air like a vapour, it appeared indeed an exhalation which a breath of wind might disperse—a *fata morgana* that would disappear with a sudden shift of sunshine But on looking more nearly, it was seen to be a solid edifice, the iron pillars of which were rooted deep in the earth, while within, the combination of light and lofty arches, with ribs forming a graceful metallic net-work, gave strength and security to the edifice

The "Crystal Palace," as it was appropriately called, occupied twenty-one acres of ground, and contained eight miles of tables Of this ample space a geographical division was made for the accommodation of the specimens from different countries—the whole of the building west of the great transept being assigned to Britain and her colonies, while all the space to the eastward of the transept was allotted to foreign countries and their colonies Of the profusion of specimens, natural and artificial, which were collected within such a space, we can only state in general terms that they were comprised under four great classes or divisions —1. Raw materials; 2 Machinery; 3. Manufactures, 4. Fine Arts Of the numerous subdivisions of these we have not space even for the names, comprising as they did a voluminous encyclopedia of the world of nature and art. The inauguration of the Crystal Palace, this eighth wonder of the world, as it may be justly called, was in a style of magnificence and

OPENING BY QUEEN VICTORIA OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION IN 1851.

Several industrial exhibitions of a limited character had been held in London before 1851, but to Prince Albert occurred the happy idea of bringing together the best specimens of contemporary art, manufacture, and natural produce to be found throughout the whole world. The idea when mooted was received with enthusiasm; a world-wide proclamation of welcome to exhibitors was issued; the sum of £20,000 was set aside for prizes, and to accommodate the innumerable exhibits, a huge palace of glass and iron, covering a space of twenty-one acres, was swiftly erected in Hyde Park. On the 1st May, 1851, the First Great International Exhibition was opened by the Queen, accompanied by a brilliant procession of princes, ambassadors, and nobles from all nations. *When Victoria had entered the building, and the National Anthem had been sung, the Prince Consort read to Her Majesty the report of the proceedings of the Royal Commissioners who had been intrusted with the affairs of the Exhibition.* Then Her Majesty declared the Exhibition duly open, amid the responsive enthusiasm of the assembled multitudes, who recognized in this auspicious event the best promise of Britain's safety and prosperity.



INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

OPENING OF THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF THE INDUSTRY OF ALL NATIONS

1st MAY 18

imposing ceremonial worthy of the occasion Notwithstanding the shortness of the time, all was completed for the promised day and hour, on the 1st of May, 1851, at twelve o'clock, the gates were opened, and her majesty Queen Victoria, accompanied by her royal consort, Albert Prince of Wales, the ministers and officers of state, the princes, ambassadors, and commissioners of all nations in official, military, or court attire, entered in full procession;—and amidst such a noble retinue many an eye was turned upon the spare form of the venerable Duke of Wellington, while many a heart regarded this scene of promised peace and prosperity as the last and best trophy of his many victories. A splendid throne had been erected upon a large platform, overshadowed by a silken canopy; and besides this royal seat which had been prepared for her majesty, her coming was accompanied with that auspicious attendant of her

THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF 1851 View in the Transept, looking north, showing the Crystal Fountain, &c.
Drawn and engraved by J. L. Williams

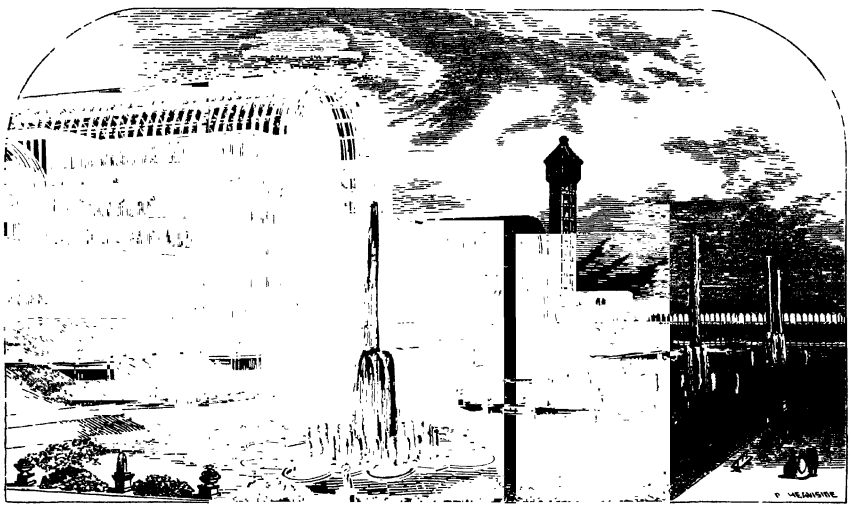
many progresses, a brilliant sunshine, that lighted up the halls, their treasures, and the crowds arrayed in their choicest attire, who were assembled in myriads within the building Never indeed had a sovereign stood amidst such a magnificent display, or one so completely indicative of national happiness and prosperity. When the queen ascended the throne the national anthem was sung by a chorus of 800 performers, accompanied with the magnificent notes of an immense organ, and the voices of the spectators, after which the royal commissioners, with the prince consort at their head, read to her majesty the report of the proceedings of the commission The pile and its purposes were then inaugurated by a prayer from the Archbishop of Canterbury, invoking a blessing upon the undertaking, and the Exhibition was opened amidst the congratulations of the queen, and the responsive gladness of her subjects, who felt in this event the triumph of arts over arms, and the best promise of their country's safety and prosperity

The Crystal Palace had only been erected for

a temporary purpose, and that purpose was at length accomplished. The nations of the earth had met under its roof, and each had been benefited by the competition. Each had seen wherein its defects lay, and had learned how they might be remedied, while all had recognized the superiority of Britain in whatever best conduces to the substantial welfare of society. Nor had our own country been neglectful of the opportunity; and this began to be manifested in more enlarged and refined perceptions of the beautiful in every department of art, and every produce of industry. But must this palace be plucked up, as well as its treasures dispersed? Must such realities pass away like the fictions of an eastern romance, and their very lessons fade through time into an indistinct remembrance? The wish to preserve the building as a permanent repository for the works of industry and art, and the productions of nature, was both intense and general, and applications were made in the first instance to government upon the subject in the earlier part of 1852, but as the original destination of the Crystal Palace had been already fulfilled, government did not feel itself warranted to purchase the building. There was little fear, however, that its materials would be dispersed as useless, for independently of the public benefits of the institution, the structure itself might be turned into a profitable mercantile speculation Mr Leech, a private gentleman, undertook the adventure of purchasing the palace, and removing it to a more eligible site Others were ready to join him, a company was formed, and shares issued in the usual plan of a great mercantile joint-stock enterprise, and half a million of money was quickly raised to begin the undertaking To make the new palace a place of universal resort, by being of easy access, as well to secure the means of conveyance for the materials of the building, a place on a metropolitan line of railway, and near London, was necessary, and accordingly 300 acres of ground were purchased for the purpose at Sydenham in Kent. Thither the palace was transferred piecemeal from Hyde Park with a facility that in earlier times would have seemed the work of enchantment But something upon a grander scale was to be produced by the new building than the old. Its strength and its dimensions, the treasures it should contain, and the rich scenery with which it should be surrounded, were to transcend anything that Hyde Park had exhibited; and accordingly all the science, talent, and activity in the empire were employed to construct the new edifice, and collect or create the rich stores it was to contain. Accordingly, while the edifice was rising, and the grounds laying out upon a scale which surpassed the ancient glories of Babylon or Hecatompylos, its artists and agents were sent into every country to procure casts and models of their choicest specimens of architecture, statuary, and sculpture; and arrangements were made to bring together every produce comprised in the wide world of nature and art into this great museum of Sydenham. Not only, indeed, do these specimens extend to the earliest products of human industry, but to those of nature herself before man existed; and thus, no division has been left in the whole range of science without its worthiest representatives and illustrations. On these accounts, a thoughtful walk through the Crystal Palace is a pilgrimage through all time, and into every country The observer wanders through the Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Alhambra courts; and in their specimens he sees the life and the history of man from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to those of the Abencerrages From the verge of that dim and far-distant estuary in which the river of time is linked with the boundless sea of eternity, he passes upward through the classical, until he comes to the medieval ages, whose courts of illustration introduce him to the earlier part of the world that now is, and the dawnings of that new civilization with which he is personally identified. And then follows the stir of the living age, in the courts of the various arts, sciences, and manufactures that lie before him—the picture gallery, the naval museum, the engineering models, the Indian court, the industrial museum and technological collection, the industrial exhibition, the agricultural machinery, and the machinery in motion—whose names alone are suggestive of their contents. The whole range of universal history, the whole progress of human improvement from the earliest ages to the present day, thus passes before his eyes like the movement of a peristrephic panorama, and forty centuries glide on successively in the course of a few hours The philosopher, the historian, the man of science, the lover of art or admirer of nature, the utilitarian and the philanthropist, the delicate fastidious man of taste and sentiment and the hard-handed, hard-working artisan have only to select, each for himself, his own favourite range in this vast museum of earth and time; and collected, as if for his own especial behoof, he will find an abundance that will leave him no room for ignorance, and a beauty that will satisfy his aspirations to the full. It is no wonder therefore if the exhibition of Sydenham has become what it was intended to be—a place of universal resort for the purposes of universal instruction and recreation. Honoured to future times be the names of those who devised such a palace as the dwelling of wisdom—who so combined all that is most alluring with whatever best tends to enlighten

and elevate—and who planted it so nigh to our great metropolis that its benefits can be circulated from the heart to the extremities of our empire! It may, indeed, pass away like an airy vapour, leaving no permanent ruins like those of the Coliseum; but its spectacles were far otherwise than those of gladiatorial shows, and its benefits will continue to be perpetuated when Roman triumphs are forgot!

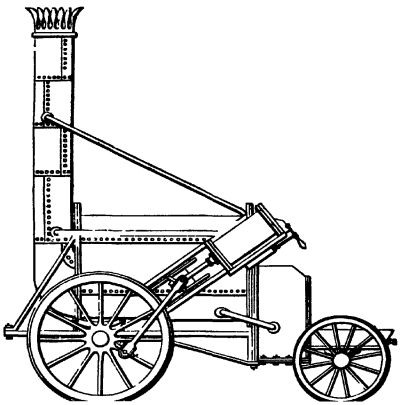
While the industrial activity of Britain had been kindling at each step of advance until its enterprise had warmed into full glow, a still greater abbreviation of time and space as well as of labour was demanded, and mercantile impatience could no longer submit to the slow intercommunication of the mail or the post-office. Deep-sea navigation by steam had not only been originated but perfected during the present period, so that no part of the ocean, however remote or stormy, was inaccessible to its visits; and giant ships, increasing yearly in magnitude, speed, and power, had begun a competition in naval architecture which has now swelled into that vessel of hitherto unmatched dimensions—the *Great Eastern*. It was now no longer a metaphor, but an every-day fact, that "time is money;" and the restless trafficker, who could waft his goods across the sea by steam navigation with a rapidity, punctuality, and safety, which to our fathers would have seemed fabulous, was irritated by the delay he encountered in passing from one town of the island to an-



Garden Front of the Crystal Palace, Sydenham.—From a drawing by J. L. Williams

other. Could he not contrive to travel as rapidly by land as by sea? And might not the power of steam, which had accomplished the former, be equally available for the latter achievement? The possibility indeed had been surmised so early, that it seemed a matter of chance whether the steam-boat or the steam-carriage should have had the priority in point of existence. In 1759, Watt, at that time a young man in his twenty-third year, and resident in Glasgow, had the idea imparted to him by Dr Robison, then a student in the university, "of applying the power of the steam-engine to the *moving of wheel-carriages* and other purposes." But the destiny of James Watt, which was sufficient for any individual man, was to develope that power in a different direction; and thus, as far as he was personally concerned, the thought of steam travel by land was nothing more than a passing idea. But it was taken up by others, so that various attempts continued to be made for the application of steam to land conveyance; and although these were experimental trials, and were one and all unsuccessful, they were steps in advance to the mark. These preludings continued until George and Robert Stephenson (father and son) entered the field, to become the honoured founders of railway travelling. It had as yet been found hopeless to make the attempt on common highways, and against the obstacles of hill and valley; but the existence of tramroads in various parts of England, which at first were of wood, but afterwards were super-

seded in 1820 by iron rails, suggested the kind of pathway along which steam carriages could move. This plan was adopted in laying down the first



R STEPHENSON'S LOCOMOTIVE—THE "ROCKET," 1829

of the railways, called the Liverpool and Manchester railway in 1829, which served as the model of those that were afterwards constructed throughout the kingdom. Of these, the gauges are two the broad, which is 7 feet between the rails, the narrow, which is 4 feet 8½ inches. The latter is adopted as the gauge for Great Britain But besides constructing the path of travel, so that hill and dale should be reduced to nearly an even plane, and avoiding throughout its length every flaw from which danger might arise, the nature of the locomotive for this new and strange mode of journeying had to be studied as well as its highway, and it was quickly found, that this terrible iron behemoth upon which so much depended must carry its own fuel and water, and combine in perfection the qualities of compactness, lightness, and power. These requisites, as far as could be done at so early a stage of the trial, were secured by the locomotive made by the Stephensons, called the *Rocket*, which gained the prize in the competition, and was the first that was set a running upon the new railway It was considered perfect in lightness, power, and speed, as it weighed only 4 tons, 5 cwts, drew after it 12 tons, 15 cwts, and moved at the rate of fourteen miles an hour, while its greatest speed was twenty-nine miles an hour.

The opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway was the commencement of a new era in human history. It was the first link of the chain by which *terra firma* was to be united from sea to sea Railway travel was now to accomplish for cities and for kingdoms what steam navigation was effecting for distant islands and continents; so that while the circumference of the world might be navigated in a few months, a country might be traversed in as many days or even hours. A restless activity was awakened which time can never abate, and a sweep of action and change afforded to the short threescore and ten years of human existence, for which the lives of the antediluvians would have been too brief. It was not strange that this triumph of British intellect should be regarded with national complacency, and that the success of the first great experiment should throw British capital and industry into a new path. Railways accordingly were commenced and opened throughout the principal lines of traffic, and when these were exhausted, others were devised in localities where new trades and populations were to be introduced by the change No district was too remote, no ground too rugged to escape that exploratory spirit which went everywhere in search of a fresh opening, so that in 1845 and 1846 the disposition had grown into an absolute frenzy, and is now remembered as the railway mania. Of the height to which it had grown, a judgment may be formed from the fact, that during these two years alone, applications to parliament obtained assent for the construction of 7238 miles of railway Amidst such speculation, it was natural that families should be ruined by the thousand, and whole fortunes dissipated as by a whiff of steam. It was well however for the community at large that these railroads were more substantial things than promissory notes and mercantile bubbles By 1850 the frenzy was exhausted, or sobered down to the construction of 356 miles per annum, and by 1858 to 340 From the official report of 1857 it appeared that, by the end of that year, 9116 miles of railway, including seventy miles of railway tunneling and fifty miles of viaducts, had been constructed and were in use, employing 109,660 persons, from managers, secretaries, and clerks, down to porters, labourers, &c. Of these railway miles, 6777 belonged to England, 1269 to Scotland, and 1070 to Ireland. During the whole of this period of railway construction, the capital that had been raised for the purpose amounted to £314,989,626 Such an outlay is sufficient to explain the numerous wrecks of fortunes it occasioned, as well as to attest the energy it called forth, and the confidence that had been given to its promises That the return though slow was both certain and profitable, was now however vouched by the railway report of 1857. During that year, upwards of 139,000,000 passengers had been conveyed, giving a return of ten and a half millions sterling. To this sum, we must add the conveyance of light and heavy goods, and live stock

during the year, averaging thirteen and a half millions sterling Thus, the railway returns for this single year amounted in all to £24,174,609. Onward to the present day the impetus of railway travelling has increased, so that almost every journey of more than a mile is performed by steam. In 1859 about thirty millions of people passed in and out of London alone by its various railway termini.

But loss of fortune was not the only evil entailed by the railway, there was also the danger of loss of life, and this was gloomily announced at the very commencement, when Mr. Huskisson was killed at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. It was to be no longer the deliberate downfall of a coach, in which the passengers, while emptied into a dry ditch, know whither they are going and what may be expected it was rather a sudden crash or explosion, in which all were equally helpless, and where wounds and death in their most appalling forms might be multiplied an hundredfold Nothing had ever been more completely devised to humble the pride of man than his helplessness in a railway-carriage, the masterpiece of his inventiveness and power it is as if his spell had evoked a demon to do his bidding, but which at any moment may rend him in pieces or fling him to the winds In a speed of motion, which upon the principal railways is often forty-five miles an hour, but which is sometimes raised to sixty miles, it was impossible but that terrible accidents should occur, and that they should at length demand the interference of the legislature. The matter was thoroughly investigated by a select committee of the House of Commons in 1858, and there it was shown that accidents on railways originate in three causes these are, carelessness of servants—defective materials in the works of the conveying medium or the agent—and excessive speed Of these accidents, about twice as many occur from collision between trains, as by running off the rail; and of these collisions, about five-sixths take place between passenger trains and goods trains, and only one-sixth by passenger trains running into each other. Not above one-twentieth have arisen from excessive speed, and in all these latter cases, they were caused by some imperfection in the railway. Most of the railway disasters were attributable to the crowding of trains timed for unequal speeds, and the want of punctuality; and to lessen the chances of these, powerful brakes for bringing up a train within the shortest distance had been used, but especially the road telegraph, that could announce the threatened danger along the whole line in a few seconds. Having these data before them, the enactments of parliament for the safety of railway travelling are such as to meet every contingency, so that 200 of these apply to the London and North-Western Railway alone. And while the chances of danger have been diminished, the dread of them has abated The weekly or even daily traveller can now inclose himself as confidently in the railway carriage that is to whirl him 500 miles along in the course of ten or twelve hours, as he would intrust himself to the cab that is to convey him a few streets off.

When this new mode of transit was adopted, the canals and public roads of our island had been brought to their highest state of perfection, and had given their best promise of future usefulness. But the new principle of motion had made them superfluous, and both mail-coach and track-boat began to be laid aside. Even for the conveyance of goods as well as travellers, the facility of the railway was preferred, and the wonders of Brindley and Macadam were forgot in the triumph of the Stephensons. An effort, indeed, was made in behalf of our canals so late as 1831, when a swifter mode of travelling upon them, by the use of light and sharply-modelled boats, was introduced by Mr. Houston upon the Glasgow and Paisley Canal. His experiments then showed, that passengers could be conveyed by this change at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour, and this without injury to the banks by such unwonted speed of canal travelling. But the universal impatience was too ardent for such poor progress, and few now travel by such a conveyance except invalids, or those with whom time is of little account In the goods conveyance, they are also used chiefly for such articles as cannot well bear the expense of transport by the railway

Having thus noted the progress and improvement of the means of comfortable living for the community at large, it is necessary to ascertain its practical results In such a case, also, where the minutiæ are familiar to the personal and local experience of every reader, we shall serve our purpose more satisfactorily by summing up the total of this experience in the general statistics of the present period with an occasional comparison with the past. In 1853 the population of the United Kingdom amounted to 27,500,000. But while this increase had gone on by the natural ratio, the produce of the wheat crops since the year 1760 had at least been quadrupled For this population, therefore, which had little more than doubled during the interval, there had grown such an increase in the means of comfortable living, that the use of wheaten bread had become universal. Oats are now used almost wholly for horses, and barley for distilleries and brewing, while rye-bread is almost unknown Of wheat and other grains,

and of pease and beans, the consumption in 1853 was about 49,000,000 quarters, and of these, 33,000,000 were used for the food of man alone, while of this human consumpt, more than one-half consisted entirely of wheat. Of these, the annual importations of foreign wheat after the restrictions had been removed, until 1852, had averaged somewhat more than 3,000,000 quarters, and during the last-mentioned year they amounted to 4,164,602.

The improved agriculture that had made our corn fields so productive was equally apparent in the rearing of our cattle, which, as butcher-meat, had increased in bulk, quality, and firmness, partly owing to the crossing of superior breeds, but still more through the improvements introduced into their feeding by the cultivation of clover, turnips, and mangold-wurzel The consumpt of butcher-meat in London alone during the course of a single year may serve as a fair criterion for the United Kingdom at large. In 1852 the number of cattle sold in Smithfield was 256,948, of sheep 1,575,340, and of fatted calves, not including sucklers, 36,027. These in all were calculated as representing 297,071,530 lbs weight, and, at the average price of 7*d* per lb, would bring in money about £8,664,586. But besides all this there was abundance of hogs and pigs which were not taken into account. Much of this, indeed, goes from London to other towns and villages, yet from these as much butcher-meat is supposed to be imported into the metropolis in return In this Smithfield report only the staple commodities of animal food are comprised; but the London annual bill of fare would be vastly augmented if we also reckoned the mountains of poultry and game, not to speak of fish, which are consumed by its 3,000,000 inhabitants In passing from England to Scotland we find the increase of subsistence and improvement of diet still more remarkable. And here we have only to select Glasgow as the criterion. In that city, not only at the middle but even to the close of the last century, flesh markets were almost unknown, and the chief subsistence of families was generally a small cow or bullock killed and salted in November, which was made to last all the year. This is still familiar to the recollections of many in Scotland as the "winter's mart," which was the common resource over the kingdom But in 1851 there were killed in Glasgow 29,569 oxen, 4443 calves, 123,188 sheep and lambs, and 5157 pigs, independently of the great amount of fresh and salted meats imported into the city.

In this brief enumeration it will be seen that for the 27,500,000 of the British population art and industry have done their utmost, and that for all there is food enough and to spare. But even at the most sumptuous wholesale feasts it will happen, however plentiful the viands may be, that some of the guests have less than their share, and must depart almost as hungry as they came—that competition will go on in the area for the fragments, and even a scramble under the table for the crumbs—and that a crowd of poor expectants who have waited on the threshold for their dole must betake themselves with a sigh to some more bountiful quarter And thus amidst the growing and increasing plenty has it continued to be with the British community at large. Many toil for half a share, and many toil in vain, in some the enterprise is misdirected, and in others even the feeling of hunger is absorbed in a more prevalent indolence. Through fault or through misfortune "the poor shall never cease out of the land," let its abundance be what it may; and while the triumph of wealth is at the height the cry of destitution has waxed louder than ever. It seems, indeed, a necessary doom of national abundance to create and multiply its opposite, and the list of achieved fortunes to be balanced by an equal amount of deprivation. But while such a consequence would have been fatal to any other country, Britain during this period surmounted and is still able to surmount it by the numerous safety-valves she possesses in the form of colonies, in which the utmost of her poverty can find a home and sustenance, and the best of her unemployed energy an ample field of exertion. And it was well for our country that such lands of refuge had been in preparation for the coming of the evil day, and that they presented such scope for every variety of demand and occupation. In this way the younger sons of our aristocracy—men of noble name but scanty means, and who, but for such a resource, might either dwindle into tradesmen or degenerate into such titled paupers as are too often found in some parts of the Continent—can find civil or military appointments in our Indian empire sufficient for their necessities or even for their ambition The man of small capital or of commercial talents and enterprise may become a sugar or cotton planter in the West Indies, or a comfortable landholder at the Antipodes. He who has no inheritance but a pair of broad shoulders or skilful mechanical hands knows that at the worst he has only to transfer himself to Canada, South Africa, or Australasia, where he will have not only the certainty of abundant wages, but the means of becoming a master instead of a workman, a landed proprietor instead of a ploughman. Even he who has consumed his last crust, and has no prospect for the morrow, can still at various ports find a vessel that will waft him free of expense to New Zealand or Australia, where the supply of labour is still the desideratum, and where, with moderate work, he may fare luxuriously

every day. These resources of emigration have been widely opened during the present period, and extensively used, not only on account of the facilities afforded for a transit to these regions at a merely nominal expense, and the speed and ease of the passage through the employment of steam, but also by the liberal institutions which the home government has granted to these colonies, so that a man finds himself as free a British subject at the other side of the earth as in the heart of Middlesex Of the growth of emigration, therefore, during the present period, an idea may be formed from the numbers of emigrants during the three following years —There were in

1831,	83,160 persons
1841,	118,592 ,,
1851,	335,966 ,,

The consequence of such copious emigrational drains, which took place every year, was not only the immediate relief of the destitute, but a more abundant supply of work and wages for those who remained These advantages have been especially conspicuous in Ireland, where they were most needed, from the continual overcrowding of the population beyond the means of subsistence, which was a fruitful source of anarchy, crime, and political discontent In their case, however, the tide of emigration has been directed, not so much to our colonies as to the United States of America, which they seem to consider as their home next to their own island The great emigration that took place from Ireland from 1846 to 1854, which so greatly alarmed our politicians, and threatened to depopulate the whole island, only redounded to its benefit by raising the wages and greatly improving the condition of the still abundant population who remained behind

The immense number of emigrants in 1851, as compared with that of previous years, was the beginning of a new era in the history of British emigration In our chief pastoral colony, Australia, many had become impatient of the slow progress of money-making as shepherds, and had betaken themselves to the gold fields of California, where fortunes could be made or hopes marred in the turning of a die. The report of the rich lumps of gold which were found in that quarter, was directing the new tide of emigration thitherward, when it was suddenly discovered that Australia possessed her gold fields as well as California, and of easier and more comfortable access This discovery was first made in a district between twenty and thirty miles beyond Bathurst, a town about 125 miles distant from Sydney, and the honour of the discovery and its public intimation was due to Mr Edward Hammond Hargraves Beneath a soil so sterile that three acres were needed to pasture a single sheep, masses of gold were lying within a few inches of the surface; the sands and the stones were impregnated with gold; whole rocks of gold lay buried beneath them, of which these were but the indications A rush of the population towards Bathurst was the consequence, and the "Valley of Ophir," as the auriferous district was called, was soon covered with tents and filled with gold-seekers, while the fortunes that were realized caused the number of disappointments to be overlooked But this success, instead of staunching, only whetted the general cupidity: there were ranges of mountains in the great Australian continent similar to the gold-producing ranges of California and Russia, and a short exploration sufficed to discover the hidden treasures of Ballarat, which were supposed to be tenfold greater than even those of Bathurst This was enough to turn the tide in the direction of Victoria, hitherto only an offshoot of the parent colony of New South Wales servants forsook their masters, shepherds their flocks, shopkeepers their traffic, in the new rush that took place, and in the turmoil all social order was unhinged and regular industry suspended But it was not alone from the Australian districts that this concourse was gathered, the vessels that arrived were emptied of their crews, and officer and sailor alike hurried off to the diggings, leaving their ships unmanned in the harbour. From Australia the tidings were not long in reaching Europe, and while every town in Britain was infected with a mania for gold-finding, every European country caught the infection; and thus, the immense increase of emigration to these colonies which had commenced in 1851, the year of the discovery, was kept up for several years afterwards Happily, however, after the gold nigh the surface was gathered, it was found that privation was to be encountered and toil endured, and the resources of science and skill tasked to the uttermost in winning these treasures as well as any other advantage, while the uncertainty was greater and the chance of failure more frequent Accordingly, those whose impatience to be rich was not so ardent, or whose hopes were less sanguine, and those who had not strength, health, and nerve to endure the laborious ordeal of the diggings, returned to their regular employments, and left the gold fields to the superintendence of government, and the operations of practical scientific workmen.

Of the importance, however, of this great Australian discovery to the mother country of Great Britain, and the effects it is likely to produce on her enterprises of colonization and commerce, it is necessary to give a more distinct idea by arithmetical figures, rather than those of rhetoric. The annual supply of the precious

metals throughout the world is estimated at £47,000,000, of which their several sources and amount have been given as follows:—

From America, .	£8,700,000
From California, .	14,000,000
From Europe,	1,500,000
From Russo-Asiatic provinces,	3,885,000
From Australia,	19,000,000

In 1852 the yield from the gold fields of Victoria alone was 4,247,657 ounces, which at the low rate of 75*s.* per ounce, gives the amount of £15,928,714. It is well that this enormous increase, with which merchandise might have been flooded and swamped, was drawn off for other purposes than those of traffic, and in those of arts and ornament alone nearly one-half of the precious metals are absorbed or locked up. Even yet too the flow of gold, instead of contracting, is becoming wider through the recent discoveries of the auriferous sources in British Columbia, to which the gold-seekers who have been disappointed in other quarters are now directing their renewed spirit of enterprise

The vast increase of wealth and population to our Australian colonies during this season of gold fever, although wonderful in the history of colonization, was nothing more than natural and to be expected. The cause was enough to attract myriads, not only from the mother country but from different parts of Europe, and even from China, whose inhabitants, setting at nought the prohibitions of their barbarous laws against emigration, repaired in great numbers to Australia. Strange therefore will be the blended population of all races which these colonies will exhibit a hundred years hence, and equally strange the blending of idioms, when this Babel of speech has subsided into one of the forms of the English tongue! It might have been thought that in a colony such as New South Wales, whose population was so largely mixed with convict materials, the first scramble of the discovery would have been accompanied with a frightful outburst of lawlessness and crime; but it is singular to remark, that the first eighteen months at the gold fields of Bathurst were unaccompanied with any remarkable addition to the criminal statistics of the law courts. Very different was the case at Victoria, to which the more reckless of the adventurers repaired, and where those who could not find gold for themselves were ready to snatch it from their more fortunate neighbours, or intercept it on its way to head-quarters Of the amount of the emigration, an idea may be formed from the sudden rise of Victoria. In 1836, this Australian colony only commenced its existence In 1851 its population had risen to 77,345 inhabitants, but in 1852, when the fields of Ballarat had been laid open, the population was increased to about 200,000. In 1851 its revenue was £379,824, but in 1852 it was £1,576,801 During the latter year, fifteen steamers with emigrants arrived in the Australian ports, of which the greater part were landed at Melbourne. Since that period, the increase of Victoria has gone on so rapidly that it has about 500,000 of population, its imports are about £10,000,000 and its exports about £11,000,000, and it has an annual revenue of nearly £4,000,000; while its principal city, Melbourne, in 1857, numbered a population of 70,000, with 30,000 in the suburbs. Sydney, the capital of the mother colony, although now inferior to Melbourne, had in 1856 a population of 53,118, and while the luxuries and comforts of both are equal to those of London or Edinburgh, these cities possess a beauty of site, scenery, and climate, with which the capitals of our own country can scarcely compete Besides these two colonies, this great island or continent has that of South Australia, rich in copper mines, and Western Australia, originally known as the Swan River settlement, which was established in 1829, the capitals of which are Adelaide and Perth,—and Queen's Land, a region of excellent pasturage. Out of the mixed population of Australia, considerably more than a million are of British birth or parentage, insuring the permanent establishment among them of Anglo-Saxon blood, language, and institutions. Who does not recognize in these, the germs of a future empire similar to that which we have planted in America? In this way, our several colonies in Canada, Australasia, and the West Indies are vast fields for British emigration as well as depôts for our future commerce, and in these her children, Britain may survive to distant ages when her own days are numbered.

From the emigrant experience which our country has been somewhat slow to gather, it is now generally understood that the weak, the sickly, the indolent, and that all of sedentary or literary professions can scarcely hope to better their condition as colonists. Strong arms, patient industry, and agricultural skill are certain to win their way to fortune; while the clerk or tradesman is at a discount, and even the Oxford student may starve, unless he can herd cattle or drive a dray. It was accordingly found in the reports of the late emigration commissioners, that for every single emigrant drawn from our six greatest manufacturing districts, four were drawn from six of our merely agricultural counties. But of all the communities who have departed from our shores, none have so greatly benefited as the Irish, whose sole possession and inheritance was the sad one of deportation. For them no work was too arduous, no fare too

SUNDAY IN THE BACKWOODS OF CANADA.

The old colony of Ontario or Upper Canada was largely colonized by Scotsmen, who brought to their new home a sturdy independence of character, and a strong belief in religious ordinances. Living in scattered log-cabins in the backwoods they still continued the old observance of the Sabbath. As one of them wrote in a letter "We have no church here but our log home or the wide forest, and a grand kirk the forest makes,—not even the auld cathedral has such pillars, space, nor so high a roof, so we e'en take turns about on Sunday in reading the Bible." It is this characteristic Sabbath scene which the artist has here depicted

SUNDAY IN THE BACKWOODS OF CANADA

FROM THE PICTURE BY THOMAS FAED R A

humble, no difficulty too great; and in their new homes they roused themselves like giants from the sleep of years, and went onward with a dashing intrepidity and sturdy perseverance that outstripped their wondering competitors from England, and even from Scotland A new life was opened to the delighted Hibernian when he found that he could actually become a man of substance; and he showed—what was more wonderful still—that he had the gift of discreet management about him as soon as he had something to manage. "In the United States, in Canada, and in Australia," says Count Strzelecki, "I saw the Irish living as well as the Anglo-Saxons, acquiring their grumbling habits, and thus continually improving their condition" But something more honourable still can be stated in praise of these Irish emigrants. While they were thus waxing comfortable and acquiring provident habits, they had neither forgot their former home nor the friends they had left behind them; neither absence nor prosperity had chilled them into selfishness, as is too often the case with other fortunate adventurers, and the first fruits of their success were transmitted to Ireland for the support of their starving kindred, or to furnish them with the means of emigrating to this land of promise, where they might become as independent and happy as themselves. But the amount of these remittances would be incredible were it not for the veritable source from which the information was derived. During the ten years that intervened from 1848 to the close of 1857, the sums thus remitted by Irish colonists, through the great commercial firms and banking houses, amounted to £9,937,000! or about £1,000,000 annually, independently of what was sent through other channels. This was the testimony given to government by these houses themselves, and from whom, in such evidence, no exaggeration could be expected As long as Ireland possesses such noble hearts, the hope of her regeneration, in spite of the thwarting influence of priests and demagogues, may be cherished as a political certainty

But alas that we must now exclaim, "Look on this picture, and on this!" We must turn from the Jove-like "presentment" to his brother—to him whom the same mother bore, and the same lap nursed, but only to blight the other, if not to drag him to destruction While the march of improvement was thus going onward with such an accelerated speed, the multitudes who were left behind at every step continued to increase, until the benefits of progress itself seemed more than counterbalanced by the evils of which it had been directly or indirectly the cause. During these last thirty years, the cry of warning and despair was loud enough to drown the jubilant shouts of triumph and self-gratulation, to excite alarm and provoke inquiry. And it was then found that beneath this alluring surface, a mass of popular crime and misery was festering that silently tainted the air with a deadly pestilence, and might at any moment burst forth with an all-overwhelming explosion It was ascertained that a nation exhibiting the highest amount of virtue and intelligence also most abounded in the very extremes of these qualities, and that the height of national prosperity itself was the culminating point at which our swift and certain ruin was already commencing Such was the intelligence conveyed by modern journalism, under which no individual however lowly can be unknown, or deed however secret concealed, and by which evils are explored, laid open, and denounced of which our fathers were contented to remain in untroubled ignorance. To these unwelcome revelations, which have awakened the benevolent inquiries and formed the perplexing problems of social science, we must now reluctantly turn the subject itself is too widely known, and too deeply felt, to require either a lengthened or minute detail.

A fruitful primary source of these increasing evils was the defective system of education. While England was increasing in intellectual renown, by the master intellects she produced, and those improvements in science and literature by which the world at large was benefited, the fact still continued to exist, that she was the only civilized country that had no national system of education We have already, more than once, alluded to the struggles which were made to repair this evil, and the causes from which the attempt was frustrated No sooner was the proposal started than the religious jealousies of all parties were awake, and a uniform state education was found as hopeless as a uniform state creed As a consequence of this, it was ascertained by calculation that even during the latter part of the present period there were nearly 8,000,000 of our population who could neither read nor write These, too, did not consist exclusively of the poorest classes, as many of our farmers were under the same intellectual destitution. Of the character of our education, that of the upper classes was reckoned the best in Europe. This indeed was nothing more than might have been expected, on account of our richly-endowed universities, our public libraries, and the liberality of our aristocracy, who were willing to bespeak the best instructors, whether native or foreign, at any price. Of the middle and mercantile classes, it was found that the education was decidedly defective, even as compared with that of other countries, having more show than

substance, while the schools were rather cheap or comfortable boarding-houses than strictly educational institutions. For a still lower grade of society—that of shopkeepers and thriving artisans—the education was generally found of a more substantial and practical character, especially in town and city day schools, but this advantage was counteracted by the shortness of time given in the attendance of their pupils, who in early life were generally sent to learn a trade But last of all were the schools for the masses, which were as defective as such institutions could well be. The teachers were seldom even half educated, consisting generally of the lame, the sickly, or deformed, who could not obtain a living otherwise, of the indolent, who thought that dosing at a school-desk was more pleasant than handling a spade, and of broken-down tradesmen, who were good enough to manage a school, as they could manage nothing else. The schoolroom in the country was frequently an uninhabitable hut, and in the town, a chilly or ill-ventilated apartment; while both in town and country the children were so crowded together, that mutual sickness rather than mutual improvement was the usual result Such were the generality of schools for male and female pupils of the lower classes throughout England and Wales, and where better buildings might have been erected for the purpose, and more efficient teachers appointed, these purposed improvements were frequently marred at the outset by the political and sectarian jealousies of the parents. And while from these several causes not one-half of the children of England and Wales, between the ages of five and fourteen, attended any school whatever, the education at these humble academies was of the most scanty and unsatisfactory description—a little reading, writing, and arithmetic, picked up in the midst of the confusion as they best might—while in the schools of a better class, also, these composed the whole curriculum. It was only in going higher still—to the costly academies and institutions of the mercantile and middle ranks—that these were found mixed with a modicum of geography, history, science, music, and drawing

While the general education was thus so far short of the advance of the age, that it only perpetuated the old established ignorance, and increased the dead weight that was gathering at every step of progress—and while this ignorance multiplied crime, and increased the popular envy and discontent of the lower against the higher classes, there was another national evil by which the ranks of the lower classes were fearfully multiplied, as well as their condition sunk lower in the social scale This was the manner in which land is tied up by entail, and the consequent difficulty of selling or alienating it. As the privileged class of landholders continued to die out, their estates, instead of being thrown into the market, continued to accumulate in the hands of the survivors; and in consequence of this feudal fatality, shopkeepers, farmers, and thriving peasants were prevented from purchasing a few acres, and planting their families among the independent landholders. From the same cause, which converts small farms into large ones, the peasantry are shut out from the chance of rising into farmers. And thus our brave-hearted, independent, comfortable yeomanry, once the pride of England and its best defence, have almost disappeared from the country which they served so well We are told that in 1770 there were not less than 250,000 freehold estates belonging to as many different families. In 1815, at the close of the French war, this number had diminished to 32,000 And yet there was no natural necessity for such decrease, as in 1847 there still remained about 11,300,000 acres in England wholly uncultivated, but capable of cultivation And with our yeomanry, the healthy, cheerful, out-door sports of "merry England," the games of cricket and football, the shooting-matches, running matches, and village dances have departed Near our large, and especially our manufacturing towns, hedges are broken through, the grounds trampled down, and fruit-trees destroyed, especially on Sundays, and hence the necessity of high walls and fences, by which the walks of the working people are confined to narrow dusty roads The commons and public village greens have been inclosed, and the games that enlivened them excluded. Thus circumstanced, the peasantry of England have few places of relaxation except the village alehouse, in the stimulants of which its frequenters drown the sense of their depression, until they become confirmed sots and drunkards. There also the village *quidnuncs* hold their treason clubs, listen to demagogues who indoctrinate them in the principles of chartism and socialism, and are trained for every change of political outbreak, from simple rick-burning up to a national revolution and agrarian spoliation And as it is necessary for such an idle improvident course to have the means of ale-house indulgence, they there concoct their plans of poaching, housebreaking, theft, and highway robbery, by which they are enabled to act out their chief principle of "a short life and a merry" It has been always thought that a country life, even at the worst, was less depraved than a town one; but recent investigations have shown, that in England at least the amount of crime in the agricultural counties is scarcely inferior to that of the mining and manufacturing districts. This was

proved by Lord Ashley from the statistics of the years 1841 and 1847. In passing from the rural to the civic sources of demoralization, we find that these, both in number and character, are adapted to the several divisions of the lower classes, and the multiplied cravings of artificial city life. The chief of them are low theatres in which Jack Sheppard morality is taught, fairs, and dancing taverns, which last are also frequently brothels, and in all of them the young of both sexes are trained by regular steps from the mere theft of a penny, the price of a theatre ticket, to iniquity upon its most daring or complicated scale. Then, there are gin palaces by the thousand, where small measures of the ardent spirit are sold at a low price to suit every grade of boyhood, and the shops of dealers in marine stores, where every kind of stolen goods are received, prompt payment given, and no questions asked. Of a somewhat higher class, and externally more decorous, though perhaps scarcely less corrupting, are the casinos, mask-balls, tavern-theatres, and betting clubs, with which our principal cities abound—and to these may be added the low horse-races that congregate the lawless population both of town and country.

Into the details of pauperism and moral depravity produced by such a state of things we have no desire to enter We can only touch upon the generalities of such a subject, and yet their slightest disclosure is enough to produce a recoil of terror and disgust. Such was the increase of poverty during the present period, that in 1848 the number of paupers relieved by the boards of guardians amounted to 1,876,541 in England, or about one-eighth of the whole national population, independently of the hundreds of thousands who were relieved by private charity. Of the homes of such myriads of the destitute—whether in town or country, whether permanent residences or temporary lodging houses—their unhealthiness and discomfort baffled all description. But this was not the worst Where people were crowded by tens, and even by twenties, into a single apartment, without distinction of age, sex, or character, the moral atmosphere of such a sty became more pestilential than the physical, and not only the crimes incident to such a style of living were unblushingly and openly prevalent among them, but those outrages against natural feeling which every community has doomed beyond reprieve What could be otherwise when brothers and sisters, when parents and children, hardened to every moral feeling and ignorant as the brutes that perish, lived night and day huddled within a single room? Such a state of things was revealed by the investigations which were set on foot as would have been incredible of the lowest stages of barbarism and the darkest epochs of society, far more of England itself, and the middle of the nineteenth century. It was a natural result of such promiscuous living, mixed with such squalor, destitution, and gross dissipation, that 60,000 still-born children (happier than those who survived) should be annually brought forth throughout the kingdom. It was also a natural result that the infants of such parents should be little prized at their entrance into life, and regarded as incumbrances and curses rather than blessings. Accordingly, society was suddenly startled by the revelation that infanticide had become an English crime, and was prevalent in the midst of us. Parents enrolled themselves in burial societies with a perspective view to the profit which they meant to realize upon it, and the infant, as soon as born, was deliberately doomed to death by the mother for the sake of the burial fees. A few drops of laudanum silenced the innocent victim for ever, and the price of its life furnished the means of more ample household comfort, if not of gross revelry and indulgence In this way, parents could calculate upon their own children, as the farmer does upon his sheep for the market or the shambles It was a crime which no statistics could reach, and no surmise could be made of how many hundreds or thousands had thus passed through the fire to Moloch before the alarm was given, and inquiry set upon the alert. It was indeed full time that the registration of every birth and death, under whatever circumstances, should be imposed as a universal duty, and a strict compliance with it enforced under heavy legal penalties

While such had been the progress of secret and unpunished crime, the amount of open offences against the law, and the number of convictions, instead of being stationary, had continued on the increase This is apparent by a comparison of the statistics of 1817 with those of 1857 During this interval of forty years, the population of England had increased from twelve to twenty-one millions, while the increase of our criminal calendar was more than doubled. Thus there were in

1817—Convicted, 911	Sentenced to death, 911	Executed, 78
1857 ,, 2057	,, 21	,, None

It will be seen from the merciful character of the last year, that our statute-books had been revised, that a reaction of clemency in favour of our criminals had set in like a spring-tide—that the punishment of death had been all but discontinued, while transportation, its milder alternative, had been abolished. The same tables also show, that convictions for crimes accompanied with personal violence had very greatly increased. There were—

	Year 1817	Year 1827.
Stabbing or wounding,		
Robbery,	154	378
Burglary,	374	478
Housebreaking,	152	568
Larceny in dwelling-houses,	143	246
Forgery, &c.,	62	184

It was fortunate in such a state of things that the sharp spirit of inquiry was on the alert—that the means of publicity were so perfected—that zealous philanthropy was alive and ready for action. Public crimes might be dealt with by the law, but there was a whole world of offence lying beneath them which justice could not reach unless our free constitution had been subverted. First to check, and finally to eradicate this foul leprosy which was rooted so deeply and spreading so fast, must be instantly commenced, for the life of the whole community was at stake Parliament accordingly interfered with enactments, and societies and associations were formed for the suppression of vice, the relief of destitution, and the moral and intellectual improvement of the lower orders. Never was "social science" so anxiously studied, never was British benevolence so active, so liberal, so self-sacrificing, and if anything can mitigate the horrors of the view, it is to be found in the benevolence that applied the remedy The lowest depths of society were laid open, and a hell disclosed of crime and suffering over which the nation had been hitherto reposing in peace But even into that murky abode Christian charity could enter to reform and regenerate. The plans for the benefit of the lower orders, although they form so distinguishing a characteristic of the present period, are yet so numerous, that to only a few of them we can afford a passing notice.

For the poorest of the poor the means of emigration have been multiplied both by government and colonial bounties; and those who are willing for work but unable to find it, may obtain not only a free comfortable passage to a new home, but profitable occupation there to the full, and in many cases a grant of land sufficient to establish them in honest independence. But as too many have neither enterprise nor industry for such an easy venture, or are too closely wedded to their old haunts and dissipation, means are adopted either to allure them from their vagrant profitless life, or compel them to respect the decencies of society. Their steps are watched, and their domestic economy controlled by a stricter surveillance. The wretched lodging-houses in which they congregated, and where they defied all law and common decency, have either been removed, or compelled to take out licenses, by which they are regulated as to their means of health and comfort, and the behaviour of their inmates. The narrow closed courts of towns, among whose swarming families life was smothered and pestilences engendered, are opening to the air of heaven and the light of day. The sanitary regulations imposed upon these localities have been so many and minute, that diseases among them are neither so prevalent nor so infectious With light and air, water has been more abundantly introduced, and thus personal cleanliness may be made the stepping-stone and commencement of a moral reformation. Piles of new houses are rising in our towns, expressly built for the accommodation of the poor, in which a small rental is required by such means of comfort and even of neatness, as the habitations of earlier erection for the better classes can seldom exhibit. Nor in this enumeration should we forget the public fountains, which are rising in every street, and at which the wanderer or labourer can comfortably quench his thirst, without the necessity of repairing to the gin palace or ale-house The church accommodation for the poor has been increased; humble places for public worship opened; sermons expressly suited to the lowest of the destitute prepared, and open-air preaching more extensively practised, so that every shade of ignorance or vice can find its appropriate instruction, and every kind of threadbare or ragged clothing a place in which its wearer may appear without diffidence. It is significant of these religious agencies, that even our church dignitaries, who formerly scowled at them as ecclesiastical irregularities, are beginning to take part in them For the children of such parents, also, ragged schools have been established, where industrial habits along with a good sound education are carefully inculcated; and going lower still, we have reformatory schools, where the young, already depraved, are broke in for the ragged school, and reformatory prisons, out of which the culprit may depart a wiser and a better man. In this way, strong, sharp, heavy utensils are breaking and delving into the deepest stratum of society, to reconstruct and strengthen the yielding foundations of our social edifice. Much indeed has to be done; but even already much has been accomplished, giving promise of better days for Britain in the good work of moral regeneration and advancement.

But the co-operation of the people themselves was most needed; an act of *self*-reformation was demanded, by which they should voluntarily combine for the improvement and elevation of their own order. For centuries the vice of drunkenness had been reckoned the chief of our national offences, the fruitful parent of more than the half of our social evils; and until this was abjured, it was felt that every moral appliance would be only a superficial or temporary remedy. And that the stigma which was branded

upon our national character had been too justly merited, a brief retrospection through the whole range of our national history will sufficiently confirm. It was the master-vice of the northern races from whom the greater part of the European nations were derived; but while the continental nations had outgrown this evil tendency of their fathers, it had continued to flourish in insulated Britain unmitigated and unchecked, so that even during the reign of the two first Georges, foreigners had been scandalized, when they visited Britain, with the spectacle of drunken peers, flustered clergymen, and thriving merchants who hiccupped in their speech when the hours of 'change were ended The reformation, indeed, of this general evil had commenced, as it ought, among the upper classes; but it was not till the beginning of the present century, that to be "as drunk as a lord" was a comparison that could no longer hold good It was only then that the vice had become unfashionable in the higher ranks, and discreditable among the mercantile aristocracy—that, under the influence of nobler aims, and a keener struggle in the contests of wealth or ambition, the better classes had freed themselves from the long-established tendency. But the demon, thus driven from high places, took a closer shelter in the lower, where, from the causes already mentioned, his hold became more general and more inveterate than ever. When the bulk of destitution and crime had increased through this evil alone to an amount beyond what society could endure, a remedy was sought, but was long in finding Could the ignorant, the destitute, the despised, be weaned from drunkenness, as well as the rich, the noble, and intellectual? The trial was made, and near the close of the last period the Temperance movement commenced This was followed by the preaching of Father Mathew, the apostle of the enterprise, and hosts of coadjutors whom his example inspired A regular crusade was thus commenced against the popular iniquity, the resources of the platform and the press were plied as strenuously for the moral, as they have been for political reform; and temperance societies were established throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, whose members were soon numbered by tens of thousands. It had been discovered, also, that for a complete emancipation from the evil habit, the mere principle of temperance was insufficient; total abstinence therefore became the rule, and "touch not, taste not, handle not," the motto of the movement. It was thus alone that the confirmed drunkard could be reclaimed from his habit, and the weak and wavering from the temptations attendant upon friendly meetings, social feasts, and public merry-makings. In this way, the word "temperance" was made to assume a teetotal meaning. The progress of this great collective movement during the present period of our history has been wonderful, although at first it was reckoned the most hopeless of all enterprises; and its success continues to be shown upon the thousands whom it has reclaimed from confirmed intemperance, and the myriads whom it has arrested on the threshold, and to whom it has proved an effectual monitor and safeguard. Its societies are felt to be cities of refuge, to which the proscribed drunkard can flee and be safe; and where his resolutions of amendment are strengthened an hundredfold by the new community into which he is welcomed, and the *esprit de corps* by which his future course is regulated Let but this progress go onward as it has done, and the Temperance League may yet prove one of the most effective of all our social and moral reformers

While such are the means employed upon that huge mass of our population which constitutes the lowest of our lower orders—so debased in its guilt, and so terrible in its brute force should it break loose—those which were devised for the orders immediately above the lowest were of a more intellectual character as well as earlier application. And first of these may be mentioned the exertions of the Press, which, at the commencement of this period, were chiefly impersonated in the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," and the publications of which were intended to form a cheap but complete library for the working man Then issued those serial works which appeared in cheap weekly numbers, the *Penny Magazine*, the *Penny Cyclopedia*, *Chambers's Journal*—works which, notwithstanding their humble appearance and aim, had for their contributors men of such high mark in literary talent and reputation as formed a guarantee for their usefulness as well as promise of success, and these works, which were circulated among our working classes in hundreds of thousands, conveyed lessons in every department of science, literature, and general knowledge under their most intelligible and attractive forms. Even the fine arts also were not neglected in these penny publications, and the sums expended upon the pictorial illustrations of the first and second of these works were to an amount greatly beyond any that had hitherto been bestowed upon the costly publications which had been only within the reach of the wealthiest. It was soon found that a new impulse had been created—that the demand for such productions would not only defray the large expenditure, but secure a good mercantile profit—and a rush of serial publications followed, of which the *Penny Magazine* and *Penny Cyclopedia* were the exemplars, and in which such an amount of useful talented writing and highly-finished artistic engraving was con-

tained, as fifty-fold the amount of their price could not have previously purchased. It was a new temple of knowledge opened to the multitudes, of which the opening of the Crystal Palace that followed was nothing more than the natural sequel and consummation. The impulse of cheap publishing was extended to other works that hitherto, from their cost, had been sealed books to the multitude; and the writings of our best theologians, historians, poets, novelists, &c., were reproduced at a rate that made them accessible to all but the very poorest; so that the humble artisan could now afford to purchase such a library as none but the rich and the learned could have procured only a few years earlier. Indeed, none had now to remain ignorant and untaught but those who obstinately willed to be so. This expenditure in cheap books, also, instead of impoverishing seems to have enriched the purchasers, by introducing among them a more active industry and more provident economical habits This was shown by the fact that £33,000,000 sterling lay deposited in the savings' banks, and that penny savings' banks were established as feeders to the former, and for the accommodation of those who could only deposit copper instead of silver. With the diffusion of literature and science by means of these cheap serial publications, it is interesting to mark that those connected with religion and morals had received a fresh impulse, and were keeping pace with the serials of a more light or alluring character. It was a hopeful proof that the public mind had been opened to something higher than mere literary amusement, or even intellectual instruction. Of the religious periodicals seventeen of the most popular have a circulation of 900,000. The tracts and other works of the temperance societies circulate at the rate of 300,000 weekly. The effect of all this reading upon the public mind is perceptible at a single glance The trashy tales filled with silly romance and sickly German sentimentalism, which formed the light literature of the middle and lower classes, have disappeared. The more grave political works, by which they were taught to be discontented with their condition, and to look for no relief except in anarchy and revolution, have been thrown aside as waste paper. Those indecently immoral works and their vile embellishments, which found such an unblushing and profitable sale among our neighbours the French, and which threatened during the earlier part of this century to establish a footing among ourselves, have been so utterly discountenanced and put down that the greater part of society is ignorant of their existence. Even those flippant infidel writings of the Voltaire school, with which our literature was formerly inoculated in connection with French immorality and French politics, are old-fashioned or obsolete; and, if a champion of unbelief puts forth his doubts, he knows that jesting will no longer serve for proof, and that his arguments will be subjected to a severe and sifting scrutiny. Works of a similar but less flagrant character—the Grub Street literature of the nineteenth century—have been driven from the middle to the lowest circles, where this abortive literature can scarcely secure its hold, or save itself from utter bankruptcy. While thus the course of reading has been so greatly changed, the intellectual character of the working classes has been elevated into a higher sphere. Let but a prize essay be announced for their competition, and who would judge that the articles returned were the productions of common workmen? And how would it have fared with such a trial half a century ago?

When we advance a step higher, and transfer our inquiry to the middle classes, we shall find that there also the same regenerating process has been going forward. This has been especially the case in the important matter of Education. From the want of a national system under the control of government, those who established themselves as preceptors were free so to do at their own good pleasure, and hence the strange instructors under which the boyhood of the present generation was in many cases nurtured Our countrymen seem to have found out at last that, even if "reading and writing come by chance," the capacity of teaching these necessary branches is not thrown into the bargain, and that to give instruction is more difficult than to receive it It was necessary, in the first instance, to teach the teachers, and establish such normal schools as had been set up in those countries where education is under state provision and government. Normal schools have accordingly been established in Britain, by which the standard of a common education has been raised, and its character improved, and where teachers for every department can be as carefully trained as the apprentices of any other trade or craft, and afterwards promoted according to their proficiency. It is true, indeed, that still we have scarcely a fourth part as many of these normal seminaries as one of the countries of Western Europe, and not a fourth part as many as are necessary to educate a sufficient number of teachers for the lower classes. But the reform commenced has been in the right direction; and, instead of complaining of the scantiness of the supply, we should rather congratulate ourselves that, in so short a time, so much progress has been effected. With instructors thus prepared, we have only to take into account the government schools already established, and the government inspectors who superintend them, to be

convinced that, although at a late hour, the reaction has commenced, under which our poor will at least be as well educated as those of other countries, and even the middle classes be able to vie in acquirements and general intelligence with the highest. With these educational appliances, which have chiefly reference to the young, we may take into account the numerous successful plans now in operation by which every class from the middle to the lowest is reached, and that tend to their general elevation and improvement. Among these we can only mention philosophical institutions, mechanics' institutions, lectureships for artisans, apprentices, &c., libraries and reading rooms, musical and art associations, for the most part supported entirely by the members themselves, and indicating in their encouragement and multiplication the benefits they have already imparted and the hopes they have inspired. Even the associations of certain London ladies for the improvement of the art of cookery, and the circulation among the lower classes of the best and cheapest modes of making good dishes, is a substantial sign of the true spirit of improvement. For where could reformation better commence than in domestic life, and amidst the enjoyments of a comfortable home?

In turning our attention to the progress of Science during the present period, we are at once arrested by the most wonderful invention of the day—that of the Electric Telegraph. Vapour had already been converted into the mightiest of mechanical forces, and gas into artificial sunshine, but it seemed the strangest achievement of all to manufacture lightning, and employ its speed for the conveyance of human thought To what individual, or even to what country the honour of such a stupendous discovery is due, cannot be ascertained; and it has been claimed successively by Englishmen, by Germans, by Americans, by men of almost every country of Europe, who have all successively experimented upon this mode of communication, until the whole has terminated in the perfected telegraph of the present year. It thus resembles the art of printing or the manufacture of gunpowder—a hint or an idea started by we know not whom, but when once suggested, eagerly laid hold of, and acted upon simultaneously in different quarters, until an agency is matured by which the whole world may ultimately be brought into close communication.

After many experiments with the different kinds of electricity, it was found that the voltaic was the best, as being the most easily insulated, and therefore susceptible of the greatest range in its transmission. The voltaic battery, which is the agent of transmission, is of simple character, consisting of a series of pairs of plates of dissimilar metals, with a solution of acid and water, and on making metallic connection between the plates, the electric current is immediately produced, and is transmitted to the distant station, where it produces the signals. Sometimes, instead of a voltaic battery, the power of a magnet, operating on a coil of wire, is employed to produce the current, and this is the agency employed in the magnetic telegraph. But whether the battery or the magnet be employed, the first and most obvious step was to establish the telegraph along the railway lines, and this has been done by the wires which accompany every railway. But such a means of correspondence could not long be confined to railway lines, and accordingly connecting wires began very speedily to branch off from the iron roads into the inland localities, until town was linked with town, and village with village, by a network of telegraphic wires that extended over the whole island.

This was much, but still not enough for Britain, whose greatest interests lie beyond her own shores. It was necessary for her welfare, that the extent of her telegraphic communications should be equal to the range of her commerce, and the remoteness of her colonial possessions, so that she might as freely communicate with the great cities on the Continent, and her settlements in the four quarters of the globe, as with her own towns and districts But could the mysterious emissary pass through the ocean depths as well as over rocks and mountains? At an early period in the invention of the electric telegraph, the possibility of transmitting the voltaic current under water was the subject of study in India by Dr O'Shaughnessy, and to the success of his experiments in the river Hooghly in 1839 the merit of the discovery has been generally assigned. It was found that the resistless power could pass onward unchecked through the water as well as through the earth and air, and that nothing would be needed except such tractors as could resist the corrosive agency of the water, or the submarine rocks and sand with which they would be in contact. To make subaqueous conductors was therefore the next attempt, and this was accomplished without much difficulty. These submarine cables for international communication where the countries are separated by the sea, consist of a core of copper wire surrounded by gutta percha; and the rope thus formed is surrounded and finally cased with an armour of stout iron wires. With these protections, a cable of the requisite length is extended from bank to bank, or from shore to shore, conveying state secrets or commercial tidings as safely and rapidly as the wires along the railway. The progress of the discovery, and the uses to which it was turned, were commensurate with its importance, so that before June,

1854, such connecting conductors in the form of wire ropes were laid between Dover and Calais, between Dover and Ostend, between Dublin and Holyhead, between Donaghadee and Portpatrick, and between England and Holland, and Denmark, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island, and Piedmont and Corsica The last great attempt, which was to connect Britain with the United States of America by a gigantic submarine cable extending across the Atlantic, has indeed proved a failure, but hopes are still entertained that this will be ultimately accomplished

The form of writing in which the messages are conveyed by the electric telegraph has been not the least difficulty of the invention, the aim being to discover a kind of short-hand or cypher that could be quickly noted and easily read off; and after many experiments, three different plans were matured, which have now come into general use. The first of these in priority of time, was that of Professor Wheatstone and Mr Cooke, of which the first trial was made on the 25th June, 1837, and is commonly called the "needle instrument." It is founded upon the principle of the deviation of the magnetic needle when under the influence of the electric current, and the operation is performed by one or two needles, by the movements of which the letters of the alphabet are indicated. The message thus expressed is read at the rate of from twenty to forty words per minute. This kind of needle-telegraph is the one most used in England and Scotland, over a compass of about 25,000 miles of wire But that which is most extensively used, both on the continent of Europe and in America, is known as the Morse telegraph, and operates on the principle of electro-magnetism A small lever, attached to the armature of an electro-magnet, is attracted at the instant that the current is transmitted, and the signals are given by means of the "clicking" sounds which it produces in its alternating movements Formerly one end of the lever was made to produce a series of indentations upon a slip of paper, and hence it was termed the "recording instrument;" but this method is now generally abandoned in favour of the system by sound. By a third method, known as the "type-printing telegraph," the motions of the lever are so connected with an intricate system of mechanism that the message is actually printed, as it arrives, in Roman letters. A fourth plan, called the "chemical telegraph," was the invention of Bain, an obscure clockmaker from Watten in Caithness, and is founded upon the principle of electro-chemical decomposition, a mark being produced by the point of an iron stylus on chemically prepared paper at the instant of the transmission of the successive waves of electricity from the distant station.

The same wondrous power of the electric agent in writing and printing, irrespective of its benefit of swift transmission, was found available for the service of the fine arts. We allude to the art of Electrotype, which was invented less than twenty years ago by Jacobi, a Russian, and Spencer, an Englishman, simultaneously. The processes by which it works are both delicate and numerous, and therefore we shall state, in general terms, that the agent employed is a voltaic battery, which operates by precipitating a metal in chemical solution upon a given object: the metal so dissolved, and applied in a continuous layer upon the object, may be made to adhere, in which case it supersedes the old processes of plating and gilding; but when applied without adhering, it gives an accurate likeness or facsimile of the surface on which it is laid. In this manner, it produces exact imitations of coins and medals, copies stamps, seals, and plaster casts, imitates fruits and vegetables, casts moulds for the foundry, and reproduces printed characters, copperplate engravings, wood-cuts, and daguerreotype pictures. The first use of it made in England by Mr Spencer was in letterpress-printing, and this appears now to be one of its most valuable applications; but the principle once obtained, suggested many other purposes to which the electrotype might be applied, and the processes accordingly became more complex and refined, until the reproduction of the highest works of art in sculpture and engraving was the result

While the lightning has thus been converted into a letter-writer, courier, printer, and engraver, the sun, by an almost equally marvellous process, has been transformed into a draughtsman and portrait-painter That beautiful invention, the camera obscura, had long been known, by which the scenery of a whole city or landscape could be collected together by a skilful arrangement of lenses, and reflected in all its brightness and distinctness upon a whitened surface, within a darkened tent or apartment. By this aid, the artist or the traveller had steadily before him the objects he wished to delineate, and he knew that a transcript of these, as they presented themselves in the condensed resemblance, would be more faithful to the reality than the artistic copy taken from the original itself But these beautiful pictures, and the living moving objects with which they were animated, were like shadows upon the wall—they disappeared with every change of light and shade, and left no trace behind them Could they not be arrested in all their vividness, and stamped upon the receiving surface into a permanent painting? The possibility of effecting this was first suggested by the blackening of salts of silver, as in the case of

those fluids used as marking-inks, and the permanent writing they impressed on linen or cotton cloth, and the hint thus caught, was improved into the invention of Photography.

Of the departments of this art, the first place is due to the daguerreotype, so called from its inventor, M. Daguerre, a Frenchman. After experimenting upon the subject for several years, he announced his discovery to the world in 1839 By it, a surface of pure silver being caused to combine with iodine and also with bromine, a delicate film is produced on the surface of the plate, extremely sensitive to light, and capable of retaining every image impressed on it. This was the first principle of the invention, but the delicacy and durability of the impression depend upon subsequent preparations too numerous and too minute to specify This was much; and the first daguerreotypes that were produced were gladly welcomed as the beginning of a new era in pictorial art But when the costliness of the material and the difficulty of the process would have checked the multiplication of these sun-pictures, it was discovered that other substances were capable of being so impressed, and the calotype, otherwise called the talbotype, from the name of its inventor, Mr Fox Talbot, came into general use By this plan a card or sheet of paper, or plate of glass, after undergoing a certain preparation, and being sensitized in a bath of nitrate of silver, could receive and retain the image in the camera obscura, and be capable of producing copies of itself Such were the origin and first principles of those two forms of photography, the productions of which are now so numerous as to be found in almost every house, and which possess a fidelity of resemblance to the original, and a delicacy of execution, which leave the efforts of the painter and engraver far behind The value of the invention, not only for its own productions, but as a powerful auxiliary to the fine arts, was speedily discovered, and photography, recognized as a separate art, has been yearly improving both in its processes and its productions. Briefly we may state, that these improvements resolve themselves into the following heads: 1. The preparation of the sensitive surface; 2. Its exposure to the image sought to be impressed upon it by the camera obscura; 3. The development of the image by chemical appliances; 4 The fixing of the image by dissolving out the sensitive surface, so that the light shall no further affect it But it is not merely as an aid to the arts of sculpture and painting, or as a cheap ready substitute for their costly productions, that photography is a useful invention. By it the astronomer has already done something, and may hope to do more, in producing pictures of the phenomena of the heavens in all their transient aspects and revolutions. By it the meteorologist can secure a register of the minutest changes of night and day. By it the lecturer and schoolmaster can exhibit the faithful transcripts of those objects which mere language would be insufficient to describe. By it even justice can arrest the fugitive criminal, by sending forth veritable copies of his likeness, instead of the vague or equivocal descriptions which were usually contained in the printed hue and cry

Among the physical sciences, in which such advances have been made during the present period, Chemistry occupies the foremost place. Nothing less than this could be expected, when the materials of its study are the air we breathe, the food we eat, the liquids we drink—the elementary bodies in their simple or compound state, by which abundance, health, and comfort are secured, and sickness and pain averted And yet, for thousands of years men were contented to follow what was blindly called the law of nature, and apply its rules without knowing why or wherefore, until towards the close of the last century, when the characteristics of the elementary bodies or simple substances which enter into the composition of what we see around us were heedfully investigated and classified. It was only then that chemistry was resolved into a regular science, and studied with a due appreciation of its importance The revelations with which this search has been rewarded are now being turned into daily account, by an infinity of ingenious processes, from the manufacture of the finest pigments to the baking of a loaf. But British research would not rest contented with the mere honour of discovery, or the gratification of an intellectual curiosity, and hence, every important new result to which its inquiries have arrived, has been combined with the *cui bono?* The satisfactory answer has been given in the operations of bleaching, dyeing, and calico-printing, by which the value of our commercial commodities has been so greatly enhanced; in the preparation of gunpowder, salt, drugs, soap, paints, perfumery, &c., and in the manufacture of porcelain, pottery-ware, glass, paper, &c In the improvements which are daily taking place upon these articles, the eminently practical character of British intellect has maintained its wonted ascendency, while the world at large has been benefited by the fruits of this idiosyncrasy.

It is not, however, to our manufactures alone that the discoveries of chemistry are applied. The necessities of a growing population, the desire of profit, even the honourable ambition of producing a blade of corn where none grew before, have turned our national energies to improved modes of Agriculture, and the effect has

been exhibited in the reclaiming of waste lands, and in more abundant harvests from the fields where the old processes of cultivation have been superseded by the new. The agriculturist has now been taught that vegetation is a chemical as well as a vital process—that the vegetable world has life as well as the animal. A still more difficult task which he has to learn, is the selecting and apportioning of the different kinds of the plant-food to the nature of the soil and the vegetation that is to be sustained on it. And then, again, when a soil is exhausted, he must be skilful in the application of those particular kinds of manure which are suited to its nature and condition, and the best fitted for renewing its strength and restoring its nutritious properties. Thus, the farmer can no longer plant and sow indiscriminately, or according to his own wishes, or scatter the manure-heap at random; if he intends to pay the doubled or tripled rent of his acres, and have a comfortable reversion, he must abandon that slothful world-wide adage, "our fathers did so before us," and cultivate his fields according to the new rules and processes by which the whole system of agriculture has been revolutionized. He has thus become in some degree a chemist without knowing it, and a skilful employer of its materials, without learning their Greek names, or subjecting them to a scientific analysis. But he knows that his ground yields thrice the amount which it vouchsafed to his grandfather, and that this increase has been owing to the introduction of those changes which his grandfather would have scorned as new-fangled, or condemned as a distrusting of Providence. The same redundancy of a growing population, which compels the Chinese to girdle their mountains with terraces, cultivate every inch of soil, and treasure up every particle of waste matter for manure, is apprehended also for Britain, but to encounter this emergency, the well-tried energy and industry of its children are aided by the rich resources of chemical science, under which the rock itself is becoming a yielding soil, and the morass a dry fertile territory. The renewal of an exhausted soil, and the production of a profitable rotation of crops, are now the most important questions in our new agricultural science, and the creation of artificial, as well as the improvement of natural manures, with the best adjustment of them to the particular soil and season, are the lessons chiefly studied by the young farmers of the present day. Of these artificial manures which have been largely used in modern agriculture, directed by chemical science, the principal have been kelp or barilla, guano, bones or bone-dust, sulphate of lime or gypsum, nitrates, potash, and lime. For the further fertilization of our fields, and the still greater increase of their produce, a question is now at issue, in which the interests of British agriculture are deeply involved—we mean the conversion of the sewage of our cities into manure. The condition of the Thames at London, and of the Clyde at Glasgow, and especially the state of those inland towns where no neighbouring river can be converted into a drain and common sewer, has arrested the general attention; and chemical research is actively employed about the best means for deodorizing this sewage, and converting it from an increasing source of miasma and pestilence into a means of agricultural abundance.

In the science of Astronomy, England has not been unmindful of her distinction as the birth-place and home of Sir Isaac Newton; and the discoveries of Sir William and Sir John Herschel, Dr Maskelyne, Mr. Bishop, Mr Hind, Mr Lassell, Mr. Airy of Greenwich Observatory, and Mr. Adams of Cambridge, have largely added to a science which so much depends upon close patient observation, and an accumulation of facts alone—whose infinity of objects thousands or even millions of years spent in watching and registering would be insufficient to comprise. Much, however, has been done during the present period, in the enlargement of star maps and star catalogues, so that the cosmical relations of the whole heaven have been defined, and the earth's place in it as a mere point in the universe ascertained and fixed. Nor has the practical been lost sight of in the contemplation of these remote and inaccessible objects, and the discoveries of astronomy have been turned to the essentially British purposes of navigation, by calculating and fixing more accurately the position of a ship at sea. The steps by which this important object was attained, have been carefully noted in that national work, the *Nautical Almanac*, which was commenced in 1767, in connection with the parliamentary commission for the "discovery of the longitude at sea." As astronomy was of such vital importance to the commercial interests and political welfare of our country, the study of the science was promoted by the establishment of the "Royal Astronomical Society of London," having for its office-bearers the chief astronomers of Britain, and for its associates the principal astronomers of Europe. Another society, by which the preceding has been greatly benefited, named the "British Association for the Advancement of Science," was opened in 1831. Our chief observatories are those of Greenwich, Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, and the Cape of Good Hope; and from the principal one (that of Greenwich) there are telegraphic wires connected with the wires of the principal railways, by which its communications, and especially its time-signals, are conveyed over the island. But

notwithstanding these public institutions for the advancement of the science, some of the most important astronomical discoveries of the present period have been made by amateurs, at their own private expense or by the aid of their friends. Such has been especially the case with Mr Lassell, a merchant of Liverpool, who built an observatory for his own use, and discovered an eighth satellite to Saturn, one to Neptune, and two to Uranus—Mr. Hind, who discovered many new asteroids—and Mr. Adams, who in 1846 discovered the new planet Neptune The accession of this last-named planet to our system was the result of abstract mathematical reasoning so profound, and analysis so subtle and searching, as to show that future discovery is not left wholly dependent on observation and telescopic aid. But one of the most striking indications of the love of astronomical science for its own sake, was the construction of Lord Rosse's gigantic telescope. The luminous masses called nebulæ, so thickly sown over the whole heaven, had perplexed scientific inquiry; and although Sir William Herschel mapped 2500 of these mysterious star-clouds, and his son Sir John added 500 clusters to the celestial chart, the nature of these luminous strata, which were concluded to be neither fixed stars nor planets, still continued unknown. To add also to this perplexity, some of these nebulæ, which at first appeared only shining spots, presented, when viewed through powerful telescopes, the appearance of distinct stars, while others, though subjected to the same scrutiny, were still as incomprehensible as before. It was chiefly to explore these dim, remote, tantalizing masses that Lord Rosse constructed his wondrous telescope, with the labour and anxiety of years The tube has a focal length of fifty-three feet, and a clear aperture of six feet, of its two specula or mirrors, one weighs 3½ tons, and the other a little more than 4; and the instrument itself is placed between two immense piers, 70 feet long and nearly 50 feet high. But whilst the immense range of this cyclopean telescope led to remarkable discoveries among the hitherto unexplored regions of nebulæ and star-dust, it also revealed dimly beyond them new regions of mystery, that demand yet larger and more improved powers of vision. But the ardour of science has only been stimulated by these past successes, and fresh endeavours are certain to follow, by which new fields of the boundless universe will be opened, and the harmonious laws of their administration be more amply and correctly understood.

Amongst the youngest of the physical sciences is Geology, which may be said to have originated in the early part of the present century. Its object is to investigate the ancient natural history of the earth. The inquiries of the science divide themselves into two branches—viz., physical geology, or the examination of the mineral structure, formation, and succession of the rocks constituting the crust of the earth, and the laws which have regulated their origin and distribution; and palæontology, or the study of the fossil or petrified remains of extinct animals and plants embedded in the ancient sedimentary rocks. Geology thus derives its materials as a science from the three kingdoms of nature, mineralogy, zoology, and botany being its principal tributaries. On account of the recentness of its origin, as well as the extent and importance of its range, a more than usually ample detail of the history of a science which is only coeval with ourselves will naturally be expected.

From an early period the more obvious phenomena of geology attracted the attention of the cultivators of natural science in the enlightened nations of the eastern and the western world; but it was not till the other physical sciences were established upon a solid basis that it began to assume a philosophical form. Previous speculations on the subject usually resolved themselves into cosmogonies, or attempts to account for the origin of the globe, an inquiry manifestly beyond the range of scientific investigation. Towards the close of the last century, the celebrated Dr. Hutton of Edinburgh published his theory of the earth, a work in which a clear conception of the legitimate objects of the science was first announced in this country. Throwing aside the bewildering dreams of the cosmogonists, Hutton set out by declaring that geology was in no way concerned with questions as to the origin of things; and although his work is avowedly theoretical, his theory was founded upon a large induction of facts, and anticipated some of the most important principles which have been generalized from the multiplied observations of the last fifty years. Geology thus born, could only, like other sciences, be developed by opposition, and this, fortunately, was not long wanting. A lively controversy was waged for a considerable period between the followers of Hutton and those of Werner, a German professor of mineralogy, on the merits of their respective theories—the latter school ascribing the formation of the ancient rocks of every description to chemical precipitates from a chaotic fluid, the followers of Werner being therefore named Neptunists; while the disciples of Hutton called in the agency of subterranean fires to account for the production of the crystalline or unstratified rocks, and the elevation of submarine strata, and were hence called Vulcanists. Werner, however, had the merit of first determining the order of the succession of rocks, in so far as their superposition could be ascertained within a limited

area, by their mineral characters. In the meantime, William Smith, a mineral surveyor, succeeded by a series of independent researches, pursued under circumstances of extraordinary difficulty, in establishing the succession and relative antiquity of the secondary rocks in England by their organic contents. A new and efficacious instrument of investigation was thus placed for the first time in the hands of the geologist, enabling him to connect the vital with the physical phenomena of a science of the earth, and geology, now brought within the pale of inductive reasoning, ceased to be speculative and visionary A neutral school took its rise in London in 1807, in the establishment of the Geological Society, the members of which formally agreed to abstain from theories, to devote themselves to the accumulation of facts and observations, and patiently to await the results at some future period. In the year following, France contributed its share to the infant science, by giving to the world the great work of Cuvier and Brogniart, on the organic remains found in the neighbourhood of Paris. Geology is therefore indebted to three different nations for its advancement, in the early part of the century, in three of its great branches of inquiry—to Germany, for accurate views of mineralogical geology, to England, for the classification of stratified rocks by their fossils, and to France, for the first light thrown upon the deposits of the tertiary period. The science has ever since been sedulously cultivated in Europe and America, and has grown with unexampled rapidity, every year adding to the breadth and stability of its foundations, and the depth and significance of its results. The observations promulgated by the founders of the science have been confirmed and extended over a large portion of the globe The same kinds of rocks are found to recur in groups, with unfailing regularity, from the equator to the pole. By the study of the ancient forms of life, the geologist has been able to classify the stratified rocks into great life-periods, each characterized by forms of animals and plants peculiar to itself, yet all exhibiting recognizable features of a plan of structure, which, although subject to a boundless diversity of adaptations, shows that the laws of organization and of life were the same in the remotest epochs that they are now, and that the same infinite wisdom and goodness have been manifested in the creation and preservation of living beings in all ages. While geology confirms the testimony of revealed truth as to the comparatively recent period at which man appeared on the earth, it also affords unequivocal evidence of the previous existence of tribes of animals and plants, which were successively removed from the surface of the globe, at intervals of inconceivable duration, and replaced by new races, suited to new physical conditions, and called into being by successive acts of creative power.

Apart from its philosophical interest as a science, geology possesses an economic value which is attracting the attention of the governments of Europe and America, and leading to the adoption of measures for rendering geological observation subservient to the development of mineral resources. The ordnance survey of the British Isles, which has been for many years in progress, now embraces the geological survey of the country, and the results are laid down in the ordnance maps. A museum of economic geology has been established in London along with a school of mines, to which is added a mining record office, where an account is kept of all subterranean operations, and the value of their products. Similar surveys have been in progress for many years in more than half of the United States In private enterprise, much money is now saved to landed proprietors, which was formerly wasted upon efforts to discover coal in rocks, where the geologist would at once pronounce such a discovery to be impossible. Agriculture is also reaping solid benefits from the practical application of mineralogical geology to the improvement of the soil. The principles of the science have in like manner been made available in the construction of artesian wells. While in these and other ways geological science is ministering to our material prosperity, comfort, and health, the discoveries of the science are subjects of growing interest amongst all classes of the people. As a subject of study, geology ranks next to astronomy in the stupendous nature of the problems it presents to human inquiry Its noblest triumphs are to be found in its contributions to natural theology, and the light which it reflects on the being and attributes of God. In no country has the science been cultivated with more zeal and success than in Great Britain; and the names of Lyell, Buckland, Murchison, Sedgwick, Phillips, Hopkins, Hugh Miller, and a host of others, will always be proudly associated with the period of our history, that witnessed the rise of the stately fabric of the modern geology.

In the period now under consideration (1830–1860), or rather from the commencement of the general peace which followed the downfall of Napoleon to the present day, enterprise, having for its object Geographical and Scientific research, acquired an unusual degree of vigour and persistence. Discovery, it might be supposed, must grow rare as the world grows old, and little remains to be discovered; but the fact is, that the world, considered as an object of inquiry, never

grows old · intellectual progress extending the range of vision, or changing the point of view, continually finds novelty in fields apparently exhausted.

When Great Britain in 1815 disbanded her army and reduced her navy, the pressure of the now unoccupied aspirants after fame and adventure was felt chiefly at the admiralty, and by the African Association. At the admiralty a secretary, fervently admiring the achievements of Hudson, Baffin, and Frobisher, and disposed to revive the long-exploded project of a north-west passage to India, aided with his influence the professional ardour which sought employment at any risk The consequence was that four ships were fitted out in 1818, two to proceed to the North Pole, and two to Baffin's Bay, the latter expedition under the command of Captain John Ross, to endeavour to make their way to the Pacific This was the first of a series of expeditions to the Polar regions, so remarkable in themselves, and through the force of circumstances so perseveringly, though unwillingly continued, as to deserve being recounted somewhat in detail

Both these expeditions totally failed to discover the proposed passage, but as the existence of the range of mountains, said by Captain Ross to stretch across Lancaster Sound, and close it on the west, was denied by his officers, the disappointment in that quarter tended rather to inflame than to damp curiosity; and in the following year (1819), two ships were sent out under Parry, who had accompanied Ross, to repeat the attempt to penetrate through Lancaster Sound At the same time Franklin, who with Buchan had sought in vain for an open sea about the North Pole, was sent overland from Hudson's Bay to explore the coasts eastward of the Coppermine River. Parry's expedition was remarkably successful Though he did not make the passage to the Pacific, he crossed the meridian of 110° W., and obtained the £5000 voted by parliament for that feat. Franklin's party endured dreadful sufferings, which were ill compensated by the exploration of a few hundred miles of coast

Encouraged by the popularity attending Parry's bold advance westwards, the government no longer hesitated to fit out expeditions for the Arctic regions In 1821–23, the same officer examined Repulse Bay and the neighbouring shores. In 1823, a vessel, despatched to enable Captain Sabine to make experiments with the pendulum as near as possible to the pole, reached lat. 80° 20′ N In 1824 Captain Lyon sailed to examine Wager Inlet. In 1824–25, Parry commanded a third expedition, which had less success even than his second. At the same time Franklin repeated, with better issue, his attempt to survey the northern coasts of the American continent, and was most effectually aided by Dr. Richardson. The boats of a vessel sent to the Polar Sea by Behring's Straits to co-operate with Franklin, traced in 1826–27 the coast of the continent eastward till within 150 miles of the most western point reached by that traveller In 1827, Captain Parry started on his fourth voyage, his design being to travel over the ice from Spitzbergen to the pole, but he found it impossible to get beyond 82° 45′, as the ice drifted southwards, while he travelled over it in the opposite direction.

So many disappointments after a flush of success produced a revulsion of feeling, and the government now resolved not to equip any more Arctic expeditions But Captain J. Ross, aided by private munificence, started in 1829, discovered the peninsula which he named Boothia Felix, and having spent three successive winters in the ice, returned in 1833. His long absence awakened public interest. Captain Back, sent to seek intelligence of him, descended the Great Fish River (1833–35), and in 1836 examined to little purpose the inlets on the northern side of Hudson's Bay. The Hudson's Bay Company also despatched an expedition in 1836–39, which fulfilled its purpose of completing the survey of the northern shores of the continent, from Behring's Straits to Boothia Felix, and the subsequent expedition of Dr. Rae from the same quarter carried this survey still further to the north.

The comparative success and small cost of the land expeditions, led by experienced fur-traders, proved the folly of sending out ships to winter in the ice, and it was generally understood that Arctic voyages were at an end, when it was announced, in 1845, that Sir J Franklin was about to repeat the attempt to find the north-west passage This expedition was probably conceded as a boon to the aged secretary of the admiralty on his bidding farewell to office. Three years elapsed and nothing was heard of this expedition, government then, aroused by the general alarm, sent forth three expeditions in search of the missing one, viz, one to Behring's Straits, that of Sir J. Richardson overland, and Sir James Ross to the Boothia peninsula. These were followed by the expeditions of Collinson and Maclure, of Austin and Ommaney, of Belcher and Kellett, and finally of M'Clintock, besides several others not fitted out by the government Maclure alone passed through from Behring's Straits to Baffin's Bay, and may thus be said to have discovered the north-west passage, and M'Clintock ascertained the fate of the missing ships Sir J Franklin died a natural death in the strait which bears his name, and his com-

panions, wintering in King William's Land, which was explored by James Ross in 1834, were destroyed by cold, hunger, and disease.

Thus in the course of forty years at least fifty ships were sent out with picked crews, and provisioned for two or three years, to solve a problem of no practical value. Their narratives, however, all bear witness to the energy and good discipline of the British navy. The expedition of Sir James Ross to the Antarctic regions in 1844, had for its object scientific observations, which determined approximately the position of the south magnetic pole.

The activity of the African Association was for obvious reasons less enduring. In 1818 the region south of Tripoli, extending to Murzuk and Ghât, was explored by Ritchie and Lyon, and the latter published a narrative containing much valuable information. It still remained, however, to cross the desert to Negroland. This was undertaken, in 1823, by Denham and Clapperton, who were well received by the ruler of Bornu, the first of these travellers penetrating southwards, while the other proceeded westwards to Haussa and Sokatu, the Fellatah capital The latter point presenting peculiar attractions, Clapperton had no sooner returned, by way of Tripoli, from his first expedition, than he started on a second, to reach Sokatu from the coast of Guinea, and to trace the great river of that country, the Quorra, to the sea. The latter and more important part of the zealous traveller's plans was frustrated by his death, but his servant, Richard Lander, in returning to the coast, traced the river, which at the present day is popularly, but with very little reason, called the Niger (the Joliba of Park, who descended it to Boussa), to the Bight of Benin Several attempts were made by Laing, Gray, Dochard, and others, to penetrate to the interior through the country of the Mandingoes, and the first-named of these travellers was murdered on his way from Twat to Timbuktu, but as none of these attempts had such results as would entitle them to more than a passing notice in a brief sketch, we hasten on to enterprises of more recent date, and of greater importance

In 1847 Mr Richardson, connected with the press in Malta, succeeded, by an excursion to Ghât, south-west of Tripoli, and by papers on the trade of that region, in attracting the notice of the foreign office, and his offer to lead an expedition to Bornu was accepted. Two Germans, Drs. Barth and Overweg, were charged with the scientific branches of the mission. After much waste of time and loss of property, the expedition arrived on the borders of Negroland, and there separated, its members pursuing each his own course. Richardson died soon after. Overweg lived to visit Tacoba, and to sail on Lake Tsad, but left at his decease no legible journal of his proceedings. All the objects of the expedition devolved therefore on Dr. Barth, in whom resolution and physical strength were fortunately united to a spirit of inquiry. He penetrated southwards to Adamawa, in lat. 8½° N., the most southern possession of the conquering Fellatah, crossing in his way the great river Benue, at its junction with the Faro. The Benue is the upper course of the large river which joins the Quorra in lat. 7° 50′, and which, through some mistake of its first discoverers, received the name of the Chadda The discovery of a navigable stream flowing through the most fertile countries of Negroland, and easily accessible, was of vast importance, and measures have been taken to turn it to account

Dr. Barth made an excursion to Baghirme, crossing two navigable streams, which fall united into Lake Tsad. He also spent a considerable time in Haussa, and in the Fellatah kingdom of Sokatu. He then travelled south-westwards to the Quorra, and crossing it took the southern road to Timbuktu, where he spent some months, and then returned along the northern bank of the river to Haussa and Bornu. The most curious of his multifarious chapters are, perhaps, those which describe the tribes of the desert and the mixed races of Asben.

For many years a trade of unknown extent has been carried on between the colony of the Cape of Good Hope and the native tribes scattered over the adjacent interior. The Cape traders are often absent for two years, and return from distances of which they take little account, with their waggons laden with skins and ivory. It is said that in 1837 a Boer drove his waggon to the Zambeze. All these travellers heard of the great lake in the interior; and when English sportsmen, incited by the example of Captain Harris, began to frequent the country of the Bechuana in pursuit of large game, it was easy to foresee the direction in which exploration would advance.

In 1849 the sportsmen Oswell and Murray, accompanied by the missionary Livingston, first reached the banks of the Lake Ngami. But then, as well as in the following year, they were defeated in the attempt to reach the country of great rivers, said to lie further north. In May, 1853, however, having vanquished all difficulties, they stood on the banks of the great river, which they then called the Sesheke, and conjectured to be identical with the Zambeze of the eastern coast. Animated by this conclusion, Livingston ascended the river (now called the Leeambye), towards the N.N.W., crossed the Casabi and Quango into Angola, and at Loanda, the capital

of the Portuguese colony, announced that he had discovered the Zambeze flowing through the middle of the continent. On his return to the interior down the Leeambye, in 1855, he descended this river to the falls, where it is dammed up by a rocky ledge, then went north-west over the highlands, till he came on the Zambeze, which he descended to the sea, and pronounced it to be navigable for large vessels to the interior. Having returned, however, to the Zambeze, in 1858, to complete his discoveries, he has ascertained that river to be navigable only in boats of light draught, and not much further than Tete. The connection of the Zambeze with the Leeambye remains still unproved

The existence of a lake of great extent, from north to south, called Nyassi, on the eastern side of Africa, was proved in 1845 by Mr Cooley, who produced, in 1852, a map showing the route to Ujiji, on the shores of the lake. The particulars collected by the missionaries near Mombas gave this inland sea an enormous extent Thus magnified, and situate too, as it was supposed, in the famed region of Monomuzi, it is no wonder that it should attract travellers of the more enterprising and enduring class In 1857, Captains Burton and Speke commenced their journey into the interior from the coast near Zanzibar, and after nearly eight months of severe toil, reached Ujiji, and navigated the lake, called by them Tanganyika. Captain Speke also visited another lake (Nyanza) lying to the north-east of the former, to which hearsay information attached much importance It is to be feared that these travellers, unacquainted with the language of the natives, have too often made use of their experience only to decorate their own preconceived opinions. The country and great empire of Uniamoezi, described by them, is certainly unreal; and we hesitate in following them to the supposed southern limits of Lake Tanganyika, and the countries to the south-west But they have unintentionally proved that there are no difficulties or dangers to be encountered in this part of Africa which a prudent traveller may not easily overcome.

Respecting Australia, we might briefly say that the discovery of its interior has been effected entirely during the last thirty years. If our acquaintance with that interior be still incomplete, yet it has advanced with astonishing rapidity The mountains first explored by Hume, thirty years ago, are now thickly peopled with miners. The rivers Murray, Darling, and Murrumbidgee, now navigated, were discovered and traced downwards by Major Mitchell in 1836. In the glens of the granitic mountains, about the sources of these rivers, lie the auriferous deposits which have rendered Australia the richest gold-producing country in the world, California alone being excepted. Eyre explored the whole southern plain from east to west. Sturt examined the desert interior north of Spencer's Gulf. Mitchell, and subsequently Leichhardt, explored vast tracts of comparatively good country on the eastern side. The western side was penetrated by the expedition of Grey and Lushington. Rae and others have surveyed the interior near Swan River; while Gregory has thoroughly examined the vicinity of the Gulf of Carpentaria and the northern shores

The New World, it might be thought, is by this time fully known, and offers no longer any room for geographical discovery. Even the most inhospitable wilds of North America are constantly visited by the indefatigable hunter and fur-trader But civilization, the main-spring of which is intercourse, requires exact knowledge, and therefore we feel justified in classing among new and important discoveries the survey recently made by Captain Palliser, between the Red River (flowing into Lake Winnipeg) and the shores of British Columbia, which has resulted in the discovery of more than one pass through the Rocky Mountains, in which the construction of a railway would be practicable. The line thus carefully surveyed cannot fall much short of 1500 miles in extent. As the auriferous veins or detritus which have stimulated so wonderfully the growth of California, and have raised St. Francisco in a little time to the rank of a rich and populous city, seem to extend also into British Columbia, and to hold out promises of rapid growth, the practicability of a railway communication with it across the continent is highly interesting and important.

To the same class of scientific labours, which completes the work of discovery, belongs the trigonometrical survey of the British Islands, which, growing continually more perfect in its execution, is now approaching completion. The triangulation of India, too, is complete, and embraces an arc of the meridian of sixteen degrees. It will materially aid in the construction of railways, which are destined to infuse new life into the industry of India.

Another branch of scientific labour, more closely allied to discovery, is that of the hydrographical surveyor, who is in general little taken notice of, though he works hard for the obvious benefit of mankind. It is a surprising fact, that within the last forty years probably not less than two-thirds of the accessible coasts of our terraqueous globe have been surveyed by officers of the British navy. We can speak with certainty as to the coasts of the British Islands, Newfoundland, the Mediterranean Sea, the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, the shores of Arabia

and Africa, Australia and New Zealand, America (excepting the United States), the West Indian Islands, and several groups in the Pacific. The survey of the Chinese and Japanese Seas is now (1860) in progress. When the nature of this work is considered, the perseverance and skill required for its execution, and its permanent effect on general commerce and the welfare of the whole human race, it seems entitled to our highest admiration.

Hitherto we have contemplated the improvement of the sciences in their application to the arts of peace, and to the benefit of humanity at large But we cannot yet flatter ourselves with the thought that the good has been wholly unalloyed, and while in some cases this improvement has merely ministered to the selfishness of our nature, in one striking instance it has been made the agent of man's vindictiveness and love of destruction. We allude, of course, to the changes of modern Warfare, by which it has been rendered more deadly and ruinous than ever, and the beginning of which we had occasion slightly to notice in our account of the campaigns of the Crimea and India. By the introduction of the Minié and Enfield rifle, a fearful certainty is given to the aim of the distant marksman; while against the destructive and far-reaching cannonade of the Armstrong and Whitworth artillery, it seems as if no human architecture could stand We shudder as we read of the rifled cannon-ball winging its flight for miles, striking the object aimed at as if it had been but a few yards off, and crushing men and ramparts until its course is exhausted While science has thus increased the range, and given certainty to the deadliness of the soldier's missiles, the electric telegraph has been brought into full play for the movements of the campaign and the operations of the battle-field, so that the plan at headquarters can be instantly communicated over the whole range of action. War as a science has been changed, but only by becoming tenfold more ruinous, and while the means of offence have been thus improving, the means of defence have been undergoing a correspondent alteration. On land, the ramparts of stone that were lately thought to be impregnable, are to be superseded by stronger and more scientific masonry, or exchanged for artificial mounds of earth, which artillery cannot shake; and steam-ships are already launched and ready for action, so completely covered with an armour of malleable iron, that the cannon-ball at certain angles rebounds from them without inflicting serious damage. And whither is this warlike revolution to conduct us? How is it to terminate? "In universal peace," is the hopeful reply. Men will no longer go forth to war when the certainty of being slain becomes absolute, and when little chance of personal distinction is left to them amidst the wholesale and indiscriminate carnage. In the meantime, one great advantage is secured by the change before the arrival of the millennial day. It is, that mere brute force and courage can no longer be the only available arm of warfare, or a civilized nation be overrun by one that is barbarous Science is now the great military arbiter of the destiny of nations, and their civilization has become their best and surest protection. The glory and the triumphs of such conquerors as Attila, Tamerlane, and Genghiz Khan have for ever passed away

We have thus simply indicated rather than described the intellectual tendencies of the present day. Feeling as if enough had already been achieved in general literature, and in the sciences of ethics and metaphysics, the mind has sought new worlds to conquer, and in the plenitude of its might and activity has laid hold of the physical sciences, in the assured confidence of a similar success And this too, chiefly with a reference, not to the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity or restless mental activity, but practical and substantial results. The spirit of the age is eminently utilitarian, and not a particle of matter escapes its research with the view of turning it to a useful account. To abbreviate time and space by the wondrous agency of steam and electricity, to increase the measure and multiply the means of subsistence and comfort, to improve health and lengthen life—even to extinguish war by so enlarging its destructive agencies, as to make war itself a hateful and a losing game to all parties—these have been the chief attempts of the last thirty years, under which the world has been revolutionized, and a new career commenced, the end of which it is overwhelming to anticipate

With such a tendency, and amidst such successes, it is not to be wondered at if the previous zeal for the cultivation of Literature should have suffered some abatement. While it was felt, indeed, on the one hand, that little more in this department was left to be done, it was found on the other, that new fields had been opened in the material world as interesting as those of the mental, and also more tangible and substantial, where the most refined intellect could find its proper objects of study, and ambition or philanthropy erect the best trophies of its success. A great and useful discovery in physics, by which the human race at large is to be benefited, is not imprisoned within a single language, or only appreciated by the highest in taste and intellect. If therefore we have fewer metaphysicians, critics, poets, moralists, historians, in the present than the preceding period, we can console our-

selves with the thought that it is because our master-intellects have found other fields of occupation, of which we are daily reaping the fruits A new movement of the human mind has commenced, of which the present is the transition period between it and the old and that period is chiefly occupied with those literary celebrities who either were the lights of the former generation, or whose aptitudes are more for literary than scientific research We had till lately, and in unabated vigour, the octogenarian De Quincey, whose eloquent writings in every literary department extended over half a century, and Leigh Hunt, who, as political writer, journalist, poet, and essayist, delighted two generations and the boyhood of a third, and Lord Macaulay, who, after a brilliant career as statesman, orator, biographer, essayist, and reviewer, achieved for himself his last and highest distinction as an historian of England But the most eminent of them all, as well as their concentration, is the venerable Lord Brougham, that living connecting link between the old intellectual world and the new, who after winning the highest distinction in the literature of the one, has advanced into the science of the other with an ardour and activity still unabated and unchecked Then we have Thomas Carlyle, the merciless iconoclast of idol theories and modern philosophical paganism, and the Duke of Argyle, the able expounder and advocate of physical science; and Mr Gladstone, the eloquent denouncer of that Neapolitan tyranny which has formed so strong a barrier against Italian regeneration. Many other names might be given to prove that the spirit of literature has not yet died among us, and that its lustre is only overcast for the time by the inauguration of a new era, and the more popular character of its pursuits Of these, we shall only mention the names of Froude, Grote, Napier, Dr. Arnold, and Alison, in history, and Lord Campbell in biography, as sufficient to be suggestive of others. In biography indeed, there will never be a lack of authorship, as long as eminent men exist, or friends and relatives to embalm their memory; and hence the monthly issues from the press of "Lives" and 'Memoirs" in unabated profusion, and with all their former variety of excellencies and defects The same plentiful supplies continue in the departments of classical, theological, and antiquarian learning, and also in light or miscellaneous periodical writing; for these are departments which will continue to be loved and prosecuted for their own sake to the end but even in these we miss such high names as aggrandized them some thirty years ago, or at least, we feel no such interest in finding them out, and holding them up as the lights and guides of the day. In reading over the lists of living authors, there is one peculiarity that cannot fail to strike even the most unobservant. It is the great number of female names as compared with any former period. Nor are these confined as before to the merely imaginative departments, to novel writing and poetry, but are extended over those from which they had been formerly excluded; so that in biography, history, and the fine arts, in antiquarianism, even in theology, ladies are distinguishing themselves by their writings, and commanding the homage of that sex into whose exclusive province they have so worthily entered. Well is it that woman is thus showing herself a 'help meet for man," let man become as learned and intellectual as he may! A new era for the sex is dawning, and woman's full rights as well as her true mission are beginning to be better understood.

Although science has now obtained the predominance over literature, one literary department is still left not only undiminished, but of greater influence than ever. Man is not only an imaginative being, but his imagination, as it is the earliest, is also the strongest of all his intellectual faculties, and let whatever study predominate for the time, its cravings must be satisfied. As this faculty also is so generally inherent, even where the others may be scanty or inert, every one must have an ideal world of his own, to which he can retire from the daily toil and dull realities of the present; and whether it may be the minstrel's ballad or the impersonations of the actor, the romance, the allegory, or the tale, it is the resting-place upon which he falls back, according to his own particular tastes and capacities. But in the advance of society to its present point, many of these resources have necessarily dropped off at each stage of progress, while invention was unable to discover something new to substitute in its stead Thus the troubadour passed away; thus the romance was flung aside as a dull absurdity; thus, too, even the drama has ceased to charm, and its "beggarly account of empty boxes" been converted into firewood. And what then remains? The novel, and nothing but the novel It alone has survived, because its fictions were founded upon reality, and not upon giants, knights, and enchanters, incredible loves and battles, and impossible reverses; and it continues to increase as a literary power by how much it combines high feelings and startling incidents with the character of reality and truthfulness These circumstances will account for the present prevalence of novel writing beyond any former precedent, and for the high standard that has been imposed upon it. Almost every man and woman—nay, almost every child, is more or less a novel reader, and must have novels worth reading. The demand of course

has created a correspondent supply, and the ablest intellects of the day write novels. Hackneyed plots and dull frivolities will no longer be tolerated, and therefore the novel, while an attractive tale and a true picture of life, must also instruct, purify, and elevate. In consequence of this demand, almost every theory of history, politics, morals, theology, science, is to be found incorporated in the novels of the present day, and illustrated with an eloquence, clearness, and impressiveness to which learned formal essays cannot always attain.

As the novelists of the present period are so numerous, a list of even the principal writers in this department would exceed our limits. But this becomes the less necessary, as they are so generally known and appreciated. Foremost, perhaps, in the list may be mentioned the name of Charles Dickens, who, under the homely name of Boz, took the public by storm in his well-known publication of the *Pickwick Papers*, and has maintained his popularity unabated to the present hour. Of scarcely inferior note is W M Thackeray, whose vigorous sketches of life and character are heightened with the reflectiveness of Fielding, and almost the causticity of Swift, and who, with greater toleration for the weaknesses of humanity, and a higher enthusiasm for its merits, might perhaps be more popular still. Then, we have Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, the statesman as well as novelist, who at an early period of life commenced a brilliant career by his first popular work, *Pelham;* who continued for a time to be the delineator and eulogist of fashionable coxcombs and essenced *roués;* but who afterwards forsook these heroes of his youth, for characters of a higher stamp, and subjects of a more ennobling character. One of our most distinguished novelists, also, is Benjamin D'Israeli, whose name has already so often occurred in our pages but under a different capacity—who, like Bulwer, was a writer of novels before he became a statesman, and whose favourite themes have been the grandeur of the Jewish race, and the high destinies that yet await them. All these writers achieved a high reputation while still young, and have continued to maintain their pre-eminence against a whole world of competition, so that the announciation of a new work from any of them is enough to set the whole novel-reading world on tiptoe. Of the names inferior to these of the first rank, we can only mention Kingsley, Warren, Collins, Reed, James, Carleton, Lever, Lover, Grant, Ainsworth, Anthony Trollope—the popularity of whose works is attested at every railway station, and which are almost as common in the hand of every traveller as the railway ticket. But further we will not attempt to enumerate, as the list would otherwise "stretch out till the crack of doom." In an age of such female intellectual activity, and in a department where ladies are so fitted to excel, by their quickness of observation, tact, and delicacy, they fully divide the popular estimation with the other sex, and assert their equality in talent, however different in kind Of these female novelists, the first place is due to Charlotte Bronte, whose writings exhibit a wonderful combination of masculine vigour with feminine delicacy; Miss Mulock, who is equally at home in the ages of romance and the scenes of modern everyday action, Mrs. Gore, the prolific delineator of all the lights and shadows of fashionable life; Mrs Marsh, whose well-known series commenced with *Amelia Wyndham;* Miss Evans, the author of *Adam Bede;* and though last, not of secondary account, Mrs Trollope, who delighted the previous as well as the present generation by the *vis comica* of her caricature sketches. But here, also, we must abruptly close the list against the crowd of coming names all more or less worthy of notice. Our scantiness of enumeration, however, both of male and female novelists is the less to be blamed, when we remember how rapidly such names rise into notice, and how quickly they disappear and are forgot This species of writing, as it is the most common and prolific of all literary reputations, is also the most evanescent. The novel is read and the amusement is gone. The author's aim was perhaps nothing more than to amuse, and he has had his reward. The tale of yesterday can no longer call us back when the tale of to-day is at hand

In the foregoing period of our history, the chief amount of literary effort was bestowed upon periodical literature, in which department the highest place was occupied by the monthly magazines and quarterly reviews These were the arbitrary dictators and influential guides of the past generation, not only in literary but political opinions, while the *prestige* they had won was well supported by the high names and superior talent which these publications were able to command. But much of this influence has passed away, partly through the elevation of the general intellect which they mainly contributed to effect, and partly by the diversion of the public tendency into different channels. The intellectual impatience of the age, also, which has been so largely increased by telegraphic communication and railway travelling, will no longer contentedly wait for three long months, or even a single month, to learn the oracular verdict of the magazine upon events which are passing at railway speed. Still, however, the power of habit remains, although the interest in these publications has abated, and readers cannot

lightly abandon the periodical from which their literary bias was derived, and their views of men and books established; and therefore these works continue to issue from the press, although with a diminished circulation. Of the quarterly journals, there are at present 35, and of the monthly magazines about 300, published throughout the United Kingdom.

But the great literary power which now predominates beyond all others, not only in Britain, but over the whole civilized world, is the NEWSPAPER This, which has been called the Fourth Estate in our own country, and which has frequently a voice more potential in the government of the kingdom than that of king, lords, and commons united, may also justly be termed the *mare de palais* of despotic monarchies, and the tribune of republics. It is not to be wondered at, also, that this ominous broadsheet should be so all-prevalent in its influence, when we remember its origin and its uses. In its rudest state it is the voice of a government announcing its will to the public, and instructing the subject in his duties Going higher still, it becomes the expression of the popular voice to the rulers, proclaiming the public wants and wishes, and upon what terms the people are willing to submit to rule. In this way it is the barometer of the political horizon, in which statesmen can read the propriety of their measures, or be warned of disaster and change. It is nothing more than natural, therefore, that in an age of general intelligence, and with such abundant means of printing and transmission, there should be newspapers in almost every language, and that these should chiefly consist of a daily or weekly history of the government, and popular comments upon its proceedings. It is equally natural that such means of general intelligence should be regarded by rulers with a suspicious eye, and this especially when the rule is unpopular, or when some aggression upon the liberties of the people is attempted. When such an attack is to be made upon the popular rights, the first step of the usurpation is to arrest the journals, while on the other side the "liberty of the press!" is the first war-cry of resistance Such being the nature and importance of the newspaper, it could not be otherwise than that Britain should become its indigenous soil — that there it should take root and flourish—and that having attained such pre-eminence, it should comprise among its contributors so large a proportion of the intellect of the day. But it is not merely as a great source of political intelligence, and exponent of national or party feeling, that the newspaper is valued among us As a commercial country the interests of Great Britain are identified more or less with every land, and without prompt regular tidings from all their markets, our national resources and mercantile enterprise would be alike suspended. And even to those who are indifferent to politics or commerce, the newspaper is so essential, that like other regularly used luxuries, it has become a necessary of life. It comprises not only the news of the whole world and the whole empire, but also of the particular town or district which each reader inhabits; and its columns satisfy the curiosity with which he awakes in the morning, and furnish him with topics of conversation for the day. On these accounts, the absence of his broadsheet would be almost equal to the loss of his breakfast. While among the literary and intellectual no kind of reading is taken up with greater zest or punctuality, there are tens of thousands who may be said to read nothing else, and whose intelligence, such as it is, has been derived chiefly from the newspaper.

As a free constitution and the liberty of the press are so essential to the existence of this department of journalism, Britain and the United States of America are naturally the countries in which newspapers are most abundant. In France they would be far more abundant than in either of those countries, in consequence of the restlessness of the national character, and the rapid important changes of the government, were it not for those numerous restrictions under which they are so often coerced by the ruling powers. The origin of the newspaper in England was generally supposed to have been in 1588, the epoch of the Spanish Armada, and that the *English Mercurie* was then published by order of Queen Elizabeth, to allay the popular alarm, but late inquiry has shown that this report is a fiction, and that the specimen of the *Mercurie* preserved in the British Museum is a literary forgery It was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that newspapers were issued in England, under the name of a "pamphlet of news," at first irregularly and at long intervals, until the reign of Charles I, and the civil war which ended in the establishment of the Commonwealth, brought the spirit of journalism into its natural activity. Even then, the influence of this powerful political weapon was appreciated, and the two great parties in the state had their rival newspapers, of which the spirit was as keen, and the language more violent, coarse, and abusive, than would be tolerated in the present day. But it was at the accession of Queen Anne, when talent was so abundant, and public events of such importance, that the newspaper acquired that high political ascendency which has been going on to the present hour. It was in her reign, also, that the first tax was laid upon the newspaper. Ostensibly, it was as a fruitful source of revenue

that the government stamp was imposed upon it; but the real design was, the suppression of libellous articles and attacks upon the ruling powers. The duty imposed was a halfpenny upon papers of half a sheet and less, and a penny upon those which ranged from a half to a single sheet, and it commenced operation on the 19th of July, 1712. But this attempt to suppress the liberty only increased the license of the press; and it was soon found, that the most profitable of all martyrdoms, as well as the best chance of popular distinction, was to incur the penalty of fine or imprisonment for libelling the powers that be. It also provoked a variety of fraudful attempts to elude the tax, which had risen from a halfpenny and a penny to fourpence. This was especially between the years 1831 and 1835, when scores of unstamped newspapers had started up, inculcating republican doctrines and revolutionary violence, and when the number of prosecutions for such offences was more than 700, in the course of which nearly 500 persons had been punished with imprisonment. In short, it was found out that this tax upon knowledge was not only useless but pernicious, and that at best, a revenue of £553,000 from 36,000,000 stamped newspapers annually, was but a poor compensation for the mischief In 1836, therefore, the tax was reduced from fourpence to a penny, and on the 15th of June, 1855, was wholly repealed Thus was the public press set free after the restraint had lasted 143 years, and been from the first a plentiful source of demoralization, crowded jails, and popular discontent The effect of this repeal of the tax on newspapers was, that eighty new ones were established in 1855, and twenty-seven in 1856, of which twenty-six were metropolitan and eighty-one provincial. In 1857 the total number of newspapers published throughout the United Kingdom was 711, of which 289 were on the side of liberal politics, 173 conservative, 246 neutral, and 3 democratical.

In that department of the history of progress in English literature which we devoted to Poetry and Poets, we found the subject so abundant, especially during the last of the preceding periods, comprising the close of the reign of George III, and the whole of that of his successor, that it seemed to bear an undue proportion to the other literary departments. But this was inevitable on account of the poetical richness which forms so essential a characteristic of the English mind What country, indeed, at least in the whole range of modern history, has produced poets in such abundance, and poetry of such excellence? Athens had her era of Pericles, and Rome the reign of Augustus, and these were sufficient to make the poetical renown of either country imperishable; but England has enjoyed not one but four great poetical epochs, each of highest excellence in its especial characteristics. This was much, especially when we remember that poetry, instead of being a perennial flower, is like the aloe, which blossoms only once in a hundred years, and often not more than once during its whole existence. And has the bright tree of England been exhausted by four centuries of periodic exuberance? Even if it must be so, there would be little room for dissatisfaction or complaint. The eras of Chaucer and Gower, of Spenser and Shakspeare, of Milton and Dryden, of Wordsworth and Byron, have each of them a mighty influence and a deathless remembrance, so that our country can afford to hang her well-worn harp upon the wall, and give place to younger nations. That harp, indeed, is still heard, but it is only in the echoes of its latest notes, or in the murmur of the wind through its strings. Such, compared with that of thirty or forty years ago, is the poetry that still lingers among us, and a few sentences will suffice for its notice.

The first name we select among the poets of the present period is that of Lord Macaulay, with whom poetry was but a recreation from more absorbing studies by which his fame will be more lastingly perpetuated His poetical productions, which are few, under the titles of "Lays of Rome," and "Lays of the Huguenots," are characterized by that rich imagination, delicate taste, and mastery of language which distinguish his prose productions, and show that his lordship might have become eminent in poetry, if it had formed his chief pursuit, instead of an occasional amusement. Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, besides being one of our most distinguished novelists, has also won what may prove a more permanent reputation as a poet, so that his satires on fashionable life, his plays of the "Lady of Lyons," "Duchess de la Vallière," "Richelieu," and his romance-epic of "King Arthur," will probably be perused after his novels have been superseded by others of fresher date. We had also a popular dramatic author in Thomas Noon Talford, whose three productions, the "Athenian Captive," "Ion," and the "Massacre of Glencoe," the first two being constructed on the classical model, were among the last flashes of the national dramatic spirit, and seemed only given forth to grace its final extinction Superior perhaps in real poetical power to any of these, and who might have won a still higher place but for the nature of his subject, is Bailey, the author of "Festus." This large production, imbued with the metaphysical spirit of Goethe's "Faust" and Wordsworth's "Excursion," is a daring inroad upon the present established order of things, and prophetic anticipations of a social,

political, and moral millennium for the world; but although the ambitious character of the subject, and the vivid original poetry by which it was illustrated, made it to be hailed by a few chosen admirers as the dawn of a new poetic era, "Festus" has failed to justify these expectations, and is now almost unread. Of these poets of the day, however, it scarcely can be said that any of them would have won even a second place in that bright constellation which had previously faded away into the daylight of its renown. After these, may be mentioned without particular note, Coventry Patmore, author of the "Angel in the House," James Ayton, professor of rhetoric in the university of Edinburgh, author of "Lays of the Cavaliers," W R. Jamieson, author of "Nimrod," a dramatic poem; Robert Browning, author of "Bells and Pomegranates," and "Paracelsus," and R H Horne, author of "Orion," a drama, and "Ballads and Romances" We might even add to the number by the names of poets still less distinguished, but that their distinction is of too limited and temporary a character to entitle them to commemoration It happened, unfortunately for them, that they appeared at a time when the standard of poetical excellence had been raised so high, and the public mind sated with the previous profusion It was still more unfortunate for them that they were born in such an age of utilitarianism and physical science, when even the "winged words" of poetry were outstripped by the messages of the electric telegraph, and their music drowned by the thunder of the steam-engine and the shriek of the railway whistle But is there nothing poetical in this utilitarianism? It is the very soul and life of poetry—poetry in action instead of mere dream and reverie The spirit is not dead, it is only changed into a nobler form, and exalted to a higher sphere Even the railway and the electric telegraph are magnificent epics, which nothing but the highest imagination could have conceived, an Iliad has been fought in India by Havelock and Clyde, and an Odyssey travelled in Central Africa by Dr Livingston Such is the form which poetry has assumed among us, and by which even the wonders of past imaginations have been embodied into act and reality. It is poetry performed not written—expressed in deeds not words, and when it returns to its earlier form, the change will be indicative of a season of rest, either through utter exhaustion, or as a preparation for fresh activity

In the preceding enumeration of the poets of this period, it will be seen that one name has been omitted, and this the most distinguished of them all. He alone is the link that connects the present day with the yesterday in which Wordsworth, Scott, Campbell, Coleridge, and Byron dwelt among us, and as such, he well deserves the distinction of a separate notice. Alfred Tennyson is our one great poet, and in him the qualities that distinguished several of his great predecessors constitute a combination of excellence that worthily entitles him to his present pre-eminence. The public career of Tennyson commenced in 1830, when he was little more than twenty years of age, with a volume under the unattractive title of "Poems, chiefly Lyrical," but this, and subsequent attempts, notwithstanding their high merit, failed at first to secure the public notice It was only by the steady perseverance of a mind loving poetry for its own sake that he was enabled to overcome this general indifference, and when the suffrage of the world was at last won in his behalf, the measure of its admiration made ample amends for previous neglect Tennyson's chief poems are "The Princess," "In Memoriam," and "Maud," and his last and most popular, the "Idylls of the King" In quantity, his productions are comparatively scanty, extending as they do over a period of thirty years; but they are distinguished by a carefulness of thought, a melody of versification, and happy selection of language, which indicate the anxious study bestowed on them, so that their appearance is only after long intervals of constant meditation and revision Their spirit also is impressed, through such a long-sustained process of study, with a solemn melancholy, mixed with profound thoughts and earnest spiritual aspirations, that constitute the chief secret of their attractiveness and popularity. Not the least triumph of Tennyson's genius is, that he has adopted an old worn-out subject, and contrived to invest it with new youth, beauty, and attractiveness It is the subject of chivalry, and not the chivalry of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, when it was purified from its old rudeness and extravagance, and ennobled by the refinements of modern civilization; but the chivalry of the days of the French paladins of Charlemagne and British heroes of the Round Table—the days of errant knights, giants, dwarfs, dark forests, and flying dragons. It was thought that Tasso and Ariosto had exhausted these themes, that Sir Richard Blackmore had made them contemptible; that Cervantes had laughed them out of existence; and that the failure of even Sir Walter Scott to resuscitate them in his "Bridal of Triermain," had stamped the attempt of revival as a hopeless impossibility. But even this wondrous emprise our new poet has successfully achieved. In some of his smaller experimental attempts, and especially in his latest work, the "Idylls of the King," he has recalled from the dust of their graves King Arthur and his queen Guin-

ever, the bold knights Launcelot, Tristrem, and Galahad, Merlin the mighty enchanter, and the soldier-pilgrims of the San Graal, and clothed them with such reality and beauty, that we follow their steps and sympathize in their destinies as if they were the heroes of a present life, instead of the dreams and ghosts of an early world and barbarous state of society. In this manner to recall the dead, and invest them with fresh interest and attractiveness, was a greater feat than to create a new theme, and people it with correspondent characters. But he has succeeded because he has identified his old heroes with the feelings of modern life, and animated them with the highest aims and purest aspirations of the present day, and this too without violating the truthfulness of the picture. King Arthur is a model sovereign for the nineteenth century, and yet not less the prince of the Round Table and Pendragon of ancient Britain; and his knights become the noblest of modern gentlemen by merely unbuckling and laying aside their armour. And thus too with his heroines, so that our modern ladies can weep over the sufferings of Enid and Elaine, or kindle with indignation at the heartlessness of Guinever Should the twentieth century produce for us a new race of poets as well as a new world, will they be as fortunate in the selection of their themes, and their treatment of them, as Alfred Tennyson?

Of the resources upon which the literature of Britain is mainly dependent, we have hitherto given no account. It will at once however be seen that, without the extraneous aid of Public Libraries, the national authorship would be reduced to very limited dimensions For works of general scholarship, and requiring extensive research, no private collection of books would be sufficient, and even the novel or the newspaper must be sustained from other sources than the writer's imagination. But here, every literary want is supplied by the public libraries, and the liberal principles upon which they are conducted; and the student in every department of the wide range of science and literature can there find his appropriate source of information: The oldest of these great national treasuries of knowledge were the libraries of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford; but independently of these, there are spread over the kingdom extensive book collections, either the property of public bodies, or the bequests of individuals, to which access can be obtained by the studious, and the resources of which are coming more into daily demand and use. For the conservation also of knowledge, and of every book worth preserving, a law was passed so early as the reign of Queen Anne, by which eleven copies of every new work entered in Stationers' Hall were presented to as many of the chief public libraries, especially those of our universities, until A.D. 1835, when in six of these cases the privilege was rescinded, an annual sum being paid to them out of the consolidated fund by way of compensation. It was a relief not only to the publishers, who found this tax of eleven copies a serious drawback upon their profits, but to the colleges themselves, that were beginning to be deluged and all but swamped by the widening flood-gates of modern authorship.

But what may be called exclusively the great national library, on account of the magnitude and value of its collection, and the uses to which it is applied, is the library of the British Museum. Containing nearly 600,000 volumes, and 40,000 MSS, it is one of the most valuable literary collections in Europe, and in point of the number of its volumes, only second to the Imperial Library of Paris Of these, 220,000 volumes were from gift or bequeathment, the first donor being Sir Hans Sloane, the originator of the British Museum. His bequest was followed by the royal donation of George II., who conferred upon the library, by grant under the great seal, the library of the Kings of England collected from the time of Henry VII., and manuscripts from a much earlier period, by that of George III., who enriched it with a wonderful collection of 34,000 pamphlets, contained in 2220 volumes, published in England between the years 1640 and 1660; and by that of George IV., who bestowed upon it the royal library collected by his father. Not less bountiful were the private donors, who are too numerous to particularize, one of the latest of whom was the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville, who, in 1846, left by bequest 20,240 volumes, valued at upwards of £54,000, to the Museum library. But besides these donations, the library still retains its right to a copy of every book entered in Stationers' Hall, and makes purchases of valuable libraries throughout Europe, these additions forming an increase of about 13,000 volumes annually.

So immense an accumulation in every language, of every period, and upon every department of human study, is adequately furnished for the purposes it was designed to serve, and the accommodation of those who use it. An ample reading-room, properly lighted and heated, well served by a numerous staff of attendants, and provided with all the apparatus for reading and writing, leaves the student no cause to regret that by the rules of the institution, he can only use the books within the premises, instead of carrying them to his own home. Equally liberal also are the terms of admission, so that with a simple recommendation from some literary person or even known respectable householder, an applicant is at once admitted to the full use and range of the

collection, let his rank, station, or country be what it may. Here, then, the chief amount of British authorship is daily, weekly, and yearly to be found collected, the veritable living men and women whose names only are known in the provinces, and regarded with veneration or wonderment, and here those works are elaborated which swarm from the press with an abundance and facility at which our ancestors would have been astonished. As intellect also is of no sex, here may be found among the hundreds who regularly assemble within that crystal dome, ladies mingled with gentlemen, but each pursuing his or her separate task apparently unconscious of the presence of another. One is extracting notes from a pile of volumes, or carrying on a hunt of hours or days after a stray fact, date, or name. Another is transcribing from an old smoke-dried or half-burned MS, which none can read but himself. Another is dashing on with pen in full career, and against time, in the lighter departments of literature, where imagination is half the game, and where the work of research is confined to an occasional glance at two or three volumes lying before him. What strange varieties of country, of station, of physiognomy, of intellectual occupation meet within these walls; and what results are there produced, from the ponderous folio to the fugitive essay or tale! No conversation the while—no whispering—nothing is heard but the slight rustle of the pen upon paper, or the occasional roll of the truck-wheels along the oaken floor, conveying volumes too heavy to be carried—while foreigners, astonished at such silence among so great a multitude, cannot comprehend how mind can possibly live in such an atmosphere. But it is a true British characteristic, and like the awful silence of a British battle-charge, it is the expression of confirmed, concentrated resolve. After the library of the Museum, it is the less necessary to mention the other libraries of London, conducted as they are upon a more exclusive principle, and where the books, instead of being studied upon the premises, are lent to the applicants under special recommendation The chief of these are the Lambeth Palace, Sion College, and Red Cross Street libraries.

While England and the capital are so extensively supplied with the means of study, the literature of Scotland, although not so fortunate in royal and noble donations, has also its collections, under which the authorship of the north has grown and expanded to its present ripeness. And first of these is the Library of Advocates at Edinburgh, which was commenced in 1680, and which, of all the other Scottish libraries, still retains its right to a copy of every work entered in Stationers' Hall. Besides resembling the library of the British Museum in this particular case, the Advocates' Library is also open to the studious, who, with a proper introduction, have free access to all its contents. As might be expected, it is especially rich in works of law; but besides this department, it possesses a valuable store of old Scottish poetry and Spanish literature. In 1849 its total amount of printed volumes amounted to 148,000, which in 1857 had increased to 172,000; and besides these, it has 2000 volumes of MSS., valuable in the civil, but especially the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. Similar to that of the Advocates, is the Library of the Writers to the Signet, containing 45,000 volumes. Still more abundant in its catalogue than the foregoing, is that of the Library of the University of Edinburgh, which possesses 100,000 volumes; but its chief value consists of its collections in every department of medical science. Such were the resources from which, in former years, and especially the earlier part of the present century, Scottish authorship principally drew its supplies, and Edinburgh became the Athens of the literary world. But the centralizing power of London, which has so greatly increased of late years, is especially manifested upon the literature of Scotland, by attracting within its own world the greater part of our northern authorship, so that the public libraries of Edinburgh and the Scottish colleges are less frequented than before.

In turning our attention to the progress of the Fine Arts, the department of Painting demands especial notice. During the preceding period, the talent and great power of execution displayed in some of the large works of Hilton, Etty, and Haydon seemed to justify the expectation of the lovers of art, that a school of grand historical painting worthy of the British nation was at last to be established among us. But this cherished hope has not as yet been realized, the advance in this the highest walk of art has not been commensurate with the progress in its other departments The cause of this short-coming, however, is certainly not to be traced to deficiency of genius, but the want of adequate encouragement. Talents of the highest order, devoted to a production which demands the labour of years, require the fostering patronage both of church and state; and it has chiefly been by such aid that the schools of historical painting on the Continent have risen to their present eminence. But Protestantism discountenances the artistic delineation of sacred subjects, and its places of worship exclude them; while our government has only been lately awakened to the duty of encouraging the fine arts, and that, mainly, on account of their connection with our mercantile prosperity. Hence it is, that so few grand historical or scrip-

tural pictures have been produced. Another cause of this discouragement is to be traced to the scale upon which our historical paintings were generally executed. Among our artists the feeling seemed to be prevalent, that vastness of scale was necessary for the proper development of a grand historical subject, until, as in many of the works of Haydon and Etty, the human figure attained such colossal proportions, that the size of the pictures totally unfitted them for the walls of a private mansion Our civic and public buildings also, which might have displayed them with propriety and effect, continued to have their halls unadorned with works of art, or occupied solely with the portraits of their founders and benefactors. The consequence was, that these productions remained unsold, or went a begging for purchasers at wholly unremunerative prices

While the highest department of art was thus discouraged, an event occurred that promised to inaugurate a new era in its history, and prepare it for a fresh career Mention has already been made of the destruction of both Houses of Parliament by fire on the 16th of October, 1834. As it was necessary to erect new buildings for the seat of legislation, it was resolved that these should comport with the grandeur of Britain in the nineteenth century, and be an enduring monument to future ages of its wealth, power, and attainments For such a purpose the fine arts were essential, and accordingly, in 1841, a royal commission was appointed to consider how far the national edifice might be made conducive to their encouragement and advancement. The commissioners decided that the houses should be decorated with paintings in *fresco;* and in order to obtain a fair estimate of the talent that might be called forth, so that their patronage might be justly distributed, they instituted a series of competitive exhibitions The first of these, a competition in cartoons (the preparatory designs for fresco painting), took place in Westminster Hall in 1843 The subjects selected were from history and poetry, and the figures were of life size. Eleven premiums were offered, and the trial was so satisfactory, that the number of premiums fell greatly short of the number of approved productions. In 1844 a competition in fresco painting and in sculpture was equally satisfactory; and in 1845 the actual frescoes were exhibited from six given subjects These trials were followed in 1847 by a competition in oil painting, which was also considered to be successful. Such were the means employed by the commissioners to test the powers of our native artists in a method of painting which they had not hitherto practised. Throughout all the competitions, the premiums, with some two or three exceptions, were awarded to young, and at that time comparatively unknown artists, few of established reputation having taken part in the competition. Such was the result of one portion of the plan of the commissioners, which, in its whole extent, comprehended a vast scheme, in which painters, sculptors, and decorators of every kind should be employed, and the fine arts developed and advanced in all their different departments The establishment of painting in fresco as an ordinary and familiar method with our artists, which it has so greatly tended to promote, is of itself no mean achievement in the progress of British art. It is true, indeed, that in the paintings for the houses, little has as yet been effected, the few frescoes already executed being but a small portion of the contemplated work, while most of them have failed to become popular But it is not difficult to account for this disappointment Of the subjects, some have been selected from so remote a period of our history, that the public no longer remembers them, or has ceased to sympathize in them, while others are mere idealisms or allegories, which none but the designer can understand or the interpreter explain Still we do not, and we need not, despair. The failure, if failure there has been, is only temporary. The spirit that has been awakened, and the national encouragement by which it is animated, will, we doubt not, so advance the art of historical painting among us, as to exalt our artists, at least to an equality in this department with those of Germany and France The effect of the competitions for the adornment of the Westminster Palace is not to be estimated from the pictures on the walls alone, but from the impulse it has conveyed and the emulation it has kindled It is much that the fine arts should at length have found such a great national field for their arena of trial and display, with a whole nation for the on-lookers and rewarders

While the progress of historical painting, taking the term in its highest sense, was so inadequate, and its sphere so limited, it was natural that artists who would have chosen this department, should seek a safer and more remunerative outlet for their particular tendencies. Those therefore who devoted themselves to the delineation of the human figure, and the expression of human action and passion, betook themselves to scenes of domestic interest, or the illustration of the poems and novels of the most popular writers. In this way, the works of Shakspeare, Milton, Cervantes, Molière, Le Sage, Goldsmith, Scott, &c., which afforded so ample a scope, were largely drawn upon by our artists. But latterly this profusion had somewhat sated the public taste; a general craving followed for something more fresh and original; and the artists themselves were ready to

respond to the call, by entering into a wider field, and illustrating the drama of life with a deeper comprehension of its universal interest and boundless variety. Instead, therefore, of painting at second hand the ideas of life and action as presented by certain favourite authors, they now aim at original illustrations of the ever-varying phases of society. Many pictures have thus been produced of late years full of profound thought, tender pathos, cheerful vivacity, and quiet humour, honourable alike to the just appreciation of human nature, and the high professional skill of those who produced them.

Independently of this original spirit in design, a great advance in precision of drawing and carefulness of execution has been accomplished during the last thirty years Among some of the most successful artists of the early part of the present period, and particularly those of the Scottish school, the necessity of definite drawing and correct detail seemed to be held in little account. This was especially the case in landscape painting, where a loose generalization was adopted, which, though not seldom productive of a highly poetical expression, fostered a careless and slovenly style of execution among younger artists, and greatly tended to vitiate the public taste But, happily, the representatives of a more correct school of art predominated, men who could draw with accuracy and precision, and since their example obtained the ascendency, the evil has been checked, and the current turned into the right direction Thus, the drawing of the British school is already greatly in advance of its former position, and although to correctness of form greatness of style has yet to be added, we doubt not that the onward progress of taste will soon lead to this more difficult attainment.

At this point we may advert to a new system of art that has arisen among us, by which further progress in poetical creations of beauty and grandeur has been threatened with a most unwelcome impediment. We allude to what is called pre-Raphaelitism, the great artistic heresy of the present day. A knot of painters, who assumed the singularly inappropriate name of pre-Raphaelites, have propounded, both by their paintings and writings, such principles of art as would reduce the artist to the most prosaic of mortals. The veritable Italian pre-Raphaelites at the end of the fifteenth century were the most ideal of painters, their modern representatives are the most material and naturalistic In opposition to the imaginative in painting, which in addition to poetic conception, demands selection of objects, harmony of arrangement, and all the graces of style, the pre-Raphaelites of the modern school taught that nature in its most material and ungainly forms was to be copied with implicit exactness. In their first productions this doctrine was rigidly fulfilled; and the public were astounded by pictures in which the total absence of beauty of form or the graces of composition were combined with the most pains-taking accuracy of detail and excessive minuteness of finish, and in which accessories, hitherto inadmissible in works of art, were obtruded with ostentatious distinctness. Their theory seemed to regard the beautiful as a temptation and a snare to beguile them into the dangerous paths of idealism, and models beneath the standard of nature's beauty came to be recognized as the most fitting subjects for their pencil. Here, too, the evil did not stop, for notwithstanding their eccentricities, these artists were men of earnest purpose, and some of them gifted with high abilities, and, however repulsive might be their earlier productions, it is not to be denied that they evinced great power, and sometimes possessed a quaint deep tenderness that almost redeemed their ugliness. Of late, more than one of the pre-Raphaelite brethren have given striking evidence of a renunciation of their first faith, by productions which, while still retaining all the meritorious accuracy and high finish of their earlier pictures, are poetical creations marked with deep thought and tender sentiment That they have the power to confer benefit upon British art may be fairly assumed, and when they abandon the trite, the vulgar, and repulsive, and paint nature in her greatness and beauty, they may achieve for themselves a high position which shall be universally, and not merely *partially* acknowledged

As our artists are so numerous, and their qualifications so various, we must confine ourselves to the general indications they have given during the last thirty years, and this too with a very summary notice. We have already stated that the *genre* pictures of the British school of painting hold one of the highest places among kindred works in Europe; and in regard to colour and effect, they are in advance of most of the modern continental productions. In marine painting—a department in which it ought to excel as a national distinction and characteristic —it may be said to occupy the first rank, being scarcely equalled by the productions of the French school, which approaches nearest to our own in excellence. In landscape, the rich scenery of the south, and the picturesque grandeur of the north, with their rapid changes of storm and sunshine, have had an inspiring effect upon our painters. whose productions in this class of art are not surpassed by those of any other nation. This excellence is especially apparent in their faithful realization of daylight and the varying effects of the atmosphere, qualities in which they very

favourably contrast with the recent works of France and Germany. In portraiture, much of the old conventionality prevails; and while an occasional effort is successfully made to abandon stereotyped arrangements and formal positions, for a better pictorial treatment, the portrait painter still seems to be too readily satisfied with a mere faithful presentment of his sitter. But in spite of these perpetuated drawbacks, which seem common to this department in every country, the British school of portrait painting still holds a respectable rank in art. To our animal painters the highest praise may be accorded. It is true, indeed, that in this department our artists have not yet reached the dash and vigour of the animal painting of the great school of Brabant, but on the other hand, they excel these old artists in natural expression, refinement, and vivacity.

While the progress of the British school of painting has been on the whole so satisfactory during the present period, and so full of promise for the future, the new invention of photography, which at first seemed to threaten a diminution of the artist's occupation, has been one of the elements operating upon this improvement; and by reverting to our previous notice of this invention, the manner and character of its operation upon art will at once be perceptible. The exactness, minuteness, and finish of sun-drawing, and the readiness with which a sun-picture can be taken and transferred to the artist's portfolio, to be studied at leisure, have reduced the careful study of nature to a less onerous task. By this process, the precision of form and disposition of light and shade are brought vividly and continuously under his notice, and an increased facility and power in reproducing them imparted. Hence the importance which is now attached to photography as a separate department of art, and the care with which it is cultivated and improved in all its branches. And while its delineations have tended to raise the standard of excellence in drawing among the artists themselves, the effect they have produced upon the popular taste at large, if less apparent, has not been less decided In almost every street of our principal cities, photographic specimens of landscape, architecture, and portraiture arrest every eye; and the crowds that are familiarized with them are insensibly acquiring a correctness of taste which will no longer be satisfied with mere showy and superficial generalities.

In the history of the British school of painting during the middle of the nineteenth century, and the means adopted to elevate the general taste, the public collections now demand especial notice And first of these is the National Gallery of Paintings, the earliest of our government institutions for the promotion of the arts, but which did not originate until 1824, when parliament voted £57,000 for the purchase of Mr. Angerstein's collection; and this, with Sir George Beaumont's valuable collection, which he presented to the nation, was to form the nucleus of the National Gallery. The first consisted of thirty-eight, the last of sixteen pictures, most of them the productions of the old masters. For some years the collection went on slowly, being chiefly increased by donations, the most important of which was the bequest of the Rev. Holwell Carr, of thirty-five pictures, all of them, except one, being valuable productions of the old masters. In 1858–59, the gallery contained 330 pictures, of which 154 had been purchased, and 176 presented or bequeathed. This is no doubt but a small number as compared with the galleries of the Louvre, Dresden, Madrid, Berlin, and Munich, but considering its intrinsic value, and the short period of its existence, it does not need to shrink from a comparison with any foreign gallery. In 1847, Mr. Robert Vernon presented to the nation his collection of 157 pictures, all of them except two being by British artists alone. They were generally of more than average excellence, and some of them of very superior merit, and of themselves were well fitted for the commencement of a gallery of native art Of still higher importance was the Turner collection, bequeathed by that prince of landscape painters to the British nation in 1851, and of which mention has already been made.[1] It is formed entirely of his own productions, and consists of 100 finished paintings in oil, some hundreds of finished water-colour drawings, and several thousands of studies and sketches; and these he bequeathed upon the easy condition that within ten years a suitable place should be prepared for their accommodation. Next in order of time was the donation of the Sheepshanks collection, which was presented by Mr. Sheepshanks to the nation in 1857. It comprises 234 oil paintings, the productions of our best British painters, ranging over a period of fifty years, and is especially rich in the productions of Leslie, Mulready, Stothard, Collins, Webster, and Landseer. It was stipulated by Mr Sheepshanks, that a well-lighted and otherwise suitable gallery, to be called the "National Gallery of British Art," should be forthwith erected by government, in which his pictures should be kept, with whatever other paintings might afterwards be contributed. In consequence of this stipulation, a convenient and well-lighted building was erected at South Kensington, in June, 1857, and opened to the public, free on certain days of the week, and for a small fee on the

[1] Vol. iv p. 477

other days of the week, when students are admitted. By these Turner, Vernon, and Sheepshanks collections, and the specimens of native art originally belonging to the National Gallery, many of the best specimens of the British school, extending from Hogarth and Reynolds to the close of the present period, have been brought together and preserved for public use.

Closely connected with these collections is the "National Portrait Gallery," the chief aim of which is not so much to cultivate the public taste in art, as to animate the national patriotism by a commemoration of the great and good characters by whom our public annals are adorned. The veritable likeness of such personages is contemplated with emotions not only irrespective of artistic feeling, but of nobler and higher character, and the exhibition of such a series of silent portraitures will ever be more available with the bulk of the community than the most eloquent harangues and eulogies. The want of a gallery of this kind had long been felt, and the subject being brought before government by Earl Stanhope (then Lord Mahon) in 1856, a grant of parliament was made to the amount of £2000 for furthering such a national object, and the institution itself was commenced at the end of the following year, with twenty-three portraits, fifteen of which were purchased, and eight were donations In 1858 thirty were added, of which eighteen were obtained by purchase, and twelve by donation. As a "National Portrait Gallery" ought to be a Valhalla, into which nothing but genuine worth and greatness should find admission, the rules of selection have been made sufficiently stringent. The portrait must not only be an authentic one, but the original must have been a British worthy in the true sense of the term. When a donation is offered, the approval of at least three-fourths of the trustees is necessary for its acceptance. To guard the selection also from artistic bias or party prejudice, the trustees are composed not merely of artists and connoisseurs, but of historians, antiquaries, politicians, men of every party, but considered to be free from sectarian or party exclusiveness. And that time sufficient may be given to test the worth of every candidate for a niche in this temple of fame, it is decreed by their second regulation, that "no portrait of any person still living, or deceased less than ten years, shall be admitted by purchase, donation, or bequest, except only in the case of the reigning sovereign, and of his or her consort, unless all the trustees in the United Kingdom, and not incapacitated by illness, shall, either at a meeting or by letter, signify their approbation." The parliamentary grant of £2000, which is to be annually continued, insures funds for the necessary purchases. This National Gallery was first opened to the public on the 25th of January, 1859; the number of portraits which it contained at the close of that year being ninety-seven. Were but the portraits of the British worthies contained in the British Museum, Hampton Court, and the National Gallery, added to this collection—a wish which probably may yet be fulfilled—our "National Portrait Gallery" would be worthy of the nation that has produced such men, and the liberality and public spirit with which such memorials have been accumulated

Two galleries of paintings still remain to be mentioned. which, although not strictly national property, are yet open to public inspection The first of these is the collection of Hampton Court Palace, chiefly formed by bringing together the pictures from the other royal palaces, and which for these twenty years has been freely thrown open to the public. It consists of 1850 pictures, among which are the seven cartoons of Raphael, of themselves sufficient to give a character and standing to any collection. While many of the pictures are of inferior merit, there are fine specimens of the Italian and Dutch schools, and the collection is rich in the works of foreign artists who practised in this country, including those of Holbein, Vandyke, Lely, and Kneller. The other is the Naval Gallery of Greenwich Hospital, founded chiefly by Mr Locker, one of the commissioners of the hospital, in 1823. It is a truly national collection of the portraits of our distinguished naval commanders from the days of Hawkins, Raleigh, and Drake, ending with Nelson, his contemporaries, and immediate successors; and of the pictures of our great seafights, from the destruction of the Spanish Armada to the battle of Trafalgar. This valuable collection consists entirely of donations; and as soon as the plan was proposed by Mr. Locker, George IV enriched it with portraits of English admirals from the collections in Windsor Castle and Hampton Court, an example which was soon followed by private individuals, so that the gallery is rich as a biographical record of historic worth and heroic associations. The sight-seers of London and their numerous visitors, in consequence of the opening of these two galleries, have now made Greenwich Hospital and Hampton Court the favourite places of their holiday pilgrimages.

While so much has been effected in England for the improvement of art in so short a period, a similar movement, though in a more limited degree, has been going on in Scotland, and Edinburgh as well as London possesses its National Gallery of Paintings. The building for the purpose, one of the choice architectural ornaments of the city, was erected partly from funds supplied by the "Board of Trustees for Manufac-

tures in Scotland," and partly from a grant by government. The foundation stone was laid by the prince consort on the 30th of August, 1850, and on the building being completed, it was opened to the public in 1858. The collection consisted of—1. The pictures collected by the directors of the Royal Institution, and first exhibited to the public in 1831; 2. The pictures, bronzes, &c., bequeathed by Sir James Erskine of Torrie, to the college of Edinburgh, and deposited with the board for exhibition, under a deed of agreement; 3 The collection of ancient and modern works, commenced in 1829 by the Royal Scottish Academy, 4 Pictures, the property of the board, acquired either by purchase or gift for the National Gallery, 5 Modern works purchased by the Royal Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, with funds set apart for this purpose by their charter, 6 Pictures deposited or lent for fixed periods. The whole collection amounted to 294 paintings, and 37 marbles and bronzes, but lately it has received several valuable additions It is a worthy pendant to those larger galleries of art in London which belong to the empire at large, and as a school of study, it bids fair to promote that artistic excellence in which Scotland, although the latest of kingdoms to enter into the competition, has already done so much

The opening of picture galleries to the public was calculated to do much towards extending a just appreciation of works of art among all classes of the people, and to stimulate a desire to possess objects affording such pure and elevating enjoyment But good pictures are costly luxuries which only the rich can afford, and even the more ordinary and unpretending productions of the easel were within the reach of a comparatively small section of the community. Hence the establishment of Art-Unions, which have been multiplied throughout the kingdom, and the productions of which are to be found upon the walls of every house of ordinary pretensions Their commencement was in Edinburgh by a few private individuals in 1833, when a society was established under the name of the "Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland" This example was followed in England by the establishment of a kindred society in London in 1837, and the impulse thus given was soon followed by the principal cities of the United Kingdom, each establishing an art-union of its own. The purposes of these unions are twofold· the first, to encourage artists by giving liberal prices for their best productions, the second, to place within the reach of all, really good examples of the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving. These aims are secured by the committee of the art-union, and the money contributed by the subscribers. Their plan of operation, as first proposed, was limited to the purchase of pictures and the disposal of them among subscribers by lottery; but it was soon found expedient to offer something more than the mere chance of obtaining a painting Accordingly, one of the best prize pictures, or some other work of excellence, was selected for engraving, and a copy of the print given to each subscriber—who has thus not only the chance of winning a valuable painting, but the certainty of getting an engraving fully worth the amount of his subscription.

The history of the progress of these art-unions has strikingly manifested their acceptability, as well as the greatness of the want which they were designed to satisfy. At their commencement in this country, their operations were mainly confined to the localities in which the several societies were established But of late years their operations have been so extended as not only to comprise the whole British islands, but a great part of our colonies also From this circumstance, the engravings they have produced have been very widely disseminated, while it has not unfrequently happened that one of the leading prizes has fallen to the lot of a person residing in Australia, the West Indies, or the Cape of Good Hope The patronage they have extended to art, and the influence they have exercised, may be surmised from their monetary statistics. At its first allotment of prizes in 1834, the Edinburgh society had raised for the year, £728, while in 1859 the subscriptions for the year had reached £5894 In 1837, the first year of its existence, the London society raised £489, while in 1859 the annual subscription had risen to £15,210. In 1841, the first year of the Glasgow society, the sum raised was £1224, but in 1855, the year when the subscriptions had reached the highest point, they amounted to £20,281 From its commencement in 1837 to 1859 inclusive, the total amount raised by the London society was £254,143 Of this sum, £138,662 was expended on paintings and other works as prizes, and £64,624 on the production of engravings, the balance of the sum collected being required to defray the working expenses.

While art-unions have grown so great and achieved so much, it has been objected, that the tendency of these institutions is to degrade art by the temptation they hold out to artists to lower their works to the standard of a popular taste as yet young and immature, and to be more solicitous to impart to their productions those showy superficial qualities that will suit the market, than those which a cultivated judgment is needed to appreciate. It is also asserted that the engravings, whatever may be their intrinsic value, become worthless by their

profuse distribution. But to the first of these objections it may be answered, that not only is the possession of a *mediocre* picture better than none at all, but that the growing knowledge and discriminative judgment of those who choose the pictures, whether they be the union committees or the subscribers themselves, are an ever-increasing safeguard against this depravity of choice And with regard to the engravings, a very slight consideration suffices to show that the object of art-unions can only be attained by the engravings becoming common, that their aim is, that such works may no longer be reserved for the delectation of the wealthy, but diffused among the homes of the middle classes, and even those of inferior grade, and that from these household ornaments aspiring genius should early become conversant with the true and beautiful in art. And that such a result is the necessary consequence of art-unions, picture-galleries, and other such public institutions, has been evinced during the last thirty years. Their combined influences upon the people at large, and the increasing demand they have created, have made the present period remarkable for the profusion and variety of its art products. At no former time was there even an approach to the countless productions in engraving, lithography, statuary, and photography, of every variety of excellence, that now issue forth in such abundance, and it may already be asserted, that art, though in a form sometimes lowly enough, has found its way into every household, and thrown its silent influence, whether immediately or indirectly, over every mind

In this brief sketch of the history of painting during the last thirty years, we have contemplated the cultivation of art for its own sake, and with reference to the pleasureable emotions of which it is so pure and so fertile a source. But in such a practical and utilitarian age as the present, something more than the mere luxurious sentimentalism and poetry of art was demanded It was found that while our manufactures had been so greatly improved and so widely extended, we were still decidedly inferior to the continental nations in all that relates to beauty of form, design, and decoration, and that this inferiority depreciated certain classes of our manufactures in the foreign markets, where those of France and Germany, although not intrinsically better, obtained an unmistakeable preference This fact bearing so closely upon the national prosperity, naturally impressed itself upon our government, and originated a very important branch of state patronage—the establishment of government Schools of Design for the education of designers employed by manufactories in an adequate knowledge of ornamental art. These schools were first established in 1837, and after undergoing many changes, they have at last subsided into a *department* under the Committee of Council for Education. Originally instituted as schools of design, not only art, but even processes of manufacture were attempted to be taught in them: they then became "schools of ornamental art," and they are now Schools of Art, in which ornament constitutes one of the branches of education, and many elementary drawing schools are now connected with them. It was full time indeed to originate such an improvement, for until the establishment of these schools, our pattern-makers were almost our only designers With the application of a design to the technical requirements of a specific manufacture they were quite familiar, but through want of a proper education they were utterly inadequate to its original production. Hence it was that the patterns in English manufactured goods were either modified copies of designs prepared for other purposes, and often sadly misapplied by the transference, or actual copies from patterns on foreign fabrics

The influence of these government schools of art, and others that had sprung up in connection with them, was soon perceptible in the improved taste exhibited in our manufactures, but the competition in the Great Exhibition of 1851 sufficed to convince us that much greater improvement might still be effected. The mechanical skill displayed in the specimens of English manufactures was universally recognized; but this was contrasted by their inferiority in point of design—their design and decoration being to a very large extent either puerile attempts at originality, or adaptations in the worst French taste, the *Rococco* or debased Louis-Quinze style—a style which the French themselves had generally forsaken for the ordinary *Renaissance* of the period of Henry IV. But the Great Exhibition of Hyde Park gave a lesson upon the subject which our manufacturers were not slow to learn, and the improved taste that has since appeared in manufactured goods and ornamental articles is abundantly apparent. In this application of art to the practical and useful, the manufacturers of articles in pottery and glass have taken the lead, but closely followed by the workers in iron, in bronze, and in brass Then succeed our workers in the precious metals, bookbinders, house decorators, and manufacturers of textile fabrics; while the rear is brought up by the makers of house furniture and cabinet work, in whose productions the improvement, although as yet the least decided, can still be distinctly recognized.

After this general sketch of the history of British art in painting during the last thirty years, the other departments of the fine arts may

be dismissed with a brief notice. In Sculpture, our artists of the day have not fallen behind their predecessors; and their productions, whether in portraiture or the ideal, still maintain the high reputation in grace, beauty, and truthful delineation, for which they had become distinguished. Our inferiority, however, in public and national monuments still continues to be complained of, notwithstanding the few happy exceptions with which some of our principal cities and churches are ornamented. Sculpture, indeed, has never attained the popularity of painting; and the cause of this may be found in its fewer resources and more limited range of expression. In Britain, also, these disqualifications have been seriously increased by the wearing nature of our climate and the iconoclastic character of our people, so that hitherto our public statues, which might have contended with the war of the elements, have been injured or defaced by rude popular violence or thoughtlessness. But even already the era of a better feeling has commenced, that can appreciate the productions of the sculptor as well as those of the painter, and our monumental statuary is indicating the effects of this revival. It is, indeed, no small encouragement to those who work in stone, marble, or bronze, that their commemorative or national productions can be set up without being smeared by rude pencillings, or scratched with knives, and that, whether under cover or in the open air, the image is as safe as the living man. Among our recent productions of this nature, Foley's equestrian statue of Lord Hardinge, executed for Calcutta, speaks much for the growing improvement of this department of sculpture in Britain The same may be said of the twelve statues in marble of leading members of the House of Commons, from Hampden to Grattan, executed under the superintendence of the royal commission of the fine arts, and lately placed in St. Stephen's Hall, Westminster They attest the dawning of a better spirit in the style of our monumental sculpture, and present a happy combination of the realistic and ideal. It has hitherto been unfortunate for sculpture, as it was for painting, that its revival in a Christian age was too exclusively based upon the mythological creeds and somewhat loose morality of ancient Greece and Italy. This practice of sculptors, continued to our own time, in their choice and treatment of subjects, has hindered the general popularity and acceptability of their works Not a few of them seem to think that the naked or semi-naked human form is almost the only object fitted for the employment of their art; and in consequence of this erroneous impression, they continue to produce what are called classical subjects—subjects drawn from antique history and mythology, with which only the scholar and connoisseur can sympathize, and the titles of which are little else than apologies for the exhibition of undraped humanity. Other sculptors, however, under a wiser inspiration, have turned their attention to the heroines of our British poets; and in these, as well as in kindred imaginative works, drapery is as freely used as the nature of the subject demands, and truthfulness thereby imparted, without the sacrifice of ideal beauty and lofty sentiment. Learned critics may differ on the relative merits of the two classes of sculpture to which we have adverted; but certain we are that there can be no question as to which of them is most in unison with the taste and requirements of the present day. In descending from original and monumental, to reproductions in sculpture upon a miniature scale in Parian porcelain and metal by electro process, we only allude to a well-known source of domestic enjoyment by which so many homes are adorned, and by which a taste in statuary promises to be as highly and as widely cultivated as that which prevails for painting

In Architecture, the national progress during the last thirty years has not corresponded with the general movement, notwithstanding the imposing buildings which everywhere meet the public eye Stately halls for the accommodation of literature and science, palaces and palace-warehouses, lyceums, athenæums, and gymnasia, continue to rise in increasing rapidity, each eclipsing its predecessor, and attesting the growth of our wealth and the increase of our public spirit, while the general conclusion continues to be repeated, that all has not been realized as yet which might have been expected. But although much of this complaining may be referred to that captious spirit of discontent which abundance is so apt to create, it must be confessed that there is still ground enough for dissatisfaction. The chief causes of our short-comings in architecture are also not far to seek they are legibly impressed upon our public buildings, which, however stately or imposing in their appearance, are chiefly copies or imitations of an early period of society, rather than original designs correspondent to the middle of the nineteenth century. Our architects, instead of daring to think for themselves, and follow out a style of their own, still timidly confine themselves to the lessons of the old schools, and the result is imitations of the classical, but especially of the mediæval and revival periods of architecture, in which faithful copying or clever adaptation is the highest merit This imitative spirit has been especially evinced in the revival of the Gothic style, which now predominates in our new ecclesiastical edifices. The increase of the population

and still more, the general revival of religion in Britain towards the close of the last century, had turned the public attention to the building of new churches, while the Gothic, exclusively termed "the Christian architecture," was subsequently reckoned the fittest style for their construction; and this feeling was further deepened and confirmed by the increasing Popery and widely-spreading Puseyism of the last thirty years, which identified religion with the form of worship that had prevailed during the earlier stages of Christianity. And yet, instead of being the exclusive type of the Christian faith in stone and lime, the Gothic, it is well known, only commenced at a late period of ecclesiastical history, only predominated a few hundred miles to the east and west of the Rhine and in England, and was not matured until the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the revival of this style, which has now been continued for forty years, the vastness and enduring solidity from which the ancient sacred edifices derived their grandeur and imposing appearance, have to be sacrificed to the principles of modern utilitarianism, so that our new cathedral structures have the aspect without the substance of their massive time-honoured predecessors. But still, much has been done by this revival of Gothic architecture both in the renewal of old churches and the construction of new, and until a better style is created, it will continue to satisfy the public taste, as the one most in harmony with religious feeling, and the fittest type of what is reverentially termed "the house of God"

But the great and enduring monument of British architecture in its present state of transition, is that stupendous and magnificent building, the Palace of Westminster, commenced in 1840, and now completed after a labour of twenty years—a short period compared with its colossal magnitude and infinity of detail. It covers an area of more than eight acres of ground, contains 1100 large apartments, and more than 100 staircases, while its corridors and passages comprise a journey of two miles The height of its towers, which are among the loftiest as well as the most massive in Europe, is more than equalled by the architectural and engineering skill that had to dive deep into the precarious soil of a river's bank, to lay a foundation adequate to sustain such a mountain of stone. To enter into the details of such a vast superstructure would be superfluous, not only as they are so numerous, but as each is more or less the subject of criticism and controversy. We can only state, for the present, that a twenty years of labour, and more than £2,000,000 of expenditure, bid fair to be repaid by the grandeur and beauty of this national pile; and that almost every change in the original plan—and they were numerous—instead of being dictated by a niggardly economy, only tended to increase its magnitude, its splendour, and its cost. Of course, a diversity of opinion exists, and will continue to exist, upon the architectural merits of the Westminster Palace, and what one party of critics will applaud as striking beauties, will be equally decried by another as striking blemishes. But all will coincide in the declaration, that as a whole, it is the masterpiece of our modern architecture, and the fitting monument of our national wealth, enterprise, and liberality.

After mentioning the Westminster Palace, we might advert to the other public works which have arisen in such abundance during these thirty years But to all of them, unfortunately, the same objection more or less applies, that they are but *refacciamenti* of old styles, instead of the creation of a new; and that they would apply as fitly to any preceding century as to the nineteenth. Even that palace itself, with its imposing aspect and rich variety, is, after all, an Italian design with medieval details,—the master-piece of some of our best buildings, which display an original genius even in adaptation. Such is the condition of architecture as one of the fine arts, notwithstanding the numerous public edifices, and splendid mansions of the wealthy and the noble which have been reared during the present period; and however social and domestic comfort may have been improved by their internal arrangements, the outside is a resemblance of what has been accomplished in an earlier and ruder day. But even already this servile spirit is abating. The desire of improvement in this, as in other departments, is impatient for a new and better development, and there is genius enough among us, when thus aroused, not only to plan works of constructive skill, but to combine the scientific and the useful with what is truly beautiful and pleasing. A step in advance to this change was the Institute of British Architects, which was founded about the year 1835, "for facilitating the acquirement of architectural knowledge, for the promotion of the different branches of science connected with it, and for establishing an uniformity and respectability of practice in the profession." Another important step has been the use of iron in building, by which gracefulness and lightness are combined with strength and stability, and new forms imparted to which stone is inadequate. In such indications, we detect a hopeful spirit of change and the promise of architectural improvement, in which Grecian temples and Gothic cathedrals will no longer be the only types of excellence.

Of the progress of Music during the present

period little can be said. During these thirty years, no musical composer of note has appeared in Britain; and in the absence of original productions of our own, we have been obliged to content ourselves with those of Italy and Germany. It was otherwise both in England and Scotland three centuries ago, when each country had a national music of its own, and a musical spirit that seemed to insure a succession of musical geniuses equal to their poets But this commencement so full of hope was not developed, and during these hundred and fifty years, music as a science has been almost wholly thrown aside, and the voice of national song either silenced, or converted into dissonant bawling To account for the arrest after so much promise, several theories have been offered, but if we remember that this cessation was coincident with the rise of our commercial spirit, the true solution may perhaps be discovered An earnest spirit was awakened, in which substance not sound was the object of pursuit the notes of the banker superseded those of the minstrel, and every sweet sound whether of wind or string, was drowned in the chink of gold and silver. Thus, while we became the wealthiest, we also became the least musical of nations, and when we could no longer create music of our own, we were contented to buy it from our neighbours, along with other foreign luxuries. Such in general terms may be accepted as the history of British music till near the close of the preceding period, when a new effort was made to revive it by public concerts, and societies formed for the cultivation of the science, and the promotion of its practice among the people at large. Nor were their efforts unsuccessful These attempts to popularize the subject were apparent even in our village clubs and common street minstrelsy, and the general ear was awakened with harmonies to which it had long been a stranger To be convinced of the greatness of the change, let any one but recollect the music of our streets as it existed some forty or fifty years ago, and compare it with that of the present day.

This recall of the national spirit to its old affection could not pass unnoticed, and it was hailed by sincere lovers of their country as the best means of national improvement It was hoped that the charms of music would banish the desire for grosser indulgences, especially among the lower orders, and prepare them for the operation of better influences. and accordingly, the attempt was made nearly twenty years ago to establish vocal music in our schools as a branch of popular education. The system patronized by government was that of Wilhelm, adapted to English use by Hullah; and from the simplicity of this method, it was hoped that boys and girls would learn to sing, without waste of time and with little effort "Schoolmasters," says an English clergyman, "according to the more merciful spirit of modern discipline, were to beat time instead of beating their scholars; and schoolmistresses were to instruct their respective charges in the art of calculating intervals, as well as counting stitches Every little urchin was to learn sol-fa-ing as soon as he had got through his A B C, and crotchets and quavers were to become as familiar to him as pot-hooks and round O's." The effects of this teaching, although not all that was wished or even hoped for, have still been so far satisfactory, that they have created a general tendency in favour of music which will lead to higher proficiency, and may eventually produce native composers not unworthy to be classed with the great German and Italian masters. For the present effects of this tendency we have only to instance the numerous concerts of our towns, the superior style of their performances, the critical discrimination they have kindled, and the relish with which they are enjoyed—as well as the eager crowds who repair to them, and the very moderate prices by which they are changed from a rare and costly luxury into an enjoyment of which all can partake

In the present chapter we have purposely omitted the department which properly comes under the term of "Manners and Customs," and the cause of this omission it will be easy to surmise It would indeed be superfluous to detail to the present generation the forms of their own domestic life, and their social habits and amusements, which will only be interesting and instructive to our successors, to whom therefore the task of recording them may be bequeathed. But one great feature of the present age cannot thus be passed over in silence We allude to the great Volunteer Movement, which has converted so large a portion of our citizens into soldiers, our island into a camp, and our public offices into barracks as well as places of business. This, also, the latest as well as the most important of our national events, will form an appropriate termination to our history

Notwithstanding our victories in the Crimea and India, an impression had been forced upon us by the occasional blunders and disasters of these campaigns, that our military organization was far from being complete It was also felt that war as a science was assuming a new form, which we should do well to study for the sake of our national safety and stability. This necessity was all the more urgent in consequence of the independence of wind and tide which steam had given to navigation, by which we might be in-

vaded at unawares, and compelled to fight the battle at our own doors, and for our very existence. The provident alarm upon these subjects was so general, that all parties of the government were obliged to yield to it. The state of our land and sea defences was therefore the chief subject of consideration in parliament during the year 1859; and the facility with which Britain might be thus visited, as well as our insufficient state for resistance, was very generally acknowledged It was from France that the chance of invasion was to be apprehended. Notwithstanding our new and intimate alliance with that country, the defeat of Waterloo had never ceased, it was alleged, to rankle in her recollection, and provoke a desire for retaliation—nay, even our defenceless condition was of itself a sufficient provocation to a people so devoted to war, and so subject to act upon the changeful impulses of the moment Should it come then to this crisis, which it might at any hour, the chances would be greatly against us When one nation, it was remarked in the House of Lords, determines to apply all her energies to making money, and another to making preparations for war, it is obvious enough with which of the two nations the money will ultimately be The idea, indeed, of France effecting the permanent conquest of Britain, was scorned by all parties as a disaster too great to be imagined, and the final expulsion of the invaders from our shores was regarded as a certainty, but in the meantime, a successful march upon London, and the destruction or sack of our metropolis, would, independently of the lasting disgrace, inflict such a loss upon the nation as a whole century might be insufficient to repair And with what facility such a blow could be inflicted was shown, not only by the military resources of France, but the efficiency of its navy, which already was equal, if not superior to our own. Thus, the French, as was observed by Lord Palmerston, could bring an army together, place it on board without exciting observation, and land it in a few hours on our shores In the same spirit, the peaceful professions of the French emperor, and his obvious interest to maintain a friendly connection with Britain, were met and answered. He ruled by the popular suffrage, and might be compelled to yield to the popular wish. He could not be relied on, because he was placed in a position in which he could not rely upon himself. He must be governed by circumstances, and it would be wrong to leave our country to the mercy of such contingencies Let us but put ourselves into a state of preparation for a successful resistance, and even Louis-Napoleon himself would rejoice, as it would furnish him with the best of arguments to his subjects against any such attempt. Such were the principal arguments adduced in favour of the means of security and defence to be adopted by government, and which were now officially announced by the Earl of Ripon, the under-secretary of state for war. Volunteer corps were to be enrolled throughout the whole island. To promote the purposes of this enrolment, it was the intention of government to issue twenty-five stand of arms to every hundred men (subsequently increased to arms for each man), on the four following conditions —That a safe range of 300 yards should be provided for practice; that a proper place should be appointed for keeping the arms, that the rules of each corps should be sanctioned by the government; and that a periodical inspection should be made by a proper military officer. In the event, however, of an actual invasion, the government would be prepared to supply every corps with arms. Drill sergeants from the disembodied militia should be provided for each corps, who would be paid, not by the government, but by the corps themselves. It was intended also to allow a limited number of members of the corps, at their own expense, to attend the school of musketry at Hythe. The government likewise contemplated the formation of artillery companies, which would be supplied with instruction, guns, and ammunition, by the royal artillery The weapon of the new embodied militia was to be the Enfield rifle. The government plan, which was thus announced on 1st July, 1859, was accepted by all parties as the most expedient arm of national defence, and a circular, dated 13th July, authorizing the formation of volunteer corps of rifles and artillery, was despatched from the war office to the lieutenants of all the counties of the United Kingdom.

This decision was nothing more than a response to the general wish, expressed in many an ardent petition as well as offer of gratuitous military service, and, as soon as the royal assent was announced, corps were formed, standards raised, and the work commenced. Everywhere was to be seen the march and countermarch of the new levies; everywhere was to be heard the clang of the bugle and the crack of the rifle. The rapidity with which the fields and waste grounds of our island were arrayed with armed battalions, and the military precision which soon pervaded the evolutions of these citizen-soldiers, dispelled every fear of invasion and every surmise of insecurity, and foreigners themselves were obliged to confess the innate heroic spirit of the British character, and how promptly a "nation of shopkeepers" can be changed into a nation of formidable warriors. It was the rising of a people fearless of danger, and possessing

more than others what was well worth defending. To test the proficiency of the corps of the different districts, and encourage their military ardour by a great national review under the eye of royalty, a display of this nature was given on the 23d June, 1860, at Hyde Park, composed of 20,000 volunteers. The stalwart forms, gallant bearing, and admirable discipline of this uncompelled, unhired soldiery, and their military obedience combined with their consciousness of moral freedom, was a spectacle which perhaps no country but our own could have exhibited in such perfection. It carried the mind back to the days of the Commonwealth, when the London trainbands, derisively termed "the thimble and bodkin army," and composed of shopkeepers, 'prentices, and industrious citizens, were transformed into soldiers that conquered wherever they fought, and whose deeds the legions of Cæsar never surpassed. This inspiring display of the national heartiness and military resources roused the emulative spirit of Scotland; and, as her majesty was about to pass on her way to her Highland home of Balmoral, it was resolved to inaugurate her arrival in Edinburgh with a review of the Scottish volunteers. The day appointed was the 7th of August, 1860, and the place that extensive level ground called the Queen's Park, between the palace of Holyrood and picturesque range of hills called Salisbury Craigs Then and there such a military muster took place as Edinburgh had never witnessed since the great gathering upon the Borough Muir previous to the national calamity of Flodden; but here how different were the auspices under which the descendants of the gallant array of James IV. were assembled! It was indeed still a competition of Scotland with England, but a competition of brotherly affection, in which each nation was to vie with the other in alacrity and preparation for mutual defence against a common foe, with the queen of both lands as spectator and judge On this occasion 21,000 volunteers from every part of Scotland were manœuvred in the park, and at least ten times that number of spectators were clustered upon the banks of the lake and the slopes which bounded the amphitheatre, looking down upon that magnificent moving pageant of war, and the sovereign who stood beneath the shade of the royal banner receiving the homage of each corps as it passed by. And who of all those spectators could still be fearful of invasion or doubtful of the issue? The confidence that enhanced the universal gladness of the spectacle was like the awakening from a troubled dream into health, security, and daylight. These reviews of London and Edinburgh were enough to restore the public tranquillity, and give assurance of the national safety. With at least 150,000 such citizen-soldiers, which at a short notice could be doubled, and their numerous well-trained corps of artillery, composed of the scientific and educated classes, and already fit for regular service—with these, in addition to our defences on the sea and our regular army, it was thought that we had well insured our shores against the attempt of a hostile landing. And so also, apparently, think the enemies of Britain, whose loud threat has subsided into silence or an unmeaning murmur. The glory or the profit of such an attempt is completely outweighed by the chances of utter discomfiture. Nay, even the alliance between France and Britain is thereby the more confirmed, by showing the uselessness of mutual quarrel, and the influence which their combined strength may exercise upon the troubled politics of Europe, and the welfare of the world at large

But it is not merely in general or political considerations that we are to read the advantages of this great volunteer movement. The benefits it has conferred upon society in a social and moral point of view are so important that, even had the alarm of invasion been nothing more than one of our national periodical panics—and as such it has often been ridiculed by an extreme party of politicians—the bustle of preparation, the drill, the marching and countermarching, the jostling of arms with the regular operations of industry, have been well worth the interruption, the trouble, and the sacrifice. The long cessation from war had made us the less prepared for its coming, and the study of it even as the means of self-defence was in course of general abandonment The mercantile spirit was obtaining too exclusive possession, and the point of honour degenerating into the question of who could the most adroitly drive a bargain, and the soonest realize a fortune. The occupations of the shop, the warehouse, and the counting-house were not only absorbing the whole mental energies, but even the physical capacities of young ardent manhood; so that, while there was little opportunity for those active out-door sports which best develope the physical qualities, that chivalrous sensitiveness by which a nation is best protected, and without which it languishes and dies, was giving place to an ill-judged confidence in the power of wealth, and the sufficiency of our industrial resources These consequences of such a long and prosperous course of traffic were heedfully noted and heavily deplored by thoughtful, patriotic philanthropists, while they were unable to discover a remedy so powerful and so universal as would suffice to arrest the evil. And then, happily for us, the remedy of remedies which they could not find was brought to us from an unexpected quarter. We

were to be invaded, and this too by France, the country with which, of all others, we had been in rivalry for ages, and whose enmity we had most to fear. It was a national alarm, but it was also more, for it was regarded as a national insult; and, stung with the thought, the whole nation started from sleep, snatched up their weapons, and rushed forth to meet the danger. Even if the cry of warning was groundless, it broke the spell, warned us of what might eventually be our fate, and roused into full activity that ancient spirit under which our land has grown so prosperous and so great. It has infused a new life into our mercantile character, the tendency of which will be to introduce a chivalrous uprightness and dignity into the transactions of the mart and the operations of the workshop. Even the step, the look, the bearing of our young men are undergoing a transformation that betokens a soldierly openness, activity, and confident self-reliance, in lieu of those slouching steps, and careworn, money-reckoning looks by which our streets and public haunts were crowded. The future merchant-princes of Britain are thus in training to occupy that proud position which should be held in princely character, and into which nothing that is mean or sordid should enter; and, while peer and peasant are serving in the same ranks, and united in one common military fellowship, the invidious separations of rank and wealth, which have so long been a social evil among our people, will be qualified and abated. This volunteer movement, instead of a temporary, promises to be a permanent institution; and, by the moral and social changes which it has already originated, it may even yet, without being needed for actual conflict, become the best safeguard of our country, by the new life it has infused, and by the fresh impress which it will stamp upon the community.

BOOK XIII.

PERIOD FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE INDIAN MUTINY TO THE END OF 1877.

FROM A.D. 1857—1877

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.
1857 VICTORIA.

France.
1857 NAPOLEON III.
1870 REPUBLIC.

Austria
1857 FRANCIS JOSEPH.

Sweden.
1872 OSCAR II.

Spain.
1857 ISABELLA II.
1874 ALPHONSO XII.

Portugal.
1857 PEDRO V.
1861 LUIS I.

Denmark.
1857 FREDERICK VII
1863 CHRISTIAN IX.

Russia.
1855 ALEXANDER II.

Pope.
PIUS IX.

Turkey.
1857 ABDUL MEDJID
1861 ABDUL AZIZ
1876 ABDUL HAMID II.

Prussia.
1861 WILLIAM
(Became Emperor of Germany in 1871)

Italy
Previous to 1861 the Sicilies were a separate kingdom, but these and the Papal States were united with the kingdom of Italy under Victor Emmanuel, 1861

CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1857—1858.

VICTORIA.

Hostile proceedings of the Chinese against the British—Affair of the *Arrow*—Attack on Canton by the British—Attack on the *Thistle* steamer by the Chinese—Offensive proclamation of Yeh against the British—Two successful British expeditions in the Canton River—The Earl of Elgin sent out as plenipotentiary to China—He is joined by a plenipotentiary from France—Conditions of peace offered to the Chinese—Ambiguous answer of Commissioner Yeh—British and French troops advance to the bombardment of Canton—Taking of Canton—Yeh made prisoner, degraded from office, and transported to India—The Chinese emperor's conciliatory proclamation—Continued equivocation of the Chinese to the demands of the plenipotentiaries—Advance of troops to Pekin—The forts at the entrance of the Peiho taken—The Chinese renew their negotiations for peace at Tientsin—Their proposals rejected by Lord Elgin—His conditions accepted—Lord Elgin proceeds to Japan—His bold advance to Jeddo—A treaty of amity concluded between Japan and Great Britain—The British in China proceed to act upon the Chinese treaty—Mr Bruce appointed British envoy at the court of Pekin—His advance with the French to Pekin hindered—Determination to sail up the Peiho and force an entrance into the capital—Disastrous repulse of the allied troops at the Taku forts—Lord Elgin again sent as plenipotentiary to China—Fresh troops despatched from England and France—Arrogance of the Chinese—Their refusal to admit the French and British ambassadors to Pekin—Their treacherous capture of the commissioners—Cruelties practised upon the commissioners by the Chinese—Pekin threatened with a siege by the allied troops—Surrender of Pekin—Severe conditions imposed on the Chinese government—The additional articles of the treaty—Benefits anticipated from bringing China into contact with Europe—The royal address of 1861 on the Chinese war—Thanks of Parliament voted to the Earl of Elgin and the officers of the expedition—Unsuccessful proposal to reduce the income-tax—Dissolution of Parliament—New election favourable to Lord Palmerston's government—Parliamentary reform considered—Marriage of the Princess Royal and Prince Frederick William of Prussia—Debate on the grant to Maynooth College—Abolition of "ministers' money" in Ireland—Bill for admission of Jews to Parliament—Baron Rothschild admitted as a member—New probate and administration act—Change in the marriage and divorce act—Military education of army officers—Competitive examination for civil appointments—Salaries of civil servants—Sound duties.

THE Sepoy mutiny was not the only disturbance that menaced us from the East. In China British rights had been so constantly invaded, and the national honour so grossly insulted, that recourse to arms was inevitable, and it was only after a severe chastisement that an empire, supposed to comprise nearly one-third of the human race, could be brought to listen to reason, and recognize the laws of international justice. After much endurance on the part of our government, the final provocation was given by the Chinese in the well-known affair of the *Arrow*, a Chinese-built lorcha, but having the protection of the British flag. This vessel had been boarded in

October, 1856, and the crew had been violently seized and carried away. The grievance was complained of to Commissioner Yeh, a mandarin of the highest rank, and governor of the province; but that deputy-sovereign, who had permitted if he had not ordered the seizure, treated the British appeal with contempt. In consequence of this our admiral in the Chinese waters, Sir Michael Seymour, entered the Canton River and landed troops, by whom the suburbs of the city were set on fire. The armament was insufficient for more decisive proceedings, and therefore, having abandoned the positions taken from the Chinese, the steamers were withdrawn from the upper part of the river, and the troops located in the Teatotum fort, near the Macao Passage. But this commencement of hostilities neither daunted the confidence of the Chinese nor warned Commissioner Yeh, and at the close of 1856 they accepted the challenge of war in their own barbarous fashion. A small steamer called the *Thistle*, used for carrying the mails between Canton and Hong-Kong, was entered by a party of Chinese soldiers disguised as passengers, and while the vessel was proceeding down the river they attacked the Europeans on board, murdered them all, eleven in number, and afterwards setting the vessel on fire escaped with impunity. A proclamation of Yeh also served to make the war more inveterate After denouncing the French and English under the terms of "red-haired foreign dogs," he offered a reward of 5000 dollars to every one who caught an English or French rebel chief, 100 dollars to him who caught a rebel barbarian alive, and 50 dollars to him who brought him a rebel barbarian's head. He also offered 10,000 dollars to any who should take or burn a large war-steamer, and 2000 for the destruction of one of shallow draught. The proclamation added, "All those who are in the employ of the foreign dogs must leave their employment in one month; and after one month if they still stay with the foreign dogs, and do not return to their native villages, the elders of the villages will hand over their families to the authorities, to be punished as if they were the red-haired rebels"

Although the previous expeditions up the Canton River had on the whole been unsatisfactory, the attempt was repeated in May, 1857, and with more favourable results. On this occasion two expeditions were undertaken; the one under Commodore Elliott, and the other under Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, both of whom were successful in inflicting considerable damage on the enemy's junks and forts in the Canton River, the principal fort being that of Macao.

While this part of the enterprise was thus successful, Commodore Keppel was operating in another direction, and also succeeded in destroying or capturing a number of war junks, and in forcing a way up to the walls of the town of Fatshan.

MACAO FORT, CANTON RIVER.
From Oliphant's Narrative of Mission to China in 1857-59

In the meantime this commencement of hostile operations against so large a portion of the human race—a war so limited in its operations, yet so important in its consequences, had awakened the anxiety of our government, and it was resolved to send out a plenipotentiary to China, armed with full powers to negotiate a peace or prosecute the contest with vigour to a satisfactory close The office was one demanding great courage, firmness, and political tact, and it was worthily conferred upon the Earl of Elgin, the former governor-general of Canada. He arrived at Hong-Kong in the beginning of July, 1857, but at Singapore was met by tidings of the outbreak of the great Indian Mutiny, and a request from Lord Canning the governor-general to forward to Calcutta a part of the force which he had brought for military operations in China. This for the present altered Lord Elgin's proceedings, and rightly judging that an Indian revolt was of paramount importance, he not only sent off a part of his force on the instant, but soon after followed with the rest. This interruption prevented his return to Hong-Kong until the end of autumn, and in October he was joined by Baron Gros, the plenipotentiary of France, and a French squadron commissioned to demand redress for the murder of several French missionaries, which had hitherto been asked of the Chinese government but in vain. These were not the

only European powers combined on this occasion, for Russia was there represented by Count Putintin, and the United States by Mr. Reed.

The delays at the outset prevented Lord Elgin from acting decisively until the beginning of December, when he addressed an official letter to Commissioner Yeh, demanding reparation for past and security from future wrongs, and announcing that hostile operations would proceed against Canton, until the demands of the British government were absolutely conceded—to wit, the complete execution at Canton of all past treaties with the British, the free admission of British subjects to the city, and compensation to them and those entitled to British protection for all the losses they had incurred in the late disturbances. The reply of Yeh to these demands was in the spirit of Chinese diplomacy. He entered into a long detail of the origin and progress of the quarrel, justified the conduct of the Chinese, but evaded any promise of compliance with Lord Elgin's terms. His lordship again wrote answering that he had ordered the war to be continued with vigour, and his right to make such additional demands as the change of affairs might justify, but to this the commissioner again returned an evasive answer.

LORD ELGIN
From a photograph by L. Caldesi & Co

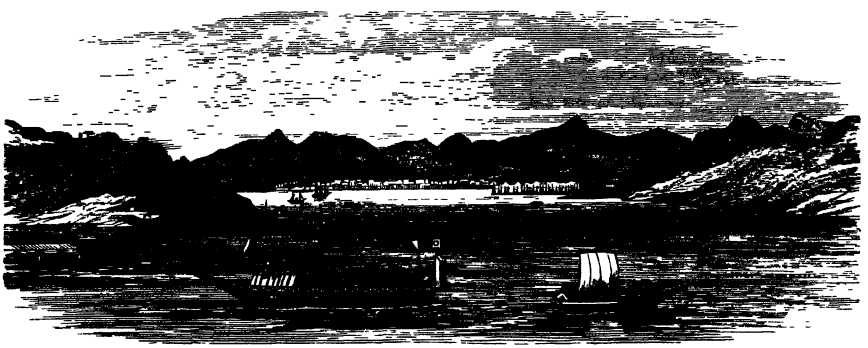
Before the correspondence between Lord Elgin and Commissioner Yeh had ended, the British and French had resumed their hostile operations by advancing up the Canton River, and casting anchor between the island of Honan and the city of Canton. The negotiation was to be conclusively settled by the bombardment of Canton, and troops accordingly were landed at the island which lies opposite the city, and platforms for cannon erected upon that side of the river. These preparations being completed the inhabitants of Canton were warned that Yeh had rejected the offered terms, and that if the city were not surrendered in forty-eight hours it would be bombarded and stormed. No answer being returned the cannonade commenced from the fleet on the 26th of December, the day after Yeh's last letter, and under the fire the gun-boats of the fleet landed a body of English and French troops at a creek on the south-east of Canton, which had been selected as best fitted for the purpose The combined forces rushing forward on their landing soon drove the Chinese from Linu Fort, and having made good their lodgment, they waited there until the walls should be prepared for their escalade. On the following morning the French and English troops simultaneously mounted the city wall, driving their astonished enemies before them. Whenever the Chinese and Tartar troops rallied against their advance they were awed or put to flight. Thus Canton was entirely at their mercy, and for a week the allied troops occupied the walls between Magazine Hill and the south-west corner of Canton, but without invading the streets. The inhabitants pursued their occupations and enjoyed their amusements as if these events were part of the remote transactions of India. It was a stoicism of insensibility most provoking to conquerors, whom it deprived of all apology for further action. Tired at length of wondering and looking on, several bodies of English and French soldiers, headed by their officers, descended into the streets on the morning of the 5th of January, 1858, and after treading a chaos of narrow and crooked streets succeeded in capturing the chief offenders by whom the war had been occasioned and maintained. These were Peh-kwei, the governor of the city, Tseung-keun, the Tartar general, and finally Yeh himself. The prisoners being brought to the British head-quarters, were tried before the English and French officers, with Lord Elgin for their president, at the end of the trial the general was allowed to return to the city on condition of disbanding all his troops, and the governor was replaced in office with the co-operation of a European tribunal, and made responsible for the order and good government of the city. As for Commissioner Yeh, whose past offences and present rancour against the British could not be so easily overlooked, he was first confined as a state prisoner on board the *Inflexible*, and afterwards shipped off to Calcutta, there to remain until a peace was concluded between the allied forces and the Emperor of China.

After the capture of Canton Lord Elgin and Baron Gros resumed their official proceedings with European promptitude. They drew up and transmitted to Pekin the terms with which

they would be satisfied, and this missive was accompanied by despatches of a similar nature from the American and Russian plenipotentiary, these being carried to the city of Sun-tchon, where the authorities promised to transmit them to the emperor at Pekin; but after this such delays occurred in the negotiation as made it evident that the Chinese court had no intention of submitting to the proposed terms. Finding it necessary, therefore, to obtain a prompt and definite answer, the English and French plenipotentiaries resolved to advance with an armed force upon Pekin itself, where they would urge their demands with greater effect, and accordingly the allied squadron set sail, and on the 19th of May, 1858, entered the mouth of the Peiho. Earthworks, forts, and batteries had been prepared to resist the advance of the Europeans, but they were successively abandoned, so that the allied fleet continued its progress up the Peiho, and reached Tientsin, a city at the entrance of the Grand Canal, on the 29th of May.

These decisive proceedings, and the advance of the hostile strangers so near the capital, compelled the Chinese to resume negotiations, and accordingly two commissioners of high rank arrived at Tientsin on the 4th June, but their commission was evidently so framed as to enable Chinese cunning to wriggle out of engagements, and another commissioner was sent from Pekin with no better result, so that Lord Elgin and Baron Gros refused to communicate with him any longer. It was evident that after this the plenipotentiaries would have recourse to still more decisive measures, which it was both the wish and the interest of the Chinese court to avert. The obnoxious commissioner was therefore recalled, and the two Chinese ministers agreed to ratify a treaty according to the terms of the English and French ambassadors. In consequence of this articles of treaty were presented by the allied plenipotentiaries. Ambassadors were to be appointed for either country at the courts of Pekin and St. James', and a British minister with his family and suite was permanently to be established at Pekin. Consuls might be appointed for China. The Christian religion, whether of Protestants or Roman Catholics, was to be tolerated in the country. British subjects might travel in any part of the interior, whether on business or pleasure, with passports from consuls countersigned by the local authorities. Certain specified ports were to be opened for British commerce. British subjects were to make agreements for landed property at the rates prevailing among the people. No restrictions were to be imposed on the British in taking Chinese subjects into their employ. All question between British subjects referring to rights of property or person were to be subject to the jurisdiction of British authorities. Injuries inflicted by Chinese upon British subjects were to be punished by Chinese authorities, and crimes of British subjects in China were to be tried and punished by their own consuls The articles of this treaty were signed on the 26th of June.

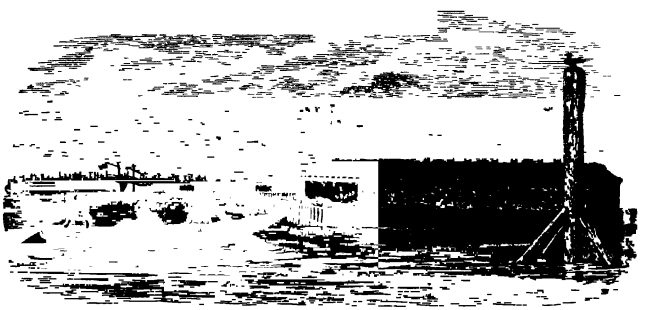
Having thus secured the dignity of the British crown and the liberties and rights of its subjects in China, Lord Elgin directed his course to Japan, where similar interests demanded his



Harbour and City of Nagasaki.—From Illustrated London News.

interference. That powerful, but hitherto mysterious nation, had closed its ports against all European intercourse with greater jealousy than China itself, and admitted none to trade with it but the Dutch, who had purchased that exemption with many slavish compliances. To participate in this profitable commerce was the object of British enterprise, and as his apology for the entering Japanese waters Lord Elgin had brought a steamer as a present from the Queen of England

to the august Emperor of Japan. He reached the port of Nagasaki on the 3d of August, 1858, and being there joined on the following day by Admiral Sir Michael Seymour with two British men-of-war, they resolved to proceed to Jeddo, the capital of Japan, that the gift might be transferred into the hands of the sovereign himself. Setting sail from Nagasaki he reached the port of Kanagawa on the 12th of August. This was the terminus beyond which no foreign vessels had ever been allowed to pass, and here he found the Russian squadron, which had preceded him, lying at anchor, and awed by the long-established prohibition. Undeterred by this obstacle the British vessels continued their course without the guidance of a native pilot, and did not cast anchor until they came within a mile and a half of the suburbs of Jeddo. The



FORTS AT JEDDO.
From Oliphant's Narrative of Mission to China in 1857-59

Japanese authorities were confounded at the strange audacity of this arrival, and when they had recovered from their amazement they put off in boats to request Lord Elgin to return to Kanagawa; but their entreaties and representations were in vain, the British squadron anchored securely in the harbour, and the gay steamer, the gift of the Queen of Great Britain, accompanied with a procession of boats dressed in their brightest gala attire, and carrying the ambassador and his suite, arrived at the official landing-place in the harbour. Thus taken at unawares the perplexed Japanese officials had no alternative but to receive the visitors, and making hasty preparations, Lord Elgin and his company were led in state into the capital through crowds who gazed upon such a sight as they and their fathers had never imagined. Nor was the sight that met the eyes of the strangers less novel. They saw a city emerge from the "palpable obscure" that rivalled London itself in size and population, and giving tokens of a grandeur, prosperity, and wealth such as few European capitals could have equalled; whole streets of palaces, the abodes of nobles and princes, met their view, some of them large enough to contain 10,000 inmates. Gardens and rows of trees, rivalling in their stateliness and beauty the gay architecture of palace and temple, were interspersed with the buildings, and the British, in spite of their national prejudices, were obliged to confess, like Pyrrhus of old, that these barbarians had nothing barbarous about them

During Lord Elgin's stay of eight days on shore the uninvited visitors were treated by the Japanese with the utmost courtesy and kindness, and a treaty between Great Britain and Japan was established, of which the following are the heads —There shall be perpetual peace between the Queen of Great Britain and the Tycoon of Japan. A diplomatic agent and consuls may be appointed by Great Britain to reside in Japan, and an agent and consuls appointed by Japan to reside in Great Britain. Certain Japanese and British subjects offending against each other were each to be punished by their own respective authorities, and equal justice dispensed on either side. The British should enjoy the free exercise of their religion in Japan, and the right of erecting suitable places of worship. A British vessel driven or wrecked upon the Japanese coast was to be protected and aided by the authorities whenever the accident occurred. Any British vessel entering or leaving a Japanese port might have a pilot. Articles of commerce not contraband might be bought and sold at the Japanese ports, except ammunitions of war, which were only to be sold to the Japanese government. Subjects of the British government were hereafter to enjoy all the benefits granted by the Japanese government to the people of any other nation.

On the conclusion of the treaty with China the British ministry appointed the Hon. Mr. Bruce, brother of the Earl of Elgin, to be their envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary. He was to transfer the general direction of British affairs from Hong-Kong to Shanghai, and establish his seat of residence, for the time at least, at the latter place. He was also to keep open his right of residing at Pekin by occasional visits to the capital.

Mr. Bruce arrived at Hong-Kong in May, 1859, and was afterwards joined by M. de Bourbolon,

the ambassador and plenipotentiary from the court of France. They then proceeded to Shanghai, and the anticipated obstacles were commenced by a proposal to them on the part of the Chinese government, either that the ratification of the treaty should be exchanged there instead of at Pekin, or that the ambassadors should allow themselves to be conducted by land to the capital, instead of going up by the river Peiho. But the land journey would have occupied two months and so have given time for new delays, and the ambassadors resolved to proceed by the river in spite of reported interruptions. They arrived in the Gulf of Pechili on the 17th June, escorted by a few vessels and gun-boats under Rear-admiral Hope, the British naval commander on the Chinese station. The admiral then proceeded to the mouth of the Peiho to announce the coming of the ambassadors, and reconnoitre the defences of the river, which he found had been considerably strengthened since the preceding year, as if in preparation for a hostile visit. Seeing that nothing was to be gained by patient waiting the ambassador authorized Admiral Hope to force a passage, who accordingly commenced hostile proceedings, but such preparations had been made with masked batteries and heavy guns that the Europeans were repulsed, and an attempt to take the forts by a *coup de main* was also unsuccessful. Admiral Hope was severely wounded Sixty-four officers and men were killed and 252 wounded, besides 25 who were killed and 93 who were wounded on board the gun-boat during the action. After this disheartening repulse the British squadron returned to Shanghai to await orders and reinforcements from home.

While the Chinese exulted in this partial success as a glorious termination of the war, and a conclusive triumph against the "barbarian," it was regarded in Europe as the inevitable forerunner of their chastisement and humiliation. The Earl of Elgin was reinstated with the office of plenipotentiary to China, and an expedition was fitted out not only to compel the execution of the treaty of Tientsin, but to obtain reparation for recent wrongs. General Sir Hope Grant, at that time in India, was appointed to the command of the expedition, and on this occasion he was joined by several Sikh regiments who had volunteered to serve in it. France also sent a strong body of troops under General Montauban, while Baron Gros was once more appointed plenipotentiary of France to China. That the Chinese might be aware of these intentions, and have time to avert them by submission, Mr. Bruce on the part of the British government addressed conditions to the court at Pekin on the 8th of March, 1860, from Shanghai. The arrogant reply of the Chinese government showed that these conditions would need to be enforced.

Lord Elgin and Baron Gros departed for China in an English frigate, the *Malabar*, but in touching, by the way, at Ceylon the vessel ran upon a reef of sunken rocks at Point de Galle and was wrecked, the ambassadors themselves escaping with great difficulty However they arrived at Shanghai, where the British force

General Sir Hope Grant
From a photograph by Herbert Watkins

was already awaiting them. It consisted of several ships of war, which, with gun-boats and transports, numbered about 200 sail. Having been joined by the French expedition the armament arrived at the village of Pehtang, twelve miles to the north of the Peiho, and here, after encamping for some days, they marched against a Tartar army posted at Sinho This force, chiefly cavalry, and numbering about 4000, after losing about 100 men and being driven successively from their lines of entrenchment, fled to Tangku. Thither they were followed by the allied English and French troops, who put the garrison to flight and took the town. The chastisement of the Taku forts was the next operation; and although the Chinese made a brave resistance they were driven successfully from the fort, leaving 2000 prisoners and 400 guns, many of which were of very large calibre, in the hands of the assailants.

Alarmed at these formidable demonstrations the Chinese betook themselves to their wonted shifts of evasive policy, and an intimation was sent to Lord Elgin by two ministers of state that imperial commissioners had been sent to treat for peace with the European plenipotentiaries at Tientsin. Admiral Hope resolved to occupy the city, over the east gate of which he planted the flags of Britain and France, and Lord Elgin sent forward his secretaries, Messrs. Parkes

and Wade, with the terms upon which peace would be concluded. But the Chinese commissioners had no authority to show entitling them to accept the offered terms, and with their wonted procrastination they prepared to write to Pekin for the requisite powers. Indignant at being thus trifled with Lord Elgin wrote to the commissioners on the 7th of September, reproaching them for their deceitful manœuvre, and answering that he would proceed immediately to Tang-chou, as there and there only he would receive their visit, and confer with them for the re-establishment of peace. The allied troops accordingly left Tientsin on the 9th, and had advanced within twenty-five miles of Tang-chou, when they were met by the intimation that fresh commissioners of high rank had arrived there. Thither accordingly Messrs. Parkes and Wade proceeded, and made an arrangement that the allied forces should halt at Chang-tsia-wan, that the ambassadors should repair to the latter place and sign the convention; and that, to prevent any inadvertent collision between the allied and Chinese troops, the latter should fall back from Chang-tsia-wan.

The allied force proceeded to their assigned encamping ground, but on reaching the place they found a large Chinese army stationed there, with batteries hastily thrown up to flank the British camp. Alarmed at this violation of the agreement, for which the Chinese general could or would assign no cause, a deputation under a flag of truce was sent back from the British camping-ground to inquire the cause of these proceedings. But when sufficient time had elapsed they did not return; and in the meantime the Chinese cavalry had surrounded the allied forces, and the guns and matchlock men opened a heavy fire. At the same instant Colonel Walker, who had accompanied the deputation, broke with his party from the line of the Chinese fire at full gallop, with the tidings that the enemy had attempted to assassinate them, after murdering a French officer. The British received the onset and repaid it as such treachery deserved. The Chinese army was completely defeated, and the allied force advanced beyond the village of Chang-tsia-wan.

Notwithstanding this easy victory over a barbarous host the fate of the deputation was a subject of great anxiety, which, however, was soon cleared. Messrs. Parkes and Loch, the private secretaries of the ambassadors, Captain Brabazon and their escort, while passing through the Chinese army on their return had been suddenly made prisoners before the engagement commenced, and the first two brought before the Chinese commander San-ko-len-sin, who, in spite of their white flag, treated them with insult, afterwards put them into a rough open cart, bound with cords that cut into their flesh, and in this condition sent them off to Pekin. The rest of the party, consisting of Captain Brabazon, Lieutenant Anderson, Mr. De Norman, *attaché* to the British legation, Mr. Bowlby, correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, an English dragoon and eighteen Sikh horsemen, were sent off into the interior, where, with the exception of a few of the Sikhs, they all miserably perished through the cruel treatment they underwent. On arriving at Pekin Messrs. Parkes and Loch were thrown into prison, where the former was visited by a mandarin on the part of Prince Kung, the emperor's brother, for the purpose of extracting information from him, and making him useful in obtaining favourable terms from Lord Elgin. But to these overtures Mr. Parkes turned a deaf ear, and when offered his liberty he refused to accept it unless Mr. Loch was set free also. At length they were removed to better quarters, and more leniently treated until they obtained their release.

While the Chinese were thus tampering with the captives Lord Elgin refused to negotiate until they were set at liberty, and at last, on the 25th of September, he warned Prince Kung that unless they were liberated in three days the allied army would advance to the siege of Pekin, and the convention be ratified there which had been signed at Tang-chou. This direct demand being met with nothing but evasions the allied army commenced their march to the capital, and on the 6th of October arrived at the summer palace of the Emperor of China. This gorgeous fabric, which the Chinese regarded with wonder and awe as the personification of the wealth and grandeur of the Celestial empire, was so tempting to the French aptitudes for military splendour that our allies entered it in a twinkling, and were succeeded by the less dexterous English, after its best commodities had disappeared. The havoc that was wrought on this occasion was thus described by an eye-witness: "The Summer Palace is almost five miles by a circuitous road north-west of this camp, outside the earthwork. A description of it is given in Staunton's account of Lord Macartney's embassy, and other works in China, but no pen can describe correctly the scene that has taken place there within the last two days. Indiscriminate *loot* has been allowed. The public reception hall, the state and private bed-rooms, ante-rooms, boudoirs, and every other apartment has been ransacked; articles of vertu, of native and foreign workmanship, taken, or broken if too large to be carried away; ornamental lattice-work, screens, jade, stone ornaments, jars, clocks, watches, and other pieces of mechanism, curtains and furniture, none have escaped from destruction.

There were extensive wardrobes of every article of dress; coats richly embroidered in silk and gold thread in the Imperial Dragon-pattern, boots, head-dresses, fans, &c.; in fact, rooms all but filled with them, store-rooms of manufactured silk in rolls, such as may be bought in Canton at twenty to thirty dollars per piece."

Two days after this alarming foretaste of a terrible chastisement the prisoners confined in Pekin were set free and allowed to return to the allied camp; but of the whole number of twenty-six British subjects so infamously seized and imprisoned, only thirteen had survived, who all bore evidence, more or less of the cruelty and indignity with which they had been treated. This outrage upon the laws of nations, whether civilized or barbarous, made further treaty impossible until an adequate punishment had been inflicted, and on the 12th October the allied army made every preparation for the bombardment of Pekin. All being in readiness the Chinese government were informed that the cannonade would commence on the following day at noon, unless the city was previously surrendered to the British and French troops, and one of the gates subjected to their command. As cowardly and abject at the presence of danger as they had been bold when it was in the distance, the Chinese authorities in the capital accepted the humiliation.

When the cession of Pekin occurred the Earl of Elgin was ignorant of the cruelties which the Chinese had inflicted upon the British prisoners, and Prince Kung assured him that they had experienced no personal injury, and were properly and comfortably cared for. But when the truth was fully ascertained, his lordship resolved that a severe retribution should be inflicted for this flagrant breach of the law of nations; and after upbraiding Prince Kung for the deception, he announced that no peace between Britain and China was possible unless the following conditions were instantly accepted:—"What remains of the palace of Yueng-ming-yuen, which appears to be the place at which several of the British captives were subjected to the grossest indignities, will be immediately levelled with the ground. This condition requires no assent on the part of his highness, because it will be at once carried into effect by the commander-in-chief. A sum of 300,000 taels must be paid down at once to the officers appointed by the undersigned to receive it, which sum will be appropriated at the discretion of her majesty's government to those who have suffered, and to the families of the murdered men. The immediate signature of the convention drawn up at Tientsin, which will remain as it is, with the single change that it shall be competent for the armies of England and France to remain at Tientsin until the whole indemnities spoken of in the said convention are paid, if the governments of England and France see fit to adopt this course." To show that his lordship was in earnest, and would no longer be trifled with, the Summer Palace, already plundered by the victors, was set on fire and utterly destroyed.

The convention was signed at Pekin on the 24th of October. The British representative was to reside permanently or occasionally at Pekin, "as Her Britannic Majesty shall be pleased to decide." By article 3 the Emperor of China was to pay an indemnity of 8,000,000 taels in certain fixed instalments. By article 4 the port of Tientsin was to be opened to commerce, and British subjects were to be allowed to reside and trade there. By article 5 such Chinese as chose to take service in the British colonies or other parts beyond sea, were to be at perfect liberty to enter into engagements with British subjects for the purpose, and to ship themselves and their families on board British vessels at any of the open ports of China. The ratifications having been duly exchanged, the allied army left Pekin on the 5th of November, and retired upon Tientsin.

In the opening of parliament in 1861 the consideration of the Chinese expedition was commenced by the motion of Lord Herbert of Lea, as secretary of state for war, who moved in the House of Lords that a vote of thanks should be passed in favour of the officers and men engaged in the recent operations. He was followed by the Earl of Derby, who alluded to the perfect organization of the enterprise, and the boldness with which it had been followed out. The vote was unanimously passed in both houses, as well as an acknowledgment of the services of the Earl of Elgin for the wisdom and energy with which he had discharged the trying duties of his office.

Our hostilities with China, at the commencement of war, threatened not only a considerable addition to our expenditure, but a diminution of our commerce. As this was opposed to the promise of economy which followed the termination of war with Russia, every event which portended a rupture with the Chinese, and every step adopted by our government to vindicate the national honour, had been watched with jealousy and made the subject of angry discussion. This was especially the case during the parliamentary session, and in a debate upon the case of Sir John Bowring and the attack upon the *Arrow* there was a majority of sixteen against government. This defeat occasioned the dissolution of parliament on the 21st of March, 1857, and writs were issued for a new election.

On the 19th of May a message was sent by

her majesty to parliament concerning the approaching marriage of her eldest daughter, the princess royal, to Prince Frederick William of Prussia, upon which a dowry of £40,000 was voted to her, and £8000 of annuity.

At an early period of the session a motion was made for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of the charge known as "ministers' money" in Ireland, which for many years had formed a subject of irritation and complaint; and permission being given, the second reading of the bill was introduced on the 19th of May. When the bill passed into committee it there encountered from several of the lords a storm of opposition, and at the third reading was carried by a majority of 24 to 7.

But the great question of the day was the admission of Jews into parliament. It had often been proposed and rejected, while each introduction had been accompanied with a storm of popular feeling which the adherents of the measure had been eager to escape. Now, however, the subject had attained its culminating point by the election of Baron Rothschild as a representative of the city of London. But still the original difficulty remained. How could a Jew take the oath of admission into a Protestant or any Christian senate? And if he demurred, how could the oath be set aside in his favour? Nothing remained but to alter or modify it, as had been done in the admission of Roman Catholics into parliament, and on the House of Commons going into committee on the 18th of May, Lord Palmerston stated how he meant to deal with the difficulty. After reading the three oaths of admission, and commenting upon them, he stated the form of one oath which he meant to substitute in their stead.

The bill was passed in the House of Commons but was thrown out by the Lords, and Lord John Russell, the persevering advocate of the bill, attempted its revival in a new form, and for that purpose moved for the modification and extension of an existing statute, 1 and 2 Vict cap. cvi., intituled "An act for removing doubts as to the validity of certain oaths." The motion was successful, but before the success could be practically brought to bear upon the progress of the bill, a new and more simple expedient suggested itself to the advocates of the Jewish claims by which their purpose could be accomplished. By the act of 5 and 6 Will. IV. cap. lxii. a solemn declaration was allowed to be substituted for an oath, and this, it was thought, would be sufficient to justify the admission of a member into parliament. Lord John Russell accordingly gave notice that in the next session he should bring parliamentary oaths before the notice of the house. On the following year the subject was again introduced into parliament, and after much debate and keen opposition the bill passed through both houses and received the royal assent, as also the oaths bill, and the effect of both was to admit Jews into parliament on taking the oath of allegiance, but omitting the words, "on the true faith of a Christian." In consequence of this resolution Baron Rothschild appeared before the house on the 26th of July, and after taking the oath on the Old Testament, and omitting the obnoxious words, he took his seat on the opposition benches.

During the year 1857 two measures were effected by the legislature of great importance to social life and the interests of the community. The first of these was an act for establishing a new jurisdiction in regard to wills and administrations. The probate and administration were simplified, so that both trouble and expense were avoided. The second, called "The marriage and divorce bill," had been the subject of long agitation, encountered many difficulties, and underwent not a few alterations before it was finally passed. By it the right of divorce was no longer the exclusive privilege of the rich, but was brought within the reach of every class of the community.

Of the other parliamentary proceedings of 1857 a short notice will be sufficient. The recent Crimean war had directed general attention to the defects in our military system, and especially to that of the military education of our officers This subject was taken up by Sir De Lacy Evans. Sir John Ramsden, under secretary for war, stated that a comprehensive scheme by which the evils complained of would be obviated was under the consideration of government. On the 14th of July Lord Goderich called the attention of parliament to the remissness of government regarding the extension of the system of competitive examinations in the public departments. He moved "That the experience acquired since the issuing of the order in council of the 21st day of May, 1855, is in favour of the adoption of the principle of competition as a condition of entrance to the civil service; and that the application of that principle ought to be extended, in conformity with the resolution of the house agreed to on the 24th day of April, 1856." The motion was successful. Another motion, which had for its object the removal of a grievance from the civil service, was then made by Lord Maas. An annual deduction had been made in the salaries of its servants to furnish retiring pensions for superannuated members, but a complaint was prevalent among them that the arrangement was inequitable, and that the result was a pecuniary gain to the government. After a long debate the

justice of the complaint was recognized, and the bill was passed The arrangement of the Sound duties, by which £1,125,206 was to be paid to the Danish government in lieu of the annual duties, was satisfactorily concluded during the session.

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D 1858—1860

VICTORIA

Change of government proposed for India—Debates on the subject in both Houses of Parliament—Three Indian bills proposed as plans for the government of our Eastern empire—The third bill adopted—The government of India passes from the East India Company to the crown—Attempt to assassinate the Emperor of France—Britain accused of sheltering the political malcontents of Europe—Bill introduced into parliament in consequence of the complaints of the French government—Its rejection occasions Lord Palmerston's resignation—New administration formed by the Earl of Derby—Affair of the *Caglian* steam-vessel—Demand for the repeal of the excise duty on paper—Parliamentary reform—The government plan laid before parliament by Mr. Disraeli—General dissatisfaction with the mode and measure of the proposed reform—It is rejected at the second reading—A new parliament elected—Intentions of the ministry—Its unpopularity in the House of Commons—Amendment proposed and carried—Resignation of the ministry—The formation of a new ministry intrusted to Lord Palmerston—Our national defences by sea and land—Apprehension of hostile designs on the part of France—Statement in parliament of our naval resources—Formation of volunteer rifle corps over the kingdom—Terms of the volunteer service—Rifle competition on Wimbledon Common—The Hyde Park volunteer review—The Edinburgh volunteer review—Affairs of Italy—Distrust of the French emperor's share in them—The annexation of Savoy and Nice to France accomplished—Budget for 1860-61—Opposition of Lord Grey—The four leading points of the financial scheme discussed and three of them passed—Opposition to the repeal of the paper tax—It is passed in the Commons by a small majority—Its rejection by the Lords—Threatened rupture between the two parliamentary houses—Lord Palmerston endeavours to heal the breach—Modifications in the paper tax proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer—His proposals adopted—Indifference on the subject of parliamentary reform—Withdrawal of the bill—Chinese war—Affairs of India

THE most important subject of popular interest and parliamentary discussion in the earlier part of 1858 was the Indian mutiny. It was decided that the rule of the East India Company must pass away, and that our eastern empire should be constituted in its administration as part of the British dominion The proposed change was unwelcome, not only to the Company, by whom such a vast empire had been founded, but to the thousands whose personal interests would be affected by the transaction. Even before the proposal was introduced, the East India Company had drawn up a petition to Parliament, strongly deprecating the measure. This memorial was presented by Earl Grey to the House of Lords, but on the 12th of February the measure was introduced by Lord Palmerston, who repudiated the idea that the time for government to interfere was inopportune.

The proposal was again brought up on the 26th March, not in the form of Lord Palmerston's bill, characterized as No. 1, but by a measure known as Bill No. 2, for the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the crown, but after long and keen agitation the fate of Bill No 2 was sealed, and its place taken by Bill No. 3.

Of this bill, which was introduced by Lord Stanley, the particulars were the following.—The council was to consist of fifteen members, who were to hold office for life, and of these, seven were to be elected by the East India Company court of directors from among persons who were or had been members of their own body, and eight to be nominated by her majesty. The salaries of the members were fixed at £1200 per annum, with a retiring pension of £500 after ten, and £800 after fifteen years' service. In the performance of their duties they were to meet once a week. For matters requiring secrecy ministers were to have the option of creating a secret committee. In finance, the regular and periodical Indian accounts were to be laid before the House of Commons. With regard to the army, the scientific departments were to be open to competition, one-tenth of the other cadetships were to be given to the sons of Indian civil or military servants, and the rest disposed according to the already existing system, which was not to be disturbed. The governor-general was empowered to appoint lieutenant-governors. Such were the principal clauses of Bill No. 3, which

passed successfully, on the 8th of July, through the second reading, after each of the articles had been closely examined and contested. Its course through the lords was speedier, and having received the assent of the crown, the future government of India was settled. In this manner a greater empire than Rome ever possessed was transferred without contest except a harmless war of words.

At the commencement of this year an event occurred in Paris, the results of which threatened to interrupt our friendly relations with France. On the evening of the 14th of January, while Napoleon III. and the Empress Eugenie were passing in their carriage along the Rue le Pelletier to the Italian Opera, a terrible explosion took place, by which several people at the doors of the theatre, and some of the guards of the imperial escort, were wounded, two of them mortally. It was evident that the explosion was designed, and that it was occasioned by the discharge of some kind of infernal machine. The hat of the emperor was perforated by a missile, and General Rougouet, his aide-de-camp, who sat in front of the carriage, was slightly wounded in the neck. Of this infamous and cowardly conspiracy to assassinate the emperor, certain foreign refugees, with an Italian named Felice Orsini at their head, were the contrivers. The peculiar grenades required for the purpose had been manufactured at Birmingham, and the actors themselves had previously found shelter in England, and had been protected by its laws. It was no wonder, therefore, that foreign nations, ignorant of the liberty allowed to every man in England until he was positively guilty of a violation of the law, should have regarded Britain with dislike as a harbourer of turbulent revolutionists, and a focus of all the treasons and conspiracies of Europe. Such charges against England were vehemently maintained in the French journals. The subject had been seriously taken up in the legislative assemblies, and the minister of foreign affairs at Paris had complained of the conspiracy to our ambassador, and suggested that our government should adopt measures for the prevention of such crimes by refusing the protection of our laws to foreign conspirators and assassins seeking an asylum in this country. Although the British public was indignant that France should dictate to us the duty of altering our laws, and restricting the liberty of our soil merely for the protection of foreign sovereigns, Lord Palmerston thought the charge too serious to be neglected, and on the 8th of February he introduced into the house a ministerial bill for the amendment of the law with relation to the crime of conspiracy to commit murder. There was reason to believe that a conspiracy to commit murder had been partially concocted in this country, and England treats such conspiracy as a misdemeanour, and punishes it with fine and imprisonment. His lordship proposed to make it a felony, punishable with penal servitude, and to apply to all persons with respect to conspiracies to murder wherever intended. After considerable discussion Lord Palmerston's motion was carried by 299 against 99, and leave was given to bring in the bill.

The feeling of the country was indignant at any interference of foreign governments with our laws, and it was represented that concession would betray our fears of the arrogant demands of France. When the bill was introduced for a second reading, on the 19th of February, an amendment was proposed by Mr. Gibson to the effect—"That this house cannot but regret that her majesty's government, previously to inviting the house to amend the law of conspiracy at the present time, have not felt it to be their duty to reply to the important despatch received from the French government, dated Paris, January 20th, 1858, which has been laid before parliament." A spirited debate followed, in which Mr. Walpole, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Disraeli opposed the government, the latter declaring that a great opportunity had been lost of asserting the principles of public law. The real question now before the house was not diplomatic or political; it was a question between the house and the servants of the crown. The house divided on the second reading of the bill, which was rejected by a majority of 234 to 215.

Such was now the unanimity, and consequently the strength of public opinion upon the great political questions of the day, that it mattered little what party might be in office. The new government formed by Lord Derby was Conservative, and the misunderstanding with France had been adjusted during the interval. Another grievance, however, although with a less important foreign power, had started up in its place A mail steamer, called the *Cagliari*, with two British engineers, Park and Watt, on board, having left Genoa in the middle of the previous year for its usual ports in Sardinia and Tunis, was captured by Neapolitan cruisers, carried into Naples, and her crew and passengers thrown into prison. With these sufferers were the two English engineers, and as they had remained in prison more than six months,—while the capture of the *Cagliari* was declared to be a violation of the law of nations, our government took up the case of Park and Watt, and the papers relating to it were laid before the House of Commons. After a short discussion the subject was dropped, but during the interim such decisive remonstrances had passed from our government to that of Naples that the prisoners were unconditionally liberated, the *Cagliari* and her crew handed over

to the British government, and £300,000 paid by the Neapolitan government in the shape of compensation.

During this session there was little demand made for the repeal of particular duties, with the exception of the excise duty on paper, a subject which Mr. Milner Gibson had urged during several previous sessions, and which he now brought forward on the 21st of June in a resolution, which was modified into a statement —"That the maintenance of the excise on paper as a permanent source of revenue would be impolitic." This passed without a division, and the final abrogation of the tax made dependent on time and convenience.

After the commencement of the session the great question of parliamentary reform was introduced on the 28th of February by Mr Disraeli, the chancellor of the exchequer. So profound had been the concealment of Lord Derby's government on the nature and amount of this promised reform, that all kinds of expectations had been formed concerning it. Mr. Disraeli stated that it was not proposed to alter the limits of the franchise, but to introduce a new kind into boroughs founded on personal property. He also announced that the boundaries of boroughs were to be re-arranged to suit the altered circumstances of the times, and how the voters were to be registered and their votes taken by this plan, which he detailed in all its particulars.

After a debate of several nights the house proceeded to a division, when for the second reading there were 291 votes, and against it 330, thus showing a majority of 39 against the government. In consequence of this indication of want of confidence it was announced that parliament would be dissolved, and little business was transacted by the government except such as was of immediate urgency, the chief measure being the Indian loan bill, which passed the third reading. On the 19th of April parliament was prorogued by commission.

The newly elected parliament met at Westminster on the 31st of May, and Mr. Evelyn Denison was re-elected speaker. The session was opened by her majesty in person, and the royal speech announced that war had been declared between France and Sardinia on one side, and Austria on the other, but that it was intended to maintain between them a strict and impartial neutrality. The King of the Two Sicilies having announced the death of the king his father, and his own accession, it was thought fit, in concert with the Emperor of the French, to renew diplomatic intercourse with the court of Naples, which had been suspended during the late reign. The address, after some debate, was unanimously passed in the Lords, but very different was its fate in the House of Commons. There an amendment was moved by the Marquis of Hartington, and seconded by Mr. Hanbury, representing to the queen that the confidence of the house was not reposed in her majesty's present advisers. In moving his amendment, the marquis severely criticized the principal measures proposed by the government, and especially condemned the way in which they had received the sentence of the house upon their reform bill, by dissolving the parliament when its advice was most needed. Lord Palmerston and Mr. John Bright forcibly supported the amendment, for which, on a division of the house, there was a majority of 323 against 310. This was decisive of the fate of the ministry, which immediately resigned office, and the task of forming a new administration was intrusted to Lord Palmerston.

The defences of the country by sea and land formed the great subject of public solicitude. The necessity of effectual means, not for aggression but defence, was pointed out on the 5th of July in the House of Lords by the venerable Lord Lyndhurst, in a speech which produced a deep impression over the whole country The discussion of this subject naturally occasioned a statement of our naval defences, which was given by Lord Clarence Paget, the new secretary to the admiralty; and it appeared that we were well provided with maritime defences, while we also possessed the means of largely augmenting our naval forces. While this account of our naval defences, and the means of their augmentation, was so gratifying, our land protection in the event of invasion was not quite so satisfactory. Still our means of resistance in the event of a hostile landing had not been overlooked. The propriety of permitting the formation of volunteer rifle corps, as well as of artillery corps and companies in maritime towns where there were forts and batteries, had been duly considered by the government, and a circular was issued from the war office on the 12th of May to the different counties sanctioning their formation. The surmise of a French invasion, as in the reign of George III., armed our population for the defence of their shores and their homes, and the whole land was alive with trumpeting and drilling.

While the drilling of the corps was going on, several noblemen and gentlemen, warm supporters of the movement, instituted in November, 1859, a National Rifle Association, for "encouraging volunteer rifle corps, and promoting rifle shooting throughout the kingdom." The president of the association was Mr. Sidney Herbert, the secretary of state for war, its

patron was the prince consort, and her majesty identified herself with the movement by founding a prize of £250, to be annually competed for by volunteers. In July of the following year the first great competition was opened; and to stimulate ardour by increasing the difficulties of such a tournament, the lists were thrown open to all comers, whether British or foreign, whether soldiers or civilians. To stimulate the competitors, and give additional grandeur and importance to the occasion, the queen announced her intention of opening the proceedings by firing the first shot. On the day appointed the competition was held on Wimbledon Common, where part of the ground was studded with numerous targets affording safe ranges from 200 to 1000 yards; and after the preliminary ceremonies had been finished her majesty fired the first shot by pulling a string attached to the trigger of a rifle, which had been adjusted to the centre of a target, at the distance of 400 yards. The work then commenced in earnest, and for six successive days Wimbledon Common rang incessantly with the crack of rifles. Although the number of English competitors was limited, in consequence of the short practice they had enjoyed, they showed that for steady accurate rifle-shooting their countrymen possessed qualities which few other nations could equal Their weapons also, the Whitworth and Enfield rifle, were proved so superior, as to astonish the seventeen Swiss competitors who were supplied with them, and who declared that they had never before handled such superior arms. They were equally amazed at the great length of the shooting ranges of 900 and 1000 yards, being accustomed in their own country to ranges of only 200 yards.

But besides such competitions for the acquirement of individual skill in shooting, reviews were held for the purpose of accustoming the volunteers to act in concert as well in organized masses, and the first of these displays was in Hyde Park, before her majesty, soon after the institution had commenced. As this was exclusively an exhibition of English companies, whose appearance and evolutions excited general commendation, the ardour of the Scottish volunteers was stirred, and they too expressed their wish to be reviewed before the queen on one of her periodical visits to the northern portion of her empire. Their desire being graciously granted, and the 7th of August, 1860, appointed for the day of holding the review at Edinburgh, there was such a mustering of visitors to that ancient capital, that nothing like it had ever before been witnessed. From every part of the land, however obscure or remote, most of its population who could travel went Edinburgh-ward, and of the 30,000 Scottish volunteers distributed over the whole kingdom, nearly 20,000 repaired to the review. The ground itself on which the review was held was admirably adapted for such a purpose, being a spacious level expanse extending from the wall of Holyrood Palace to the eastern extremity of the park; on the northern side, directly facing Arthur's Seat, was a spacious gallery filled with the Scottish nobility and most distinguished gentry, and upon the ground near to the royal standard was the queen on horseback, accompanied by the members of the royal family.

Parliament met on the 24th of January, 1860, a period somewhat earlier than was usual. The affairs of Italy obtained for the present an engrossing attention on the part of our government, and the share of France in these continental transactions was the subject of some suspicion. Nor did the doubtful proceedings of the French emperor tend to reassure the public confidence of Europe. He had done much, indeed, for Italian liberation, and established it by his victories over the Austrians, but for this it was thought that he was more than repaid by the cession of Savoy and Nice.

But while the important subject of the liberation of Italy, and the terms on which it was to be effected, was the chief question of discussion in the British parliament, events were occurring in rapid succession upon the Continent by which every doubt was to be solved. By the treaty of Villafranca between France and Austria, near the close of 1859, it was agreed that a congress of the European powers should be invited for the settlement of the affairs of Italy, but such was the discordance of the views entertained on the terms of settlement that the congress never met. France and Austria, thus left to themselves, endeavoured to conclude the controversy by mutual treaty; but the proposals of France, which chiefly implied the cession of Parma and Modena to Sardinia, brought the conference of the two powers to a pause. Central Italy, however, was resolute to be united to Sardinia, and the people of Tuscany and Æmilia having been called on the 12th of March to vote by ballot whether they should form a separate kingdom or be annexed to Sardinia, they agreed by an immense majority to the latter alternative. In the meantime, however, the project had been brought forward by annexing Savoy and Nice to France as a compensation to the latter power for the union of Central Italy to Piedmont. Switzerland, which was to be the chief sufferer, as it had received nothing in the form of an equivalent, appealed against the change as a violation of her own frontier, guaranteed both by ancient and modern treaties. But these appeals were in vain, and the question of the annexation of Savoy and Nice

was handed over to the suffrage of the inhabitants, who transferred themselves to the government of France, apparently by overwhelming majorities. This was on the 22d and 23d of April, only a few weeks after the subject had been debated in the British parliament.

On the 10th of February the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the budget, which had been the subject of intense public anxiety. The hope had been general that this year, 1860, would be signalized by a reduction of the taxes; but several causes, the chief of which was the expedition to China, were now to disappoint this expectation. By the statement of Mr Gladstone it appeared that in the ensuing year there would be an apparent deficit in the revenue amounting to £9,400,000, which must be provided for, irrespective of the remission of taxation. What the government asked was that the war duties on tea and sugar, instead of being reduced, according to the general expectation, should remain as they then stood for fifteen months. There was then the commercial treaty pending with France, which he recommended the house to adopt, although, in the first instance, it would occasion a loss to the revenue of £1,100,000 And how were the deficiencies of nearly nine and a half millions to be supplied? An additional shilling income-tax would do it at once. After a long statement of figures, detailing the reductions of duties that could be made upon articles of common use and consumption by this expedient, the chancellor stated—"There will be a relief from indirect taxation of about £4,000,000. Out of that £1,000,000 remitted on the paper duty will go directly to stimulate the demand for rural labour. £1,800,000, or the greater part of £2,000,000 under the French treaty, will in every instance strike at differential duties, and will be the means of removing from the tariff its greatest, perhaps its only remaining deformities. After the adoption of these changes nothing whatever in the nature of protective or differential duties would remain, unless that name was applied to the small charges which would be levied upon timber and corn, amounting in general perhaps to about three per cent. With that limited exception there would be a final disappearance of all protective and differential duties, and the consumer would know that every shilling he paid would go to the revenue, and not to the domestic as against the foreign producer."

On taking the comprehensive plan of Mr. Gladstone into detail, it was found that it contained four leading subjects, each of which demanded a separate discussion. The first of these was a liberal remission of the wine duties to promote important reciprocal concessions from France, and as a complement to this reduction, he proposed to give additional facilities for the consumption of wine by licensing the sale of it at refreshment houses. Notwithstanding a keen opposition the bill passed the second reading by a large majority, and became law. The next subject of the budget to be introduced was the clearance of our own tariff from a large proportion of the remaining import duties which the preceding measures of free-trade had spared; and although some opposition was offered against the removal of the last remains of the protective system, it was but slight, and the reductions were agreed to Upon the accession to the income-tax there was little discussion, and an increase in the rate to tenpence in the pound for one year was passed.

But of all the proposed financial changes, the repeal of the paper duty was regarded as the most obnoxious, and on the second reading of the bill by Mr. Gladstone for the repeal of this duty the opposition of the Conservative party was both strong and general. The bill passed its third reading in the House of Commons, but a still greater amount of hostility awaited it in the House of Lords; and at the first reading, not only was the repeal of the paper duty denounced, but the whole financial policy of the government. The second reading was moved by Lord Granville, to whom Lord Lyndhurst replied; and the Earl of Derby attacked the financial policy of Mr Gladstone in an able and sarcastic speech in which he said, "My lords, I say that this is not the policy of a statesman, it is the policy of a desperate and improvident gamester" On the votes being taken, there was a majority of 89 against the second reading of the bill

This rejection by the House of Lords of a bill involving the right of taxation which had been sanctioned by the Commons, was received throughout the country by one party with triumph, and by the other with dismay. It was an unusual deed of rejection, but although they had carried their daring so far, it was maintained by some high authorities that they had not exceeded their privileges. Apprehensive of the rupture which it might occasion between the two houses, Lord Palmerston proposed on the 25th of May that an inquiry should be made into the precedents for such a proceeding, and a committee appointed to ascertain and report upon the practice of parliament in reference to bills for imposing or repealing taxes. A committee consisting of twenty-one members was accordingly formed, and after they had delivered a historical statement of precedents applicable to the present case, Lord Palmerston, on the 6th of July, moved three resolutions which he recommended for the adoption of the house. The first was, "That the right of granting aids and supplies to the crown is in the commons alone as an essential part of

their constitution; and the limitation of all such grants, as to the matter, manner, measure, and time, is only in them." The second resolution was, "That although the lords have exercised the power of rejecting bills of several descriptions relating to taxation by negativing the whole, yet the exercise of that power by them has not been frequent, and is justly regarded by this house with peculiar jealousy, as affecting the right of the commons to grant the supplies and to provide the ways and means for the service of the year." The third was, "That, to guard for the future against an undue exercise of that power of the lords, and to secure to the commons their rightful control over taxation and supply, this house has in its own hands the power so to impose and remit taxes, and to frame bills of supply, that the right of the commons as to the matter, manner, measure, and time may be maintained inviolate." The repeal of the excise duty on paper was hopeless, however;—with the House of Lords and nearly half the House of Commons thus against him, the only resource of Mr. Gladstone was to adjust the customs duty on paper so as to accord with the stipulations of the French treaty, and he proposed, and afterwards carried resolutions to reduce the import duties on printed books, papers, paper-hangings, pasteboard, prints, drawings, &c.

Notwithstanding the eager anticipations of 1860, as the year of triumph for parliamentary reform, the arrival of the period was accompanied with such apathy upon the subject, that Lord John Russell in stating the particulars of the plan, which he did on the 1st of March, was heard with discouraging indifference. The limited character of the proposed concessions was complained of by the Liberal party, and when the bill reached its second reading, on the 19th of March, the question was delayed by successive adjournments until the 3d of May, when it was read a second time. Repeated adjournments and the general lukewarmness on the proposed measures so disheartened the government, that Lord John Russell announced its resolution to throw up the bill.

The session, which had been one of great labour, was closed on the 28th of August.

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1861, 1862.

VICTORIA.

Political condition of the country at the commencement of 1861—Proceedings in parliament—Change effected in the bankruptcy and insolvency laws—Bill introduced for the abolition of church-rates—It is defeated by the casting vote of the speaker—Introduction of the budget—Abolition of the paper duty—Favourable close to the financial arrangements—Claims on behalf of the volunteer corps—Italian affairs—Successes of Garibaldi—Victor Emmanuel elected and proclaimed King of Italy—Question in the House of Lords respecting the French occupation of Rome—Death of Count Cavour—War between the Northern and Southern States of America—Attempts of the Southern States to interest France and Britain in their behalf—Envoys sent to Europe for the purpose—Their capture in a neutral port and under the British flag—Affair of the *Trent*—Preparations for war with the United States—Death of Prince Albert—His character—Opening of the session of 1862—Chief subjects of concern in both Houses of Parliament—National education—Bill for the abolition of church-rates lost by a majority of *one*—Rejection of a bill for the revision of the liturgy and the acts of uniformity—Marriages of affinity bill brought forward and defeated—The war in America—The blockade of the Southern States ports—Debate upon the law of nations in reference to the maritime rights of neutral powers—Condemnation of General Butler's scandalous proclamation at New Orleans—Proposal for the mediation of Britain between the contending American states—The failure of our cotton supplies from America—Increasing distress among our manufacturing districts—A temporary relaxation in the poor law allowed to meet the difficulty—Yearly statement of the national finances by the chancellor of the exchequer—Causes of deficiency in the revenue—Agreement of the Northern States of America with Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade.

DEFICIENCY in the harvest of 1860 might have been productive of some very serious political discontent had not the operation of free-trade acted as a corrective. The importations of grain from the Continent and America having kept the price of food within its ordinary bounds, there was little manifestation of political dissatisfaction. Events also were going on abroad sufficient to occupy public attention. Of these, the chief were the war in Italy, and afterwards the tremendous conflict in the United States of America, by which their union was placed in jeopardy.

The parliament of 1861 was opened on the 5th of February by her majesty, whose speech was of a congratulatory character. One of the first steps adopted by government was to rectify the slow progress of public business and the uncertainty and irregularity of parliamentary proceedings. The most important of the new arrangements were the substitution of Thursday for Friday as a government night, and the adoption of Tuesday as a supply night, and by the last of these alterations the business of parliament at the close of the session was found to have been considerably accelerated.

Towards the close of the preceding session a scheme had been introduced for the reform and consolidation of the bankruptcy and insolvency laws, which had been prepared with great care by the attorney-general, and was regarded with favour by the House of Commons. Sir Richard Bethell now presented an altered bill, which he hoped would be still more favourably regarded than its predecessor. Its principal objects were to abolish the confusion which existed in bankruptcy between the judicial and administrative functions of the law, to restore to the creditors in bankruptcy the power of settling their own affairs, and to moderate the great expense of proceedings in bankruptcy. The bill was passed through the different stages by the House of Commons with very little alteration. It was in the upper house that its chief difficulties had to be encountered, and it was referred to a select committee chiefly composed of the law lords, by whom several important changes were introduced into it. The chief of these related to the clause for the appointment of a chief judge in bankruptcy, which was altogether expunged. The changes made in the bill, indeed, were so many and important, that it was doubted if the government would persevere with it But a compromise was effected by the abandonment of the demand for appointing a chief judge; and in a very reduced form, to save it from total extinction, the bill was reintroduced into the House of Lords on the 27th of July, where it was passed, and afterwards confirmed by the royal assent.

The only successful bill of the session for altering the representative system was a proposal of government brought in by Sir George Lewis, the home secretary, for the assignment of the seats of Sudbury and St. Albans, which had been disfranchised in former years, to other places. Four seats had thus been left vacant, and two were devoted to the West Riding, which was divided into two parts in order to form another constituency, while of the two remaining seats one was given to Birkenhead and one to Chelsea and Kensington.

Connected with the subject of parliamentary elections was a new experiment which, though limited in its application, was still of an important character. It was a bill introduced to facilitate elections for the universities by permitting voting papers to be used and sent by post.

The abolition of church-rates, a question of keen and angry debate both in parliament and throughout the country, was introduced on the 27th of February by Sir John Trelawney, who brought in his often-defeated bill for their extinction. The perplexity which the subject occasioned was indicated when the votes were taken, as the number 274 was against the bill, while exactly the same amount was in its favour. This equality required the casting-vote of the speaker, and in giving it he stated that he thought that the general opinion of the house was in favour of some settlement of the question different from that which was contained in the bill, and he should but discharge his duty by leaving it to the future and deliberate determination of the house whether a change in the law should be made, if the house should think right so to do, rather than by taking upon himself the responsibility of that change He, therefore, gave his voice with the "noes," thus the bill was lost.

The production of the annual budget for the year was awaited with great anxiety, and it was laid before the House of Commons by the chancellor of the exchequer on the 15th of April. Mr. Gladstone stated that while the expenditure estimated and provided for was £73,664,000, the actual amount was £72,842,000, being less than the estimated expenditure by £822,000. After explaining by a long statement of figures the causes of this falling off, he proceeded to give an estimate of the finances of the year 1861–62 The total expenditure for the year he estimated in round numbers at £70,000,000, while the revenue he calculated would be £71,823,000, assuming the continuance of the tea and sugar duties and an income-tax. As government could not be allowed to keep in hand this surplus revenue, they proposed to apply a portion to the remission of taxation by the reduction of the tenth penny of the income-tax, and the repeal of the paper-duty. These taxes remaining as they already stand, there would be a balance of revenue to the amount of £1,923.000. one penny taken off the income-tax would deduct from the revenue £850,000, and the repeal of the paper duty £665,000, making altogether £1,515,000, so that there would still remain a moderate surplus of £408,000. The house having gone into committee, the resolution of continuing the income-tax was agreed to without a division. The next step was to move the continuance of the tea and sugar duties until the 1st of July, 1862, and this was carried in favour of the government by a majority of 18. The ques-

tion of the paper-duty succeeded; but at this point Mr. Gladstone announced his intention of including all the chief financial propositions of the budget in a single bill, instead of dividing them into several distinct bills. On the bill passing through committee the repeal of the paper-tax was the principal difficulty, and all the old arguments which had hitherto opposed it were revived. At the close of the debate there were found in favour of the clause 296, and against 281, thus giving for the government a majority of 15, and the bill afterwards passed its second reading in the Lords without opposition.

The changes introduced into military and naval warfare could not be regarded by Great Britain with indifference, and Sir John Pakington, on the 31st of May, called the attention of the House of Commons to the fact that the French were making portentous strides in the building of armour-clad ships.

In describing the *materiel* of the army, Mr. T. G. Baring gave an interesting statement on the subject of Armstrong guns, of which the estimates proposed to supply 1057 of various calibre. After an able address by Lord Palmerston all the demands of government regarding the number and cost of the army were finally adopted.

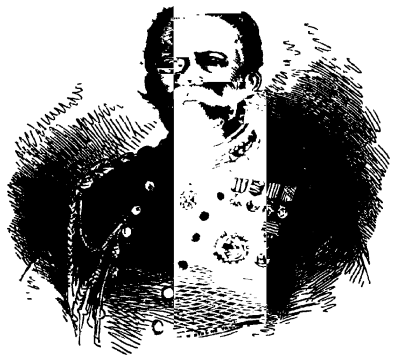
The claims of the volunteer corps to further assistance from government were then brought forward by Lord Elcho, a zealous leader and patron of the institution He stated that the aid which it received amounted to 5*s* per head; but could it not, he asked, be raised to 20*s*. or 25*s*., either in money or in kind? Mr. T. G. Baring declared that the government did not dispute the value of the volunteer force, but if a money allowance were to be given at so much a head, not only the feeling and independence of the volunteers might be affected, but it would lead to an inference on the part of foreign nations that the movement was not wholly the offspring of public spirit. But something might be done towards drill instruction. and assistance might be given in providing drill sergeants. The government had taken the case into consideration, and were prepared to do something in that shape. After this explanation the vote for the volunteer force, amounting to £133,276, was agreed to.

The affairs of Italy continued to excite the public sympathy, and form the subject of parliamentary debate. Weary of the tyranny of Francis II., who trod in the despotic steps of his father Ferdinand II, the Sicilians broke into revolt, and the insurrection was afterwards headed by Garibaldi, who joined it at the head of 2000 followers. The success of this hero seemed to revive the wonders of romance, and his little army, disciplined in his own fashion and animated with his spirit, were victorious over regular troops and the principles of modern warfare. After a series of victories, by which Palermo was taken and the royalist troops driven from the island, Garibaldi conceived the daring attempt of crossing from Sicily and carrying the war of Italian liberty into the Neapolitan mainland; and this he effected with his wonted courage and usual success. Having crossed the straits, notwithstanding every precaution of the royalists, he made himself master of the town of Reggio, and struck such terror by his successful advance upon the city of Naples that the supporters of the king took to flight, and finally Francis himself, universally deserted, was fain to leave his capital and embark in a steamer for Gaeta. The Bourbon dynasty was deposed, and the troops

GARIBALDI.
From a photograph by Mauli.

of Garibaldi entered the capital with scarcely the loss of a man. The insurrectionary spirit had also penetrated into the Papal States, and General Lamoricière, the commander of the pontifical army, was utterly defeated by Cialdini, the Piedmontese general, who had been sent to aid the insurrection. Thus the pope's only army was annihilated, little more remained in his possession but the city of Rome, and the whole of Italy, with the exception of Venetia, was free. At the invitation of Garibaldi, King Victor Emmanuel entered the Neapolitan territories, and the rule of the Two Sicilies were transferred into his hands by the patriot hero, who hailed his majesty by the comprehensive title of "King of Italy." At the beginning of November, 1860, the question whether Italy should be one and indivisible, with Victor Emmanuel as constitutional king, was submitted to the vote of the Neapolitan people, and almost unanimously they decreed in the affirmative. The king would have heaped honours and emoluments on the hero who had won for him the

Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which the latter disinterestedly refused, and retired to his island home of Caprera, like Cincinnatus returning to the plough after a glorious dictatorship. A effectually guided his master, the sovereign of the small territory of Piedmont, to become King of Italy, and afterwards confirmed him in that great but perilous elevation.



VICTOR EMMANUEL II
From a photograph.

COUNT CAVOUR.
From a photograph by Pierson, Paris

desultory guerilla warfare was still kept up in behalf of the ex-king, who had retired to Gaeta, but that fortress being invested by land and sea, and finding all further resistance hopeless, Francis II and his queen embarked on board the French steamer, and took up their abode at Rome. Although "United Italy" was now recognized as a kingdom by the principal courts of Europe, its unity was still incomplete. Rome, which was sought as the natural capital of the kingdom, was claimed by the pope as the unalienable property of the church, and to make his pretensions good the city was garrisoned by a strong French force, which Victor Emmanuel was obliged to respect, as an attempt to dislodge them would have brought him into hostile collision with his patron, Napoleon III, who had proclaimed himself the defender of the rights of the pontificate.

It was at this period, and under these circumstances, that the condition of Italy was once more the subject of discussion in the British parliament, and the reasons were stated for our government's non-interference about the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome. Government had not disguised their opinion that these troops should be withdrawn, but at the same time had thought that it was not fit or becoming for a Protestant state to take the initiative in the matter, other speakers followed, who expressed similar sentiments in regard to the French occupation of Rome. Count Cavour died on the 6th of June at Turin. That illustrious statesman, the prime minister of Victor Emmanuel, was the profound calculating head, as Garibaldi was the right arm of the movement, and by his wise counsels he

The war of Italian liberation had scarcely attained this crisis when public attention was transferred to the tremendous conflict which had commenced between the Northern and Southern States of America, which for the time rent their Union asunder and threatened to make the separation perpetual. The causes of this mutual antagonism had continued long, and were of an irritating character The Southern States depended upon the production of raw materials, cotton, sugar, and tobacco, and had no manufactures. The Northern, on the contrary, applied wholly to manufactures, which constituted the spring of their rapidly increasing greatness. Desirous of profiting by these to the utmost the Northern States imposed heavy protective duties upon imported manufactures, so that while the South was obliged to pay enhanced prices for the most necessary articles, it could not exchange its exports for European products as would have been the case had a free-trade been established. But the Northern States had an equally irritating cause of complaint against the Southern. The produce of the latter was raised by negro cultivation, so that slavery among them was regarded not merely as a stern necessity but a natural and domestic institution, and a man's wealth and means of living were estimated by the number of African slaves who worked upon his farm or plantation. But how could this accord with the boasted liberty and free institutions of republican America? The men of the North were stung by the question, and the growing abhorrence of slavery among the nations of Europe was always making the incon-

sistency more glaring. At length the quarrel came to a height by the election of Mr. Lincoln as president, when not a single Southern State voted for him, nor a single Northern State against him. This election by the North decided the question, and hopeless of regaining their lost influence the Southern States resolved on a measure of self-preservation, to secede from the Union and form a confederation for themselves.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
From a photograph.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.
From a photograph published by E & H. T Anthony, New York

The way was led by South Carolina, which seceded from the Union on the 20th of December, 1860, and in five months ten other states followed the example, with Mr. Jefferson Davis as president of the new Confederacy. The boldness and danger of such a step announced the feeling of the South either that no other remedy remained, or that the evil was still worse than the hazard of such a remedy. With a population of 8,500,000 of whites, and with revenues far inferior to their rivals, they had to confront nearly 20,000,000 of antagonists, and about 4,000,000 of their own slaves who were likely to hail the invaders as liberators, and join them when the opportunity offered. It was no wonder, therefore, that even with the blot of slavery upon their honour the general sympathy of Europe at first went with them in a struggle which they so bravely maintained to the last.

The war was commenced by the Southern States, and the chief act was the capture of Fort Sumter. This beginning of hostilities was succeeded by proclamations enforcing neutrality both on the part of England and France, although both the Southern and Northern States appealed to Britain as their mother country for aid. The first successes were on the side of the men of the South, now distinguished by the name of Confederates, who fought with an energy worthy of the best of causes; but numbers and resources, which usually decide the result of modern scientific warfare, was decidedly against them, and it was thought must in the end prevail. An event, however, occurred during the course of this year, which threatened to destroy our neutrality, and compel us, however unwillingly, to take part in the transatlantic conflict. The *Trent*, a packet steamship belonging to the British Mail Steamship Company, which plied from Vera Cruz to Havannah, and thence to St. Thomas', where another steamer received her passengers and mails, and conveyed them to England, had in the usual course of her voyage touched at Havannah in the beginning of November to take in passengers and letters. Of those who there embarked in the *Trent* were four American gentlemen, Messrs. Slidell, Mason, Eustes, and M'Farland, who had paid their passage money for the whole route from Havannah to Southampton, Mr. Slidell being accompanied by his wife and two daughters. Something, however, very different from a pleasure trip to Europe was the object of the visit, for Mr. Slidell and Mr. Mason were sent by the Confederate States as their envoys, to excite the sympathy of these countries in behalf of the secession, but this was their own private business, and they sailed as ordinary passengers from a neutral port and in a neutral ship. The object of their mission, however, had been discovered by the Federal party, and precautions taken to baffle it. On entering the Old Bahama Channel the *Trent* observed a ship lying stationary and showing no flags; but on nearing the stranger the latter fired a shotted gun across the course of the *Trent*, and hoisted the flag of the United States at her peak; a second time the *Trent* hoisted the British flag, and continued on her course, until a shell was fired from the other ship which burst across her bows. Immediately

after three boats full of armed men put off from the hostile vessel, which proved to be the United States war steamer *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Wilkes, and boarded the *Trent*. A list of her passengers was demanded, and when this was refused and a protest made against such violence, the lieutenant of the boarding party declared his knowledge that Slidell, Mason, Eustes, and M'Farland were on board, and that his orders were to carry them off prisoners to the *San Jacinto*. After much indignant remonstrance by the British commander of the *Trent* against this violation of national law, which he denounced as an act of piracy, and the resolution expressed by the four passengers that they would not leave the ship unless compelled by actual force, the American lieutenant summoned from his boats a crew against which resistance would have been madness, and the passengers were carried off to the hostile ship.

Their liberation was instantly demanded by our government, and when the Northern States refused, a war between them and the mother country seemed inevitable, and this probable result was only prevented at the last moment by the relenting of the Federal States. They consented to set their prisoners at liberty by placing them on board a British ship of war, in which they safely arrived in England.

This year, hitherto so fair and tranquil, closed in a mournful darkness which settled upon the palace, and threw its shadow over the entire kingdom. On the 15th December, and at the hour of midnight, the heart-sinking tones of the great bell of St. Paul's announced that His Royal Highness Albert, the Prince Consort, had passed away from the earth, while the lament of the whole nation proclaimed the greatness of the calamity and the worth of the deceased. Time, which so obscures the lustre of departed kings and princes, or at least alleviates the general sorrow for their loss, has in this instance proved ineffectual; for with every year his worth is better understood and his loss more acutely felt. Young, a foreigner, and married to the sovereign of the realm, Prince Albert had the discretion, at the outset of his career, to disarm the national jealousy to which his position would expose him if he took any ostensible share in public business; "and content with being the consort and confidential adviser of a female sovereign," he was satisfied with the good which he had the means of diffusing, without seeking to be recognized as its originator and active agent. The same obstructions did not oppose him as the patron of art and science; and in these, his understanding being very highly cultivated, and his masterly taste appreciated, he was enabled to advance their progress in a manner more effectual than could have been employed by the use of mere wealth, however great, or than by the influence of mere station, however exalted. In this way the true seat of his regal dominion was the wondrous glass palace of 1851—that great exhibition of the art and industry of the world which he created, organized, and completed, and which has since so greatly tended to improve the comfort of every individual, and multiply the attractions of every home. While such was the tenor of his public life, the virtues of his personal character as a husband, a father, a master, an adviser, a friend, had changed the island jealousy of our people into such love and confidence that in his presence every party distinction was silent, while all classes were influenced by the example of his worth.

While the death of Prince Albert was lamented as a national bereavement, the sorrow of our widowed queen was too sacred as well as too deep for description, and under a feeling of utter prostration she retired from public affairs, so that the parliament was opened and the royal speech delivered by deputy.

On proceeding to business the first subject of discussion was that of national education, in connection with a new minute of the privy-council. The ministers who represented the education department were Earl Granville for the House of Lords and Mr. Lowe for the Commons, by whom the subject was introduced on the 13th of February. The subject was resumed in the House of Lords on the 4th of March, when the Bishop of Oxford severely criticized the revised code, and presented a number of petitions against it. He was answered by the Duke of Argyll. The subject occupied a considerable portion of the session, and the changes that were proposed were intended to suit the prejudices of every class of objectors; but this plan of national education had the usual fate of attempts to please all alike. England had now advanced so far in its maturity, and sects and opinions on the training of the young had become so numerous and contradictory, that a uniform plan of teaching seemed to have no chance of success.

In the ecclesiastical affairs which were discussed in parliament during this session the most important was the bill for the abolition of church-rates. It was brought in by Sir John Trelawney. On a division of the house there were 286 for the second reading and 287 against it, so that the bill was lost by a majority of *one*. Another unsuccessful attempt on the subject of church-rates during this session was made by Mr. Newdegate, by his introduction of a bill to authorize the commutation of the rates for a rent-charge to be levied on proprietors of land.

The vexatious question of marriages of affinity,

which had so often been brought before parliament, was at an early part of the session introduced by Mr. Monckton Milnes, in a bill to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister; but no new arguments were advanced to enforce it, while it had increased in unpopularity both with parliament and the country. The principal discussion took place on the 19th of February. The bill was lost, there being a majority of 148 votes to 116 for it.

The annual motion against the endowment of Maynooth College was this year repeated, but met with harsher treatment than ever, as it was rejected by a large majority without a debate.

Public attention was still earnestly directed to the war in America, and the difficulties which might arise to affect our determined neutrality between the belligerents. The strict blockade established by the Northern States upon the ports of the south involved questions of international policy, and one of our chief industries was threatened with ruin because of the stoppage of our supplies of cotton from the Southern States. On the 11th of February the Earl of Carnarvon called the attention of the House of Lords to the detention in the prisons of the United States of British subjects who were only generally and not specifically charged with political offences, and who were refused an inquiry unless they consented to take an oath of allegiance to the United States government. Earl Russell replied that the question was one of constitutional law; that the president had the power to suspend the *habeas corpus*, and to arrest persons on suspicion, as we had done in Ireland during the disturbances of 1848. In the following month the subject of the validity of the blockade was brought before both Houses of Parliament, and in the House of Commons the question was decided in favour of its legality, chiefly in consequence of the able representations of the solicitor-general. In the House of Lords Lord Campbell maintained that the blockade was ineffective, and one which a great commercial nation like England was not bound to respect. Lord Russell replied that the blockade had been proclaimed by sovereign authority in the person of the president of the United States, and that we ourselves had proclaimed a blockade of a coast not much inferior in extent. The next incident connected with the American war which employed the attention of parliament was the infamous proclamation of General Butler, commandant of New Orleans, who ordered that women in that city who insulted the flag of the United States by showing contempt to its officers and soldiers should be regarded as prostitutes, and treated as such. This shameful decree excited general horror and indignation, and occasioned an inquiry in both Houses of Parliament. It was represented, however, that though both England and France would gladly take a favourable opportunity for interposition, the civil war was at present so violent that any attempt at interference would be worse than useless, and would only serve to aggravate its atrocities.

While these repeated inquiries and proposals for intervention or mediation were going on, and the struggle between the opposing states was watched with anxious interest, the attention of parliament was called to the condition of the operatives in our manufacturing districts, and to the probability that their wants would be fearfully aggravated as winter approached by the stoppage of the greater number of our cotton mills, and the disemployment of many thousands of the hands, who would be thrown upon the resources of national charity. It was therefore proposed to relax the operation of the poor-law in the suffering districts, and in both houses of parliament reference was made to the admirable and law-abiding patience with which the working people in these districts endured their privations, and how anxious they were to work rather than to receive charitable aid. As the session drew to a close it became obvious that the usual operations of the poor-law were insufficient to provide against the increasing destitution, and the ministry commissioned Mr. C. Villiers, president of the poor-law board, to adopt a system of greater latitude. He accordingly brought in a bill on the 22d of July, enabling the board of guardians in certain counties to meet demands for extraordinary relief. The measure was only temporary and precautionary, and was justified by the facts that in the principal towns of Lancashire the number of persons dependent on the rates was no criterion of the number destitute of employment. The deposits in the savings banks there were also nearly exhausted, and there was no prospect of the diminution of the great distress except by a revival of trade. It was therefore proposed by the bill to give vitality to the principle of a "rate in aid," in cases of local distress, by enabling a district to claim a contribution from the common fund of the union, or under certain circumstances one union might call for a contribution from other unions in the country. It was also proposed to limit the operation of the bill to the 1st of March, 1863. On the second reading some important modifications were introduced in committee, one being that the distressed unions might raise money by loan as well as by means of claiming a rate in aid, and after these alterations the measure was passed.

In his statement of the national finances the chancellor of the exchequer, while explaining the

deficiency as compared with the former year, reminded the house that they had parted with three important sources of revenue, by which we had lost, at least, £2,637,000. We had likewise to encounter the effects of the American blockade and a deficient harvest, which would occasion a further decline in our revenue. The expenditure for the coming year, 1862–63, he estimated at £70,040,000, and the revenue at £70,190,000, leaving a surplus of £150,000, and as there was so close a balance between them, he wished to know whether any new taxes should be imposed. His proposal was to modify the wine duties, and to commute the hop duty for a license on brewing. This year, however, the financial statements and plans of Mr. Gladstone underwent a hostile scrutiny in both houses, and it was not without an unwonted amount of opposition that his bill was a third time read and passed.

While the war in America had a tendency to create hostile jealousy between the Northern States and the mother country, a concession was granted by the former which showed that they could still cordially unite with us in behalf of enslaved and oppressed humanity. On the 20th of May Earl Russell laid upon the table of the House of Lords a copy of the treaty newly concluded between the North American States and this country for the suppression of the slave trade, by which extensive rights of search were accorded to the cruisers of both governments for its complete extinction. This agreement was heartily welcomed by the humane of every party.

Among the other proceedings of the session was the passing of a bill for the amendment of the highway law, which in former years had been proposed but withdrawn; and a bill to simplify titles and to facilitate and cheapen the conveyance of land—advantages which had been repeatedly sought, but in vain. Another important measure bearing upon the improvement and health of the metropolis was the Thames embankment bill, which was passed notwithstanding the complaints it occasioned of infringements on private property. Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 7th of August.

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1863, 1864.

VICTORIA.

State of the country at the commencement of the year 1863—Announcement of the marriage of the Prince of Wales—The budget for the year—Reduction on the income-tax and on the tea duty—Proposal to include charitable endowments in the assessment for income-tax—Motion to accommodate the income-tax to a lower scale of incomes—Foreign policy—Motion for interference on behalf of Poland—Diplomatic relations with Brazil, Japan, China, and Denmark—Misunderstanding between Britain and America—Attempts to relieve the distress of factory operatives by emigration—Operatives employed in public works—Dissenters' Burials Bill—Motion to relieve the clergy from entire assent to the Book of Common Prayer—The compulsory use of the burial service—Discussion on the Established Church in Ireland set aside by adjournment—Meeting of Parliament in 1864—Tide of Irish emigration—The budget—Prosperous condition of the country—Reduction on sugar duties—Fire insurances and income-tax—Demand for reduction of the malt-tax compromised by remission of the duty on malt used for feeding cattle—Bill for purchase of government annuities and grant of life assurances through savings' banks—The civil war in China—Hostilities in Japan—War with the Ashantees—Conflicts with natives in New Zealand—Complaint of North American government that Southern privateers were built in British dockyards—The Danish question—Revival of demand for parliamentary reform—The "Permissive Bill."

CONTRARY to general expectation, the American war showed few signs of coming to an end in the commencement of the year 1863; and the distress which it occasioned in the cotton manufacturing districts continued to be severely felt. Of course that emigration to the United States which had for some time previously helped to relieve the pressure of our labour market, suddenly ceased, and the depression of trade was so keenly felt in Lancashire and the neighbouring districts, that a public subscription was opened for the relief of the widely spread destitution. Above three-quarters of a million sterling was contributed to this fund, which even then was only just sufficient to supplement the regular poor-rate, and it was provided by the spontaneous benevolence of people all over the country, as well as in the colonies, while some additions were made, in the name of good-will, from France, and from America itself. The working people, even those who were suffering, preserved so admirable a temper, and displayed so much fortitude, that no political

difficulties arose, and the scheme of relief, which would otherwise have been hopeless, became comparatively easy. Meanwhile the general commercial prosperity of the country was maintained, and it was proposed to effect a further reduction in the taxes. The most conspicuous subject of the royal speech, which was read by the lord-chancellor at the opening of parliament on the 5th of February, was the announcement of her majesty's consent to the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Alexandra, daughter of Prince Christian of Denmark. The proposal to make an allowance to the prince suitable to his rank and dignity as heir-apparent was cordially endorsed by both houses, and a parliamentary grant of £40,000 a year to the prince and £10,000 a year to the princess was added to the resources of the Duchy of Cornwall, making a computed revenue of £110,000 per annum.

The expectations of those who advocated decreased taxation were directed to a diminution of the income-tax and of the duty on tea, and it was to these that Mr. Gladstone directed his attention. Retaining the minimum of £100 as the yearly income upon which the tax should fall, he proposed to reduce the rate on that income from £2, 10*s.* to £1, 10*s.* On incomes of £125 it was to be reduced from £3, 2*s.* 6*d.* to £2, 8*s* 9*d.*; on incomes of £150, from £5, 12*s.* 6*d.* to £3, 7*s.* 6*d.*, on incomes of £175, from £6, 11*s.* 3*d.* to £4, 6*s.* 3*d.*; an arrangement which tended to relieve the vast majority of tax-payers, although it still left the impost as an unequal burden, pressing far more heavily on people whose incomes, often precarious, were derived from professionable labour, or from avocations in which it required constant exertion to realize a maintenance, than on those who had inherited fortunes or estates, or who already enjoyed ample and fixed annuities. Still the general prosperity of the country, as shown by the statistics of the income-tax, was as gratifying as it was astonishing. In 1842 sevenpence in the pound on incomes above £150 was assessed upon £156,000,000 in Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland; in 1861 the amount assessed had reached £221,000,000. The accelerated rate of increase on the year was even still more remarkable. From 1842 to 1852 the increase had been six per cent. From 1853 to 1861 the income of the country had again increased by twenty per cent.; a result which Mr. Gladstone attributed to the vast development of mechanical power, and the consequent saving of human labour, and to the legislation which had been directed to setting free the industry and intelligence of the British people.

The reduction of the income-tax, and the decrease of a shilling a pound of the duty on tea, gave great satisfaction; but when Mr. Gladstone afterwards proposed to make clubs liable to the license duties payable by proprietors of hotels and coffee-houses, and to include the funds of charitable endowments in the assessment for income-tax, from which they had been exempted, the proposals met with strenuous opposition, while the latter aroused such powerful and violent antagonism as to threaten a change of ministry. On the 4th of May, when the case was to be formally laid before the committee of the house, the chancellor of the exchequer was requested to receive the largest and most influential deputation which had ever waited on a minister of state. It was headed by the Duke of Cambridge, and included the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Rochester, and Bath and Wells, several archdeacons and eminent clergymen, many members of both houses of parliament, and a crowd of gentlemen who attended as treasurers and secretaries of the principal charities in the metropolis. The Duke of Cambridge, as treasurer of Christ's Hospital, objected that the proposed tax upon the income of the charity would deprive it of £2000 per annum, and would therefore reduce by forty the number of boys in the school, besides affecting various affiliated institutions. The Archbishop of Canterbury, as president of the Corporation of Sons of the Clergy, pointed out that this institution maintained 1250 destitute and deserving persons connected with the church, not one of whose incomes amounted to £100 a year. Other members of the deputation followed with statements showing how various charitable efforts would be affected, and their means of usefulness diminished. The chancellor of the exchequer promised to give their statements due weight in the discussion of that day, and referred them to his coming speech, in which he would reply to their appeals. That speech was one of the most eloquent which had been heard in the house for many years. He condemned those spurious donations, and death-bed bequests, which were gifts of money at the expense of the community, and calculated that the exemption of charities from income-tax was a loss to the country of £250,000 a year. He classified these charities, and showed how lightly the tax would press upon them, explained the growing wealth of many of these institutions, and denounced the manner in which their funds were invested or misappropriated. The measure, which was encountered with signal opposition, was afterwards withdrawn, but attention was directed to investigation of some of the more prominent charities of the country.

A resolution submitted to the house by Mr. Hubbard, to distinguish between the products of invested property and those of industrial earnings

in the incidence of the income-tax, was opposed by Mr. Gladstone as impracticable and visionary, and was afterwards negatived. Another proposition, made by Mr. Roebuck, to divide incomes into three classes, viz.:—those derived from capital, trade, and labour respectively, was withdrawn.

During the session the attention of parliament was again and again directed to the foreign policy of the government, and among the most important discussions was that on the proposed intervention of England on behalf of the oppressed Poles against whom Russia, who had instituted a ruthless conscription in Poland, was declared to be employing measures which drove them to insurrection, and to be adopting the most revolting methods for suppressing these outbreaks. It was argued that England, as one of the contracting powers for the preservation of what remained of Polish liberty, was bound in honour to interfere, and Mr. Pope Hennessey moved for an address to the crown, representing that treaty engagements had not been fulfilled. After considerable debate it was decided that the treaty gave us no right of action, and that the proposed intervention would amount to a declaration of war. The interruption of our diplomatic relations with Brazil, and the outrages committed on some British subjects in Japan, occupied the attention of parliament, and it was stated that the hostility of the latter country, and the breach of the commercial treaties into which it had entered, were caused by the arrogant bearing and attempted domination of the Europeans who went there to trade or to explore the country. It was also represented that the treaties were extorted from the Japanese by intimidation, and that our interference in the Chinese Taeping insurrection, by sanctioning the employment of British officers in the service of the Chinese emperor against the insurgents, was likely to have an adverse influence on the opinions of the Japanese. This interposition was justified, however, by the plea that it was for the purpose of maintaining an established government with which we had interchanged treaties against a lawless anarchy which recognized no treaties whatever.

In the midst of all the exciting subjects of discussion, that of the continued conflict in America occupied the most prominent place, not only because our commercial and maritime interests were affected by the events of the war, but because of the close kinship which enlisted our sympathies for the combatants. The difficulties attending the continuance of the war were increasing rather than diminishing, and were complicated by the constant attempts of merchant vessels to run the blockade with cargoes of cotton for England. Among the numerous ships seized or destroyed were some legitimate traders, of which it could not be asserted that they were intended for trade with any Southern port, and their arrest was made the subject of remonstrance by this country. On the other hand, the Northern government in America bitterly represented that while Great Britain proposed complete neutrality, ships were built by private contract in our dockyards for the purpose of being used by the Southern States. The most notorious of these vessels was the *Alabama*, and it was declared that, like others of the same kind, it had not been built without the knowledge of our government. Our complaints of the capture of legitimate traders were counterbalanced by the charge that we supplied the Southern States with hostile vessels, and so helped indefinitely to prolong the war. Meanwhile the unemployed cotton operatives were gradually drifting into other industries, and the principal remedy advocated to relieve the still existing distress was a wide scheme of emigration; but the proposal was energetically opposed by Mr. Cobden, who pointed out that the emigration of the cotton workers would not improve their position, while no greater service could be done to the agricultural labourer, whose wages were 9*s.* or 10*s.* a week, than to send him to a country where his business was in great demand. It was shown that a wholesale emigration scheme would cost a large sum of money, since numbers of persons unable at once to find employment to which they were accustomed could not be disembarked in a new land and left to perish. The result was that the emigration scheme was abandoned and a former proposal to set a number of unemployed operatives to work on the improvements going on in various towns was adopted under a measure known as the Public Works Act, very much to the benefit of the workmen themselves and to the relief of the local rates in various districts.

Various ecclesiastical questions occupied the attention of parliament during the session. A bill was passed for allowing the inmates of prisons to be attended by ministers of their own religious persuasions—a measure which chiefly operated on behalf of Roman Catholic prisoners. The "Dissenters' Burials Bill," which was designed to obtain for nonconformists the right of accompanying their funerals with religious services performed by their own ministers, was less fortunate, as it was encountered by much opposition on various grounds, and though it had the advantage of the support of Mr. Gladstone, was rejected by a large majority. The bill for the abolition of church-rates—which in 1861, after having obtained an equality of votes, was defeated by the casting-vote of the speaker, and in 1862 was lost by a majority of one—was again brought

forward by Sir John Trelawney. The subject was a difficult one, though it was generally acknowledged that compulsory rates were a source of weakness rather than of strength to the church, especially as within the last thirty years members of the Church of England had raised such large sums for the building and restoration of their churches. On the other hand, it was alleged that the fate of the bill would decide the question whether the Church of England should remain established by law, or whether we should have a state establishment at all. After a short debate the bill was thrown out by 285 against 275 votes. Two subsequent attempts to pass a "Church-rate Commutation Bill," which would impose the burden upon the land, and a bill enabling persons to redeem the church-rates of their particular parishes in somewhat the same manner as the redemption of the land-tax is accomplished, were also defeated. A plan for increasing the value of small benefices by facilitating the means of transferring the patronage from the crown to the landowners was referred to a committee and afterwards passed with few alterations. A resolution for relaxing the Act of Uniformity in accordance with advancing opinion and inquiry on religious subjects was brought forward by Mr. Buxton in a speech of remarkable power and significance, intended to relieve the clergy from the pressure of tests which imposed a rigid interpretation of portions of the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles. A bill was also proposed by Mr. Edward Bouverie to exempt certain persons from the obligations imposed by the act of Charles II. requiring several classes of persons to declare conformity to the liturgy, and which prevented nonconformists, otherwise well qualified, from obtaining fellowships and other academical distinctions at the universities. Both these motions were unsuccessful. It was evident, however, that the question could not long remain unsettled, and Lord Ebury moved in the House of Lords for an alteration in the Act of Uniformity by diminishing the number of tests and repealing the clause which required from the clergy of the Church of England a declaration of their assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. This was lost, and his lordship then moved for an address to the crown praying for a commission to consider the subject of the compulsory use of the burial service of the Church of England. The motion was withdrawn on the representation that it should be referred to Convocation, and the Archbishop of Canterbury promised that it should be considered by the bench of bishops. The formidable question of the Established Church in Ireland, which had been slumbering since 1838, awoke this year into fresh activity in consequence of a motion by Mr. Dillwyn in the House of Commons for a select committee to inquire how the distribution of religious endowments in Ireland might be amended and how previous resolutions for the application of any surplus revenue from ecclesiastical endowments in Ireland had been carried into effect. After three separate discussions the subject was deferred by the adjournment of the house.

The marriage of the Prince of Wales to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark was the most stirring social and national event of the year. The ceremony took place at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on the 10th of March. On the 7th the young and beautiful princess arrived in London from Gravesend, whither the Prince of Wales had gone to meet her. The whole metropolis had arisen with one impulse to receive and welcome the royal bride and bridegroom, and through streets decorated with flags and flowers, beneath triumphal arches inscribed with words of loyal welcome, and amidst the hearty acclamations of the vast multitude which filled every window and every foot of standing room from roof to pavement, the procession wended its way from the railway station at London Bridge through the city, and so by the Strand, Pall Mall, Piccadilly, and Hyde Park to the station at Paddington, where the train was to convey the royal party to Windsor. Never within living memory had such a grand demonstration been witnessed, and it testified to the conviction of the English people that the alliance about to be contracted was one of true affection untrammelled by considerations of policy or of diplomacy. The marriage ceremony, which was characterized by a grand simplicity, was attended by the queen, who witnessed it from the royal pew; and the bride and bridegroom were attended at the altar by Prince Christian of Denmark, father of the bride, the Duke of Cambridge, the Crown-prince of Prussia, brother-in-law to the bridegroom, and husband of the Princess Royal of England, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, the royal princesses of England and Denmark, the lords and ladies of the royal households, and a number of distinguished peers and peeresses. The occasion was one of general rejoicing not unmingled with a feeling of deep and sincere sympathy for the royal mother and widowed queen who had come from her seclusion to witness the marriage of her son. After the ceremony the happy pair retired to the royal palace at Osborne in the Isle of Wight. The popular welcome which affirmed the delight of the people was but a prestige of the continued sentiment with which the princess continues to be regarded and the cordial manifestations with which she is greeted whenever she appears in public.

On the reassembling of parliament in February, 1864, it was noticed that in the royal speech, delivered by the lord-chancellor, all reference to Ireland was omitted. Mr. Whiteside, who declared that the two great branches of Irish industry (distilleries and paper manufactories) had suffered from recent legislation, also stated that 100,000 Irishmen had left their country to join the Federal army in America; and at a later period of the session Mr. Pope Hennessey brought forward a resolution that the government should direct its attention to the rapid emigration of the Irish agricultural population, with a view of devising some means for the employment of capital and labour in Ireland to reproductive employment. Lord Palmerston pointed out the inexpediency of forbidding emigration to a country where people would be better off than they were in their own, and the impossibility of legislating to alter the laws that regulated human society; and Mr. Hennessey's motion was set aside by a vote for "the previous question."

The budget was again the most interesting topic of the session, and the details of Mr. Gladstone's financial statement not only proved his great ability as chancellor of the exchequer, but showed the remarkable prosperity of the country, and the beneficial results of free-trade legislation. The elasticity of the revenue had more than supplied the losses occasioned by the reduction of taxation. The estimated expenditure for the coming year was £66,890,000, and the revenue £69,460,000; and with the £2,570,000 surplus it was proposed to reduce the sugar duty, to take a penny in the pound off the income-tax, and to relieve stock-in-trade from the duty on fire insurance by reducing the tax from 3*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* Seldom had a budget been so favourably received by parliament, or so welcome to the people; and after some discussion of details the resolutions were adopted without a division. An endeavour was again made to obtain a remission of the duty on malt, but without success, with the exception of malt used for feeding cattle, a concession which it was thought was due to the agricultural interest, and was on that ground adopted and submitted to the house by Mr. Gladstone. In order to distinguish the malt used for food it was provided that it should be prepared in other places than those in which malt was treated for brewing, and that it should be mixed with linseed meal or cake to the proportion of one tenth of its weight.

Early in the session a bill was introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer to amend the law relating to the purchase of government annuities through the medium of savings-banks, and to enable the granting of life assurances by the government. It was intended to abolish the restrictions which prevented the government from granting insurances to the amount of £100 to anybody but the purchaser of a deferred annuity, and the probable advantages of such a measure to the working-classes were generally recognized. Nevertheless the proposal was at first violently opposed, and it was with considerable difficulty that the representatives of existing insurance companies were made to understand that it would not materially affect their interests. After having been referred to a select committee, where it underwent some modifications, the measure passed both houses with scarcely any opposition. A reduction in the army and navy estimates, and an improvement in the condition of our soldiers, were announcements which, however satisfactory, so far as the latter was concerned, caused considerable discussion in relation to the questions of restricted enlistment and the employment of improved guns and iron-plated ships of war.

The most exciting topics of discussion during the session were connected with our foreign relations, the recent operations in Japan, the part which we had taken against the rebels in the Chinese war, the desultory campaign in Ashantee, and the insurrection of the Maoris in New Zealand. In China the war between the imperial government and the Taepings had lasted for fifteen years, and it was stated that after the surrender of the town of Soochow by the latter 30,000 men, women, and children had been massacred by the imperialists. Our alliance with a cause in which such an event was possible called forth expressions of condemnation from several members of parliament, and Lord Palmerston, after declaring that the English government looked with abhorrence on the massacre, stated that the order in council authorizing Captain Sherard Osborne to fit out a naval force to assist the imperialists had been revoked because of the failure of the attempt, and that another order permitting Englishmen to enter into the service of the Emperor of China had also been revoked because of the events at Soochow. Our object in assisting the imperial government of China was to restore order and to protect British commercial interests. We had been compelled to resort to hostilities in Japan, first, because of the unprovoked murder of an Englishman in a road specially set apart for Europeans, and outrages upon British subjects; and secondly, to resist the attempts to exclude foreign shipping from the inland sea. The town of Kagosima had been fired during the shelling by a British fleet of the castle of one of the daimios who were guilty, and a fine of £125,000 inflicted on the Japanese government and the murderers, but it was now known that all the inhabitants had left the town

before the bombardment. The skirmish in Ashantee was the subject of marked discussion because of the great mortality amongst officers and men in consequence, as was alleged by Sir John Hay, of the want of proper provision having been made for such an expedition. Sir John Hay's motion amounted to a vote of censure on the cabinet; and though some of the charges were denied, and other explanations were offered, the house proceeded to a division, and the resolution was only defeated by a majority of seven. Affairs in New Zealand were discussed in a similar tone of complaint, and the manner in which we obtained the land of the natives, and the tenure by which we occupied it, were bitterly commented on. The anger of the opponents of the government was raised by the proposal to guarantee a loan of a million sterling at 4 per cent. per annum out of the imperial revenue for the service of the colony, while the colonists themselves were well able to pay for their own protection. In spite of opposition, however, the bill ultimately passed and became law.

The American war was still a cause of constant anxiety and uneasiness. Both parties were jealously offended at British neutrality, and positive as well as negative injuries were still imputed to us by the Northern States, who charged us with aiding the South in the provision of well-appointed privateering vessels, which did enormous injury to the mercantile marine of the North. Some such vessels were doubtless built and chartered in British ports under false pretences, and were smuggled out to sea before our government could arrest them; and even when these suspected cruisers were seized in our ports, the builders complained and appealed to parliament for redress. The difficulties of the position might have been reduced if more vigilance had been exercised, but as it was, the controversy became long and bitter both in parliament and between the two countries.

The aggressions of the German power upon Denmark in claiming Schleswig-Holstein aroused English sympathies—none the less, perhaps, because of the recent marriage of the Prince of Wales to the daughter of Prince Christian, and because of the strong infusion of Danish blood in the English people. At the same time it was felt that actual interference on our part would only tend to provoke a European war, and we could therefore only remonstrate against the oppression of the weaker state, and stand aside in the unequal conflict which resulted in the seizure of the duchies by the stronger opponent. Lord Campbell by a motion in the House of Lords represented that if the protocol of Paris of 1856 had been more decidedly supported, a different result might have been attained; but after a short debate the whole matter was deferred to the conference of the great powers which was to be held in London at the end of April. On the 25th of June this conference was dissolved, and it was rumoured that every effort had been used by the neutral powers to bring about an agreement, and that as it would have been a calamity for war to begin again for a question not involving the existence of a nation, but only of a small district of territory, it was agreed, although the English government felt the utmost sympathy for Denmark, and believed her to have been ill used, that we should not be justified in joining her in the approaching struggle, and to undertake the brunt of war with Germany unsupported by either of the other powers, each of whom declared its intention to maintain a neutral position. This declaration was not altogether satisfactory, and early in July a resolution by Lord Malmesbury, reflecting on the government, was carried in the House of Lords by a majority of nine. In the House of Commons still greater excitement prevailed, and Mr. Cobden pointed out that we were not in a position to undertake to support the claims of Denmark while our troops were scattered far apart in distant countries of the world. After a vivid debate, in which the honour of England was advocated with remarkable force and ability by various speakers, and when resolutions had been moved and had failed for want of seconders, the discussion cooled; and when Mr. Kinglake proposed "to express the satisfaction with which the house had learned that at this conjuncture her majesty had been advised to abstain from armed interference in the war now going on between Denmark and the German powers," the motion was carried by 313 to 295 votes, and Lord Palmerston's administration was again saved by a narrow majority.

Mr. Locke King's bill for extending the franchise in counties to £10 occupiers, and that of Mr. Baines, one of the members for Leeds, proposing the extension of the franchise in boroughs by substituting a £6 for a £10 rental, were indications of a revival of the question of parliamentary reform; and though both were negatived, the support given by Mr. Gladstone to the claim of a wider constituency of the labouring classes produced no little dismay among the Conservatives, who were not appeased by their temporary victory on the division. It was during this session that the measure known as "the Permissive Bill"—for subjecting the issue of licenses to sell intoxicating liquors to the veto of a given number of the rate-payers in any district—was proposed by Mr. Lawson, one of the members for Carlisle, who presented a petition in its favour with 337,000 signatures; but though many arguments (one of which was the operation of the

"liquor law" in the American state of Maine) were adduced in its favour, the measure was deemed so contrary to the usual free working of social life in this country that it was thrown out on the second reading by a majority of 292 to 35 votes. The session, which had been a busy if not a very eventful one, ended on the 29th of July, when parliament was prorogued by commission.

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1865, 1866.

VICTORIA.

Condition of the country—Irish emigration, its causes and proposed remedies—Tenant rights—The Established Church in Ireland—Abatement of taxation—The budget—Financial prosperity—Army and navy estimates—The American war and Canada—Proposed interference between Russia and Poland—Reasons for non-intervention—Atrocities of the Emperor of Abyssinia on British subjects—Proposal for parliamentary reform by extension of the franchise negatived—Amendment of the poor-law by the abolition of the law of settlement and removal of the poor—Modification of oaths and tests for admission into holy orders—Defeat in the House of Lords of the proposed repeal of the oath imposed on Roman Catholics—Dissolution of parliament—New elections—Earl Russell succeeds to the premiership in consequence of the death of Lord Palmerston—Mr Gladstone becomes leader of the House of Commons—The rinderpest—Rise in prices of provisions—Disturbances in Ireland—The Fenian conspiracy—Precautions of parliament—Movements for parliamentary reform—The "Adullamites" and their secession from the Liberal party—Rejection of Mr. Gladstone's reform bill by a majority of eleven—Resignation of the ministry—Prorogation of parliament—Mercantile disasters.

THE year 1865 commenced under encouraging and prosperous conditions. With the exception of the comparatively trifling hostilities which continued in the colony of New Zealand, we were at peace with all the world. The fruits of an abundant harvest had diminished the expenses of living, and the distress and destitution which had fallen upon a portion of our manufacturing population had been alleviated and was rapidly disappearing as the war in America gave signs of drawing to a close.

Parliament assembled on the 7th of February, and the proceedings commenced with a discussion on the condition of Ireland, a topic which was resumed at a later period of the session when Mr. Pope Hennessey moved a resolution to the effect that the house observed with regret the decline of the population by reason of continued emigration, and would support the government in an endeavour to stimulate the profitable employment of the people. He advocated an address to the crown on the subject, and suggested that tenants should be compensated for improvements, that land should be reclaimed, and that a system of artificial drainage should be adopted. After a sharp discussion the debate terminated with an able speech by Lord Palmerston. Mr. Hennessey's motion was rejected by a considerable majority in a small house; and another proposal, brought forward by Mr. Maguire on the 31st of March, for a select committee to inquire into the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland with a view to their more equitable adjustment, met with opposition on the ground that it was sought to establish a system of tenant right which would, in effect, give the tenant power to demand alterations in the property of the landlord and to charge him with such alterations against his consent At the same time it was admitted that on any change of occupation the tenant should be compensated for improvements. Lord Palmerston then induced Mr. Maguire to ask for an inquiry into the cause of the failure of the Landlord and Tenant Bill of 1860 to secure those advantages in Ireland which it was intended to promote.

The position of the Established Church in Ireland was also a subject of discussion during the session, and it was evident that the question of disestablishment was increasing in importance. The chancellor of the exchequer closely examined the arguments that had been used on behalf of the Irish Protestant church, and denied that the act of union bound the Protestant people of England to maintain the Established Church for the Protestant minority in Ireland. The question was environed with apparently insuperable difficulties, and it was impossible at that time to decide in what manner the Irish Church could be relieved from the false position which it occupied. By a large majority the adjournment of the debate was agreed to, and it was not resumed during the session.

In view of a favourable financial statement it was proposed by Sir Fitzroy Kelly that the malt-tax should be abolished, but the motion

was negatived; and Mr. B. Sheridan then moved a resolution that the reduction of the duty on fire insurance, made in the previous session, should be extended at the earliest opportunity to houses, household goods, and all descriptions of insurable property. This was carried against the opposition of the chancellor of the exchequer. On the 27th of April the financial statement was presented to the house, and the anticipations of its hopeful character were fully realized. The revenue of the current year was estimated at £70,170,000, the expenditure at £66,139,000, leaving a surplus which was devoted to a further reduction of income-tax (£2,600,000), of the duty on tea (£2,300,000), and on fire insurances (£520,000), thus leaving a burden of £1,160,000 on the ensuing year. The peaceable condition of the country also permitted an abatement in the army and navy estimates. Our relations to the American government and the probable security of our frontier in Canada occupied considerable attention and were the subjects of formal discussion in parliament, but it was felt that even a protective movement on our part might have mischievous results, and the matter had scarcely been withdrawn from deliberation when information arrived that the Southern States had yielded, unable any longer to maintain the struggle, and that the gigantic and protracted war was at an end.

The wrongs of Poland and the oppressions of the people of that country by the Czar of Russia were again brought before parliament, and it was argued that the violations by Russia of the engagements entered into in 1815 implied the forfeiture of the dominion of Poland and of any further payment by this country of the Russo-Dutch loan, which was a sum of money to be annually claimed by Russia for a period of 100 years on condition of maintaining the stipulations of the said treaty. It was felt, however, that the treaty itself had no actual connection with the affairs of Poland, and that diplomacy having failed to effect the desired relief of that country no other means were open to us except the exercise of force, a course which the supporters of the measure did not contemplate.

The conflict between the colonists and the natives in New Zealand continued to cause grave anxiety, and it was thought that the withdrawal of British troops would lead the colonists to abandon their war of extermination for a more pacific policy. Another "little war" was also impending, as the result of the imprisonment and barbarous treatment of British subjects in Abyssinia. In July, 1862, Captain Cameron, the new consul, who was the bearer of presents sent by the British government to the Emperor of Abyssinia, had met with a most flattering reception at the hands of that sovereign, who expressed a desire that the negotiation for a treaty with the government of Abyssinia, which had fallen through in 1849, should be renewed. An autograph letter of the emperor to her majesty's government was forwarded to this country by Captain Cameron, but from various causes it did not arrive here until February, 1863. Shortly after this an invasion of the northern parts of Abyssinia by the Egyptian government took place, when Captain Cameron endeavoured to settle the dispute, but was compelled to desist from his pacific endeavours in consequence of the remonstrances of the Egyptian authorities. Captain Cameron having ceased to exert himself in favour of the Abyssinian emperor, that sovereign felt himself aggrieved, especially as he had received no reply to his autograph letter. Unfortunately, further cause of offence was given by the interpreters of a Mr. Stern, a missionary, one of whom was immediately beaten to death. Mr Stern having expressed his disgust at the proceedings, was himself subjected to corporal punishment, to such an extent as seriously to imperil his life. Two days afterwards the other missionaries, including several ladies, were seized and sent to a distant prison, where each of them was loaded with chains and fetters weighing from 15 lbs to 20 lbs. Soon after, the other Europeans in Abyssinia, including Captain Cameron, were also committed to prison and chained. The emperor then held a great council of his grandees to try the prisoners, who were alleged to have been guilty of high treason according to the laws of the country. The prisoners were found guilty, and several of the grandees were of opinion that they should be put to death; but, fortunately, milder counsels prevailed, and the unfortunate persons were sent back to their prison. As if to complicate matters, just at this time a letter arrived from England, which, instead of being a reply to the emperor's letter, simply directed Captain Cameron to return to his post, and not to interfere further in the Egyptian dispute. In consequence of this neglect of her majesty's government to reply to the emperor's letter, Captain Cameron was loaded with heavier fetters, and was treated with far greater severity, and the prisoners were chained night and day to a native soldier. In the parliamentary discussions which these proceedings occasioned much blame was imputed to our government for neglect in answering the King of Abyssinia's letter; but on the other hand, this neglect was palliated by the circumstances of the case. It was such a letter as required no answer. The king had annulled the treaty which we had made with his predecessor, and was desirous of extending his dominions by conquest: and our government had

refused to receive a mission from him until he abandoned this design. His aim was to obtain the co-operation of our government in his schemes of self-aggrandizement, but this could not be conceded. It was also alleged that the imprisonment of the British consul and missionaries had been wholly occasioned by the constant and unauthorized interference of Captain Cameron and his predecessor in the internal affairs of Abyssinia. To this it was rejoined that the Abyssinian king was a merciless tyrant who murdered his prisoners by hundreds, and another embassy sent out to him would only be involved in the fate of Cameron and his fellow-sufferers This could only lead to war, but were we to march a British army over the arid sands of the desert to the capital of Abyssinia, which, according to the latest intelligence, was occupied by a body of rebels? The best thing we could do at present was to wait for further advices concerning the intentions of the king, whether as to the release of the prisoners or to receiving a mission with the queen's letter and presents. It was generally concluded that for the present at least no war was to be undertaken in the matter.

Although this was the last session of the present parliament it was not to enjoy a tranquil dissolution. On the 3d of May Mr Baines introduced a motion to extend the franchise to the occupiers of all houses of not less than £6 value, a measure which had previously been favourably received and which the government was in some measure bound to accept. The proposal was rejected.

An important amendment of the law for the settlement and removal of the poor in relation to the poor-laws was carried during the session. The act of 1834 and the amendments subsequently introduced had left many parishes overburdened, and gave opportunities for driving away the poor from certain districts, and creating what were known as close parishes, by the law of removability. By a measure called the "Union Chargeability Bill" Mr. Villiers proposed to make the union fund bear the maintenance of all the poor within the union, so that the charge should be commensurate with the administration. After considerable opposition, mostly in the agricultural interest, the bill went into committee, where, after renewed discussion, it was passed by a large majority, and afterwards passed the House of Commons, where it met with fresh obstructions, which, however, were not repeated in the House of Lords.

During the session, and in accordance with a previous understanding, a royal commission with the Archbishop of Canterbury as president, considerably modified the forms of subscriptions and declarations of assent required from the English clergy. Thus, instead of the old form, where the subscriber pledged his "assent and consent" to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, the following test was required of him on receiving clerical ordination.—"I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of the ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons. I believe the doctrine of the united Church of England and Ireland, as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the Word of God, and in public prayer and administration of the sacraments I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority." Another bill, to enable the universities to confer degrees without reference to religious tests, was not successful. Nor did the attempt of Mr Monsell succeed when he endeavoured to obtain the abrogation of the oaths taken by Roman Catholics, substituting for them the simple oath of supremacy. The bill was met with continued hostility in consequence, as it was alleged, of the pope claiming—by his encyclical letters—all the ancient powers of the pontificate. It passed the Commons, but in the House of Lords it was rejected, though it was argued that the former oath was not necessary for the security of the Established Church, to which many bodies of Dissenters were even more opposed than the Roman Catholics. The antagonism was violent and prolonged, especially when Lord Derby pointed out the probable effects of the bill on the Church in Ireland, and the measure was lost.

On the 6th of July parliament was prorogued, and writs were issued for a new election. No momentous questions of public interest agitated the country, and the result of the elections was mostly favourable to the Liberal party; but a very important change was occasioned by the lamented death of Lord Palmerston. That venerable and able statesman, who for so many years had been a power in the state, and whose influence was felt throughout Europe, died in October, and his place was occupied by Earl Russell, the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone, chancellor of the exchequer, becoming the leader of the government in the House of Commons.

Though during the summer the harvest was up to the average, a malignant disease designated by its foreign name of rinderpest, attacked our cattle. It began almost imperceptibly in a dairy at Islington, where two cows sickened, and soon spread to various other dairies in London, where about four-fifths of the cattle died, or had to be slaughtered. This was in June, and by October it had shown itself in twenty-nine counties in England, two in Wales, and sixteen in Scotland.

Various remedies were tried, but none seemed to be successful, and a parliamentary commission was appointed to inquire into the nature of the malady and the best means of preventing it. All that could be done was to empower the local authorities to use all needful measures against contagion, and agriculturalists were desirous that very stringent measures should be adopted. The mortality among cattle became a national calamity, ninety out of a hundred beasts either dying or being killed to prevent their conveying the disease; the price of beef and mutton had risen twenty to twenty-five per cent., and a form of prayer was ordained to be used in the churches imploring the Divine goodness to avert the evil with which the country was threatened.

In Ireland there was no rinderpest, but the political condition of the country evidenced a moral plague which showed itself in an organized conspiracy of a number of malcontents who called themselves "Fenians"—a name supposed to be derived from some vague tradition of Finn MacCoul (the Fingal of Macpherson), who was believed to have reigned in Ireland long before the days of Brian Boruihe, and to have been attended by a guard of warriors called Fenians, or the people of Finn. This legend took some hold upon the fancies of numbers of disaffected people, and the Fenians, whose professed aim it was to throw off British rule and to convert Ireland into a happy republic, succeeded in enrolling some thousands of names. They had their chiefs of centres, civil and military officers, secret passwords, emblems and oaths, arms, places for midnight drill, and affiliated societies, both in England and America, while from the latter country aid was to come in the form of an invasion. Absurd as these pretensions may have appeared, they were full of serious danger because of the organization and secrecy by which the society was maintained. Implicit obedience to their leaders was required of the members, and there were instances of this rule being observed. The association partook in fact of the features of that of the Syrian "assassins," or of the Westphalian "Vehmgerichte." It was necessary that the government should take prompt and decisive action, and the first step was the arrest of some of the conductors of the Irish insurrectionary press, which contained articles of a most seditious character. Information was thus obtained which led to the capture of some of the chief conspirators in Dublin, while arrests were also made in several of the chief towns of Ireland, as well as in Liverpool, Manchester, and other places in England. The most important apprehension was that of a man named Stephens, who was regarded as the principal leader, or "head centre," and he was lodged in the Irish prison of Richmond, from which, however, he afterwards contrived to escape by means of skeleton keys conveyed to him by some of his adherents. Stephens could not afterwards be found, though £1000 was offered for his arrest; but the other conspirators were sent to trial, and many of them sentenced to penal servitude. It became evident that the conspiracy, notwithstanding its widely spread organization, had not the elements to withstand energetic measures for its suppression; and in America, where Fenianism was in its greatest strength, and was professed by persons who had long left Ireland and had prospered in the land of their adoption, the leaders soon began to quarrel amongst themselves, and to seek their own personal glory or aggrandizement. At the same time the disturbances had not only obstructed the industry and prosperity of Ireland, but had produced a feeling of insecurity which added to the troubles of the year. At the commencement of 1866 these troubles were felt with additional pressure. The cattle-disease was carrying off from 6000 to 8000 animals every week—the price of meat had become a very serious consideration even to the middle classes; a visitation of cholera was feared; and when parliament assembled the session was looked forward to with considerable anxiety. It was no small gratification, however, that the queen appeared to open parliament in person, for the first time since her retirement after the lamented death of the prince consort, and there was no mistaking the loyal enthusiasm of the people. The attention of the government was immediately directed to arrest the cattle-plague by a bill regulating the transit of animals by road and railway. The threatened maintenance of Fenianism was encountered by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, with the result of numerous arrests in that country, and the hasty return of a number of emissaries to America.

But the most important subject which occupied attention during the session was that of parliamentary reform, and although the measure which was proposed to secure it was not at that time successful the evident demand of the nation for a wide extension of the franchise, and the narrow majority by which the proposed bill was defeated, made it necessary that any government which afterwards took office should give its first attention to the claims for a wider representation. From the preponderance of the Liberal party it was believed that a temperate measure of reform might be successful; and on the 12th of March the chancellor of the exchequer, as leader of the House of Commons, brought forward a measure extending the right of voting to a £7 standard, by which the number of new votes would be 172,000 in counties, 204,000 in towns, 24,000 of

lodger and savings-banks franchise, making a total of 400,000 additional voters, one half of whom would belong to the working-class and one half to what might be termed a new middle class. The Liberal party approved and the Conservatives opposed the bill, while between the two was an intermediate Liberal party who denounced it as democratic and dangerous. This latter party was compared by Mr. Bright to the

JOHN BRIGHT, M P.—From a photograph.

desperate and broken men who retired to the Cave of Adullam and identified themselves with the cause of King David, and thereafter, during the session, they were known as the "Adullamites," a name which they retained for two succeeding years. They were powerful enough, however, so to diminish the strength of the Liberal party as to cause the defeat of the bill, and Mr. Horsman (the David of the Cave of Adullam) joined others in declaring that the measure was a mere bid for power; that it was ineffectual, because it gave as many members to Honiton as to Liverpool, Manchester, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin; and that while it would settle nothing, it would unsettle much by being based upon the old device of government by numbers. Mr. Lowe, who was an "Adullamite," was also one of its most successful opponents; and though it was sustained with remarkable energy, and both Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone advocated it with almost unparalleled eloquence, it was thrown out on the second reading after a prolonged earnest and frequently violent debate by 318 against 313 votes, a result which was hailed by both sides of the house with loud acclamations. The chancellor of the exchequer then announced that on the following Monday, the 31st of April, the ministry would state their intentions; and when the time arrived, it was intimated to the house that the government saw no reason for resignation in consequence of a division which was not sufficient cause for abandoning the attempted revision of the representation of the people: the only difficulty being the redistribution of seats which would accompany the plan of reform.

This method of redistribution was brought before the house on the 7th of May, in a bill framed for the purpose. The second reading of this bill was moved amidst much opposition, and it was finally committed till after the Whitsuntide holidays, when the two bills of representation and redistribution were consolidated and sent to committee, where an amendment was introduced by Sir R. Knightley that the committee should make provision for the better prevention of bribery and corruption at elections. This produced fresh debate and checked the progress of the bill till on a division the amendment was carried by 248 against 238. Still the government expressed their determination to proceed, and after another adverse motion by Captain Hayter and four nights' debate, this was overcome, and the combined bills were ready for committal. Fresh impediments were brought forward, however, so that the chancellor of the exchequer lost patience and was wearied out by the persistency of his opponents in raising objections. The last of these was an inquiry into the basis of value according to which the franchise should be fixed. On this subject two amendments were moved, one for the county and the other for the borough franchise, and on the latter Lord Dunkellin moved that rating rather than rental should be the standard. A sharp debate followed, and on a division this amendment was carried by 315 against 304 votes, a result which sealed the fate of the bill and of Earl Russell's administration, which felt it useless to proceed against such determined resistance.

The Earl of Derby succeeded to the premiership, but found it difficult to construct a ministry, as the Conservatives were in a considerable minority. The Adullamites were asked to lend their aid, but refused to leave their cave. A cabinet was afterwards formed with Mr. Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer, and as there remained only a short period before the end of the session no important measures were brought forward, and parliament was prorogued by commission on the 10th of August.

The Reform Bill had been defeated, but it was known that the subject of wide reform was only temporarily deferred, and while the aspect of the political horizon betokened a coming struggle, there were tokens of gloomy portent in commercial affairs. In the financial condition of the country there was no cause for despondency, for the total revenue of the year, notwithstanding the decrease in taxation, was £68,785,662 against

£69,196,478 in 1865, and for this diminution the property-tax and stamps were entirely chargeable; our exports also had increased fourteen per cent. But the incidents of the Fenian conspiracy were still operating mischievously in causing a feeling of insecurity; the ravages of the cattle-plague and the consequent dearness of provisions continued; and worse still, the mercantile community was subjected to disasters following the collapse of numerous speculative undertakings, many of which were mere financial bubbles. After several serious failures of banks and public companies the crisis in the city of London seemed to culminate in the stoppage of the great discount establishment of Overend Gurney, & Co., whose responsibilities amounted to the enormous sum of £19,000,000—a calamity which not only ruined numbers of wealthy persons but brought thousands of families to poverty by causing the failure of banks and other credit companies. To meet these disasters the government gave the Bank of England authority for an additional issue at the rate of ten per cent. discount from the 11th of May to the 17th of August. For a time commercial credit and all confidence in monetary transactions were shaken; but it is significant of the vast resources of Britain that even such a crisis as would in most other countries have caused serious and prolonged difficulties, if not irretrievable financial ruin, occasioned little more public apprehension than was included in a year of anxiety and depression.

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1867—1869.

VICTORIA.

Opening of parliament by the queen—The government Reform Bill, its modifications and amendments—Reform Bill for Scotland—The budget—Fenianism and its revival by desperate attempts at Manchester and in Clerkenwell—Proposal to disendow the Irish Church—Prisoners in Abyssinia—Military expedition against King Theodore—Scientific appliances and remarkable determination of the expedition in overcoming the difficulties of the campaign—Discovery of Theodore at Magdala—Critical position of British prisoners—Sir Robert Napier demands their release—Advance of the British troops on Magdala—Defeat of the Abyssinians—Liberation of the prisoners—Death of Theodore by his own hand—Sequel of the war—Bills for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church and for the abolition of compulsory church-rates—Attempt to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh in New South Wales—The budget of 1868—Defeat of the government on the Irish Church Bill—Prorogation of parliament and elections under the new Reform Bill—Liberal majorities and change of government—Passing of the Irish Church Bill—The budget of 1869—General proceedings of the year.

THE meeting of parliament on the 5th of February, 1867, was signalized by the presence of the queen in person, and the expectation of the country was gratified by the announcement that the great business of the session would be the introduction of a measure of parliamentary reform. This promise was verified, and the debate on the bill which was immediately brought forward did not terminate until August, when the proposals of the government, after undergoing many alterations and so losing much of their original character, were passed in both houses and became law. Thirteen resolutions were brought before parliament by Mr. Disraeli on the 11th of February and were set down for discussion on the 25th. Four new franchises were proposed: the first, which was educational, included persons who had taken a university degree, ministers of religion, and others; the second related to holders in savings-banks, depositors of £30 who retained their deposit for one year being entitled to the franchise; the third embraced investors who held as much as £50 in the public funds; and the fourth included persons paying 20s. per annum in direct taxation. It was computed that under the first provision 10,000 additional voters would be given to boroughs, under the second 35,000, under the third 7000, and under the fourth 30,000. A £6 franchise rating proposed for boroughs would give an additional 130,000 voters, and the extension of all four franchises to the counties with a reduction of the tenure from £50 to £20 would give 82,500 county electors, so that the total increase of voters would be 400,000. A scrutiny into cases of alleged bribery in elections, the cancelling of a bribing member's election in favour of his opponent should the latter have been pure, the disfranchisement of four boroughs returning seven members where extensive corruption had been proved, and the transference of the seats to nine towns which had grown into importance since 1832, were among the proposi-

tions. It was also intended to revise divisions so as to give fourteen new members for counties and fourteen for boroughs, and to assimilate the borough and county registration of voters. The adoption of the principle of voting papers would prevent the necessity of bringing voters from a distance, while a royal commission for rectifying the boundaries of boroughs would be able to set promptly to work even before the passing of the bill. If the house agreed to these resolutions a bill founded upon them would be brought in without delay.

Such were the objections of the opposition to bringing in these proposals in place of a definite bill, however, that they had to be withdrawn, mainly in consequence of a great meeting of 289 Liberals members of the House of Commons at the residence of Mr. Gladstone, who announced that he should bring forward an amendment to set aside the resolutions in favour of a satisfactory and conclusive bill. Three members of the cabinet, unable to agree with their colleagues on the subject of the bill, resigned office, but the vacant places were promptly filled; and a similar meeting to that of the Liberal members was convened by Lord Derby, the premier, at his official residence. There were 193 members present, to whom an amended scheme which the government proposed to bring before the house was announced, while forty-three who were absent from the meeting expressed their adhesion to the ministry. Only one dissentient voice was heard at the meeting, and it was evident the contest would be long and strenuous between the government and the opposition.

On the 18th of March the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in the new bill for amending the representation of the people in parliament. It was to be founded on the principle of associating the franchise with the payment of rates. Every householder of two years' standing who paid rates should be admitted to vote, by which 237,000 men who lived in houses of under £10 rental and paid rates would be added to the franchise. There would still be 485,000 householders not paying their own rates, but every facility would be given to compound householders to take upon themselves the payment of their rates. Persons paying £1 per annum in direct taxes would have votes, and if they were dwellers in towns would be able to claim the franchise under both suffrages. There would also be an education franchise and one for depositors in savings-banks and holders of funded property to the amount of £50. Above 1,000,000 votes would, it was said, be added to the borough constituencies. In the counties the franchise would be fixed at £15 rating. The redistribution scheme formerly announced would be retained, one seat being given to the London University, fifteen out of the remaining thirty seats to the counties, and fourteen to the new boroughs. The bill was opposed by Mr. Gladstone on account of its obscurity, especially with regard to compound householders and the borough franchise, and after some debate leave was given to bring in the bill, the second reading of which was moved on the 25th of March. Mr. Gladstone urged upon the government the adoption of a franchise for persons living in lodgings, the abolition of the distinction between different classes of rate-payers and the abandonment of the taxing franchises and the use of voting-papers. These points the chancellor of the exchequer intimated could be considered in committee, and he also declared that he would not insist on the maintenance of the dual vote which had formed a part of the original scheme. The bill went into committee, where, after the proposal of two amendments, which were lost, it was postponed during the Easter recess to the 29th of April. The extension of the franchise beyond the provisions of the bill was earnestly advocated, and public meetings were held for the purpose of supporting this view.

On the 2d of May Mr. Ayrton carried an amendment that twelve months' instead of two years' residence should confer the right of voting. It was also agreed that the lodger franchise should extend to the occupant of unfurnished lodgings at £10 a year after a twelve months' residence. After serious discussion on the subject of the "compound householder" franchise, Mr. Hodgkinson proposed that "composition" should be wholly abolished, and that no other person than the occupier should be rated to parochial rates in respect of premises occupied by him within the limits of a parliamentary borough. This was accepted by both sides as a means of settling the dispute, and was inserted in the bill. The next amendment was one which occasioned considerable laughter, although it was introduced by Mr. John Stuart Mill with grave earnestness. It was a proposal that the right of voting should be extended to women. The arguments in its favour, seeing that women pay taxes, may hold certain public offices, and are not to be classed with children, idiots, or lunatics, were strongly urged and could not be satisfactorily answered; but the motion, although well supported, was lost on a division by 196 to 73 votes. The copyhold franchise was reduced from £10, as proposed by the bill, to £5, and the county franchise was reduced from £15 to £12. The education and other "fancy" franchises were relinquished along with the savings-bank depositors', the fundholders' franchises, and that of persons paying 20s. a year assessed taxes. The proposed "dual vote" was also abandoned.

So far the franchise portion of the bill was settled, and the disfranchisement of corrupt boroughs followed. After a careful inquiry by the commission Reigate, Lancaster, and Great Yarmouth were deprived of the power to return members. A series of amendments were then proposed by Mr. Laing for the distribution of seats in proportion to the importance and the population of the places represented. Every borough with 10,000 inhabitants returning two members should return only one, by which means thirty-eight seats would be recovered, by grouping some of the smaller boroughs seven seats would be gained, and by disfranchising corrupt boroughs already condemned fifty-two seats might be distributed elsewhere and especially in Scotland, where more ample representation was needed. The grouping of smaller boroughs was abandoned after some debate, and the amendment was carried with that modification.

The important question of the substitution of voting-papers for personal voting at the poll was then discussed with no little energy, and was decided in favour of the proposition; and the subject of "cumulative" voting was afterwards brought forward by a proposal that every voter should be entitled to a number of votes equal to the number of vacant seats, and should be able to give all such votes to one candidate, or to distribute them among the candidates as he pleased. This was, in fact, a plan by which minorities could be represented where there were two or more candidates; the proposed clause was not passed, however. The bill was then read a third time amidst considerable opposition and many expressions of doubt in consequence of the remarkable modifications which it had undergone.

On the 22d of July it was presented for discussion in the House of Lords, and after being strongly opposed by Lord Grey and Earl Russell, went into committee, where the amount of rental conferring the lodger franchise was raised from £10 to £15 a year; the copyhold franchise was increased from £5 to £10. It was also decided that in constituencies returning three members the voter should be entitled to poll for two candidates only, instead of for all three. Clauses were also inserted in the bill with relation to voters coming forward to the poll with voting-papers. Just as the bill was about to pass it was represented that the increase of the amount entitling to the lodger franchise would not be accepted by the House of Commons, and the clause was therefore restored which gave the franchise to lodgers paying £10 annual rental. The measure was then passed, though the premier, Earl Derby, spoke of it as an experiment and "a leap in the dark." On its recommittal to the commons the bill underwent some alterations. The copyhold and household qualification was restored from £10 to £5, and the voting-paper clauses were rejected. After some discussion in the lords upon this refusal to accept their amendments the bill passed on the 15th of August, and the result was a change in the representation of the people which may be regarded as a political revolution, effected under the auspices of a Conservative government, after the Liberal party had for years striven in vain to obtain even far less extended measures of reform.

It remained for a similar bill to be passed for Scotland, and this was effected, the franchise being placed on the same bases as in England, while the distribution of seats was proposed to increase the number from 53 to 60, one of which would be given to Edinburgh and St. Andrews Universities, and one for those of Glasgow and Aberdeen. Three additional members would be returned for counties, viz. to Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, and Aberdeenshire, and as in Scotland no county had more than one member these three counties would be divided. Glasgow was to have an additional member; and groups of boroughs were to be re-arranged so that every town with 6000 inhabitants should be a borough, while one new group, called the Hamilton group, would be created with one member. The bill passed the second reading but was postponed, and did not effectually pass until the 13th of July, 1868, when it was settled on the principles that every man of full age and not legally incapacitated who had inhabited any house within a borough whether as owner or tenant; every lodger who separately or as sole tenant occupied a lodging of the rental value of £10 or upward, was entitled to vote. In the counties any man could vote who personally occupied lands and heritages within the county of £14 annual value.

Though on the introduction of the budget the financial condition of the country was seen to be eminently satisfactory, there were elements in the commercial and industrial conditions of the nation which caused serious uneasiness. The effects of the monetary crisis of 1866 had not yet been overcome; there were panics in some of the chief railway enterprises, and the harvest was considerably below the average, so that the price of corn was increased and large quantities of breadstuffs had to be imported from abroad. This added to the discontent of the poorer and working classes, and frequent turbulent demonstrations were made, while the influence of the trade associations or unions, which had usurped unprecedented authority in manufacturing districts, grew to an almost unbearable extent in demanding implicit submission from their members, and in prescribing to employers the hours and often the methods of labour, and the rate of wages.

In Ireland too, where the condition of the country had rendered the provision of a reform bill impossible, there were still endeavours to promote sedition and to maintain the Fenian conspiracy. Unhappily this conspiracy had transferred its operations to England. Its members had been reinforced by bands of Irishmen from the United States army, and some of these were concerned in an attempt which was made only a few days after government had announced the restoration of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. A band of Fenians headed by Irishmen who had been officers in the American army endeavoured to seize the arsenal at Chester, and were only defeated by accident, the conspirators themselves escaping to Ireland, where they caused a series of outbreaks in various places in order to distract the attention of the government. These demonstrations were suppressed by the constabulary, but the Fenians then formed a plan for the rescue of some of their companions who had been arrested at Manchester. To effect this they attacked the prison-van and shot the police-officer who was in charge of it. Their next exploit was an attempt to blow up the prison of Clerkenwell in London by means of a barrel of gunpowder which was exploded in open daylight, causing the death of three or four innocent persons, and the serious injury of about forty men, women, and children. Under such conditions an Irish parliamentary reform bill was impossible, and attention was directed to another Irish question, that of the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in Ireland. The subject was debated in both lords and commons, and resulted in the appointment of a royal commission of inquiry into the revenues and administration of the Irish Church.

The close of the session was marked by warlike preparations in consequence of the refusal of the King of Abyssinia to release the English captives. It was deemed impossible to permit a sovereign of a barbarous tribe to defy the English government after repeated requests and negotiations Though the strength of the enemy from a military point of view was insignificant, the inaccessibility of the country and the difficulty of reaching Theodore himself had prevented active measures being taken earlier, though the prisoners had been for some years in confinement; but after the prorogation of parliament in August, members were summoned to meet on the 19th of November in order to authorize an expedition for setting free the captives, some of whom had been specially accredited to the King of Abyssinia by the queen's government. A vote of £4,000,000 was passed, and the invading force was to proceed from Bombay. It consisted of an Anglo-Indian army under the command of Sir Robert Napier, whose scientific skill and experience as well as his great military reputation well qualified him for the task. The troops were well provided in the commissariat, medical, and transport departments, and special arrangements were made for the probable difficulties of a campaign in a comparatively unknown and savage country. The army consisted of only

Lord Napier.—From a photograph.

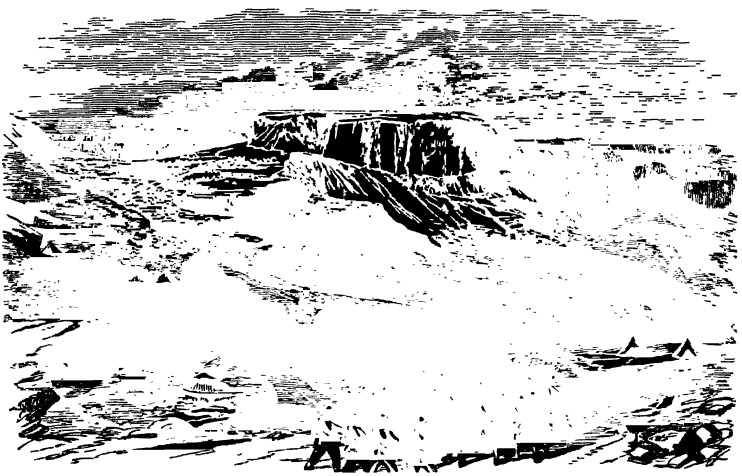
12,000 men, and though there was no doubt of its success there was some fear that, driven to desperation, Theodore might murder the prisoners before the arrival of the invading force. Theodore was himself a successful warrior, and by his military talents had subjugated several of the provinces adjacent to that of his own tribe. His ambition was to restore the kingdom of Ethiopia under his own rule, for he claimed to be descended from the royal race of whom Candace and the Queen of Sheba were the supposed representatives. He had already assumed the title of "King of kings of Ethiopia." But the enterprise was beyond his strength, especially as a large portion of the territory which he coveted was held by the Turks, who could not be dislodged. It was against these that he hoped to obtain aid from Britain, and his arrogance in the demand led to his subsequent overthrow, as it had led to his barbarous treatment of the European representatives, consisting of sixty men, women, and children.

The British force left Bombay on the 21st of December, and early in the following month arrived at Zoulla, a small village on the bleak and inhospitable coast between Annesly Bay and the Abyssinian Mountains. It had been ascertained that this was the best point for disembarking and for the base of subsequent military operations, a reconnoitring party having been despatched from Bombay in the previous September. This advanced party had found Zoulla to be the

only place in which a supply of water could be obtained, and they at once set about constructing a pier on the sloping beach with iron girders and stout timber which had been sent on by steamers for the purpose, the stones used in the construction having to be obtained from Massowah and the neighbouring ports. Sea-walls were thus constructed of stones and fascines till the pier extended 900 feet into the sea, with a depth of 5 feet for our vessels at low water. A road 50 feet wide was cleared through the jungle from the pier to the camping ground, a distance of 1½ mile. The old village wells were cleared out, and twenty new ones constructed, and a water-shoot 480 feet long was raised on trestles above the sea, for conveying distilled or condensed sea-water from the condensing apparatus on board the *Satellite* By the time that the Anglo-Indian army arrived another pile pier had been commenced, and sheds had been constructed for the commissariat and other purposes. A complete military town, with comfortable quarters for the troops, had been established in a barren district which previously would not have afforded shelter or sustenance for a single company. In place of a barren beach, and a comparatively unvisited creek, there was a harbour full of ships, a strand occupied by the various materials of war, and a crowd of men of almost every language and country. Depots and stores of all kinds, steam-engines, tramways, guns. ammunition, forage, and various scientific appliances were to be seen there, and even the administration of the law was provided for in a building devoted to the purpose of a court of justice. The whole scene was a triumph of modern energy and engineering skill. Horses, ponies, mules, and even elephants had been taken there for the transport service, and for the conveyance of heavy ordnance. The natives were astonished at these evidences of the enterprise and power of the invaders, whom they regarded as irresistible. Theodore had encamped on the line of Magdala, the fortress to which he had retired after unsuccessfully endeavouring to prevent the rebellion of the inhabitants of the surrounding country. A long distance, however, had to be traversed to reach him, and the route lay through provinces the neutrality of which was by no means assured. To keep up communication with the magazines at Zoulla was therefore essential, since the natives might refuse, or might be unable to provide, food and water in a country where there was scarcely sufficient sustenance for the scanty population. Fortunately a friendly relation had been maintained with the native chiefs and with the Turkish rulers of the Abyssinian seaboard. Kassa, the prince of Tigre, the province along which the line of march was to be taken, visited the British camp in semi-barbarous state on the 25th of February, 1868, and after having been fêted and propitiated, pledged himself to become an ally, and soon afterwards the troops set out and reached the rough and terrible causeway of the Koomaylee Pass, the rocky barriers and dark defiles of which reached almost to Senafeh. The journey was frequently hindered by attacks made by the wild border tribes upon the muleteers and camp-followers This predatory warfare lasted till the forces reached Attegrath, and pushed on to Wadalah, where it was rumoured that Theodore had encamped. He was not there, however, when the troops reached the place on the 19th of March: he had already occupied the heights of Fahla at the head of the Arogee Pass; and after having made a toilsome ascent to a treeless plateau which stands 10,000 feet above the level of the sea, the three brigades forming the first division of the field force, and consisting of 4000 men, were concentrated into one line, and the march was directed to Magdala.

Theodore was already in a desperate condition, half maddened by frequent indulgence in ardent spirits, and rendered so ferocious that he was constantly venting his fury on victims who were ordered for execution, and amongst whom the European prisoners were sometimes ordered to his presence, as though to hear their own sentence. His great trust was in several large guns which he had ordered to be cast, and he continued to entertain a belief that they might be effectual to repel an attack on the fortress. Meanwhile no attempt was made either to negotiate or to threaten, since one course might lead him to expect that the past would be condoned, while the other might so enrage him as to cause the immediate massacre of the prisoners. On the 3d of April, however, Sir Robert Napier wrote to him to declare that by the command of the queen the British force was approaching Magdala, to recover from his hands the envoy Rassam, Consul Cameron, Dr. Blane, Lieutenant Prideaux, and the other European prisoners, and demanding that they should be sent to the English camp as soon as it was near enough for them to go in safety. The king was furious, and made no reply, whereupon Sir Robert, after issuing an address to the Mohammedan people of the neighbourhood, who were at war with Theodore, explaining the purpose of his expedition, prepared to attack the stronghold. A reward was offered for the capture of the king, and the chiefs were directed to close every avenue by which he might escape. On the 9th of April the British force reached the formidable mountain pass which alone separated them from Magdala. Four thousand feet beneath, the Basilho river

rolled its waters to the Nile, and the tremendous gorge consisted of vast masses of rock and of broken mountains, forming a chaotic and impenetrable barrier. Across this, however, Theodore himself had formerly had a road constructed—a mere gray thread amidst the rugged cliffs down which it led. Twelve miles beyond was Magdala, nearly concealed by gigantic mountains, an apparently impregnable fortress, which might have been defended even by skilful barbarians, and to invest which would have required an army of 50,000 men, instead of the 4000 which formed the British force. It was hoped that Theodore would offer battle, and the troops descended the steep, and after fording the river began to climb the precipitous ascent of the table-land. The firing of a cannon from the rampart of the mountain was a signal that Theodore meant fighting, and was hailed with a cheer from our men. About 5000 Abyssinians rushed down towards the ravine where our artillery was passing, probably mistaking the transport for one of treasure or stores, but the steel battery and rocket tubes were speedily removed from the backs of the mules and brought into action. The enemy was astonished at the havoc made by the terrible discharge, and fled. Again and again they re-formed and returned, but the conflict was hopeless; and while our loss was 1 man killed and 20 wounded, 349 of the enemy lay on the field, and 30 of their wounded were carried to our field hospital, where, to their astonishment, they were carefully tended.



MAGDALA, from below Islamgie.
From a sketch by Major H. A. Leveson (the Old Shekarry), engraved in the Illustrated London News.

Theodore, watching the battle from the heights, was amazed He had drunk deeply on the previous day, had ordered a general execution of many of his people, and had killed some with his own hand, after which, however, he seems to have suffered remorse, for he was heard praying that his sin might be forgiven. All night he was in consternation, and sent for the Europeans to ask how the threatened calamity might be averted. They advised him to send a deputation to the British camp, and accordingly Lieutenant Prideaux, with two other captives and an Abyssinian chief, the son-in-law of Theodore, arrived before daybreak at Sir Robert Napier's head-quarters. But they were charged with no specific message, and no reply could be given except a promise that if Theodore delivered up the captives in person and made due submission he and all his family should have honourable treatment and protection. This written declaration was received by the king with indignation. He refused to surrender, and in a wild and almost incomprehensible letter, neither signed nor sealed, committed his subjects to the care of the invading force. He had, it seemed, determined to die, and on the departure of the second mission, consisting of Lieutenant Prideaux and Mr. Flad, lay down, covered himself with his cotton sheets, and remained for an hour without moving. On rising from the ground he drew a pistol from his girdle, placed the muzzle to his mouth, and pulled the trigger. The weapon did not go off, but an attendant struck it aside, and in the act it exploded and the bullet after slightly grazing his

temple buried itself in the ground. Regarding this as a token that he was to show mercy, he immediately ordered that the European captives should be conveyed to the British camp, and Mr Flad and Lieutenant Prideaux, who were returning disconsolately, were gladdened by the sight of their liberated companions on their way to the general's tent. Thus one great object of the expedition was achieved, but the submission or punishment of the tyrant remained to be secured. He had withdrawn himself to the fortress of Magdala, and it was necessary to make an advance upon this last stronghold, but before daybreak the king had attempted an escape with the best part of his forces by way of the Kafirbar Gate. The sight of the Galla tribe, who had been appointed by Sir Robert Napier to watch the outlets and who occupied the neighbouring hill tops, convinced him that this was impossible, and finding that only death or submission remained he ordered such of his soldiers as were unwilling to share his fate to leave him and seek their own safety; he sallied forth in face of the advancing troops, and, brandishing his spear, appeared to be challenging the commander of the British to single combat. The rifle shots that began to ring out caused him to retreat, and he again retired with his body-guard to the citadel. The British cannonade on the gate was then stopped, a storming party advanced up the mountain with little resistance, and passing the outer and inner gates went towards the royal house. There they found only dead and wounded warriors who had remained faithful to their sovereign to the last, and on the highest part of the path lay the body of Theodore himself, who had fallen by his own hand. The inhabitants of Magdala were dismissed in safety, and the place itself, which was little more than a collection of huts, was burned to the ground. The king's only son, a child, to leave whom would have been to consign him to death, was taken by Sir Robert Napier to be brought to England and placed under the protection of our sovereign. Thus ended a campaign which was successful in obtaining the release of the prisoners, and was instrumental in vindicating the far-reaching influence of Britain, and in leaving the country where it had been prosecuted in a better condition than it had previously enjoyed for many years. Not a single mile of territory was claimed, not a single seaport was retained by Britain, so that it could not be regarded as a war of aggression. Sir Robert Napier was, on his return, raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Napier of Magdala.

During the time in which the Abyssinian war was proceeding, parliament was engaged in the settlement of several interesting questions. Indeed, on the 1st of January, 1868, some new acts of parliament of great influence had come into operation, such as the act for improving the proceedings in county courts; the vaccination act; the act for regulating labour and extending the factories acts by prohibiting the employment of children of less than eight years old, or for more than six hours and a half in any one day, and limiting the hours of work of women and young persons. The agricultural gang act also prohibited the employment of children of less than eight years old in agricultural labours, provided that gang-masters and mistresses should be licensed, and ordered the separation of the sexes in field work. A new merchant shipping act to amend that of 1854, improved the condition and provisions for the comfort of merchant seamen, and appointed medical inspectors at seaports and other places to see that lemon juice and other necessaries were provided on board all long-voyage vessels going outwards.

Fenianism was still threatening, and outrages were committed in various places in the early part of the year; nor was the national outlook altogether clear from a financial point of view. Trade continued to be depressed, and some important industries were suffering from the operations of the workmen's unions, and protracted strikes for higher wages and shorter hours of work. The great ship-building yards at the east end of London were silent, and it soon became evident that the larger part of that important industry would leave the Thames and be transferred to the Tyne and the Clyde. The worst feature of the trades-unions was that in some places, and notably in Sheffield, the upholders of the strikes committed some serious and cowardly outrages against workmen who refused to join or to be bound by the societies. At the beginning of the session of 1868 it was understood that the continued ill health of Lord Derby would necessitate his retirement, and on the 25th of February Lord Stanley announced that the noble earl had resigned the premiership, and that, by her majesty's commands the chancellor of the exchequer was engaged in forming a new ministry. Thus Mr. Disraeli became prime-minister, and Mr. G. W. Hunt was appointed to be chancellor of the exchequer.

The great debate of the session was that on the disendowment and disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in Ireland, proposed by Mr. Gladstone, upon which, after prolonged discussion, the house went into committee on the 3d of April. To the first resolution, that the church in Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, there was much opposition by the government, but on a division it was carried by a majority of 65. In consequence of this defeat the premier announced

that having consulted the queen, the government would not retire from office, but that a dissolution of parliament and an appeal to the new constituencies would take place as soon as the claims of public business would permit. The resolution to petition her majesty to place at the disposal of parliament her interest in the temporalities of the ecclesiastical dignities in Ireland was afterwards passed, and was immediately complied with by her majesty. The complete bill was presented to the house by Mr. Gladstone, and read for the first time on the 14th of May. It was read a second time on the 22d of May, and went into committee on the 5th of June. By the end of June some other measures, such as the bill for the protection of the property of married women, and the bill for facilitating registration, were advanced, the former being referred to a select committee. A reform bill for Ireland had been brought in and was speedily passed through committee, the borough franchise being fixed at £4, and a considerable distribution of seats having been decided on.

The financial statement of the past year had shown a deficiency of £51,000 as compared with the previous estimates. The total expenditure, including an excess of £2,000,000 for the Abyssinian expedition, had been £71,236,242, and the total deficit was £1,636,000. The estimated expenditure for 1868 was £70,428,000. Both the army and navy estimates had been increased, but the civil service charges had been diminished to a larger extent. The estimated income was £71,350,000, leaving £922,000 surplus, which it was announced, however, was included in arrear of collection of income-tax, which it was agreed to raise to 6*d.* on the pound, the government at the same time having power to issue exchequer bonds for one year to the amount of £1,000,000 sterling.

One of the most important measures of the session was that of Mr. Gladstone for abolishing compulsory church-rates, which after continued discussion passed through committee in both houses. The visit of the Prince of Wales to Ireland, where he was received with remarkable enthusiasm, and the announcement of the safe recovery of the Princess Alexandra after the birth of a daughter, were topics of unusual interest. The Duke of Edinburgh (Prince Alfred) made a voyage during the year to visit the Australian colonies, and great public excitement was caused by an attempt to assassinate him by a man named O'Farrell, an alleged Fenian, who discharged a pistol behind his royal highness as he was paying a visit to a picnic at Clontarf in New South Wales, only a short distance from Sydney. The bullet wounded him in the back, traversing his side; the man was seized only after having wounded another person. The laying of the foundation-stone of the new Saint Thomas' Hospital at Lambeth by her majesty was regarded as an auspicious event, since it once more brought the queen from the seclusion of the royal palace and gave an opportunity for an expression of loyalty on the part of the people of London.

On the 31st of July parliament was prorogued, and preparations were made for the elections in conformity with the Reform Bill which had passed in the previous session. The contest lasted the whole of the autumn, and long before the commencement of the election it became certain that the government would be defeated by a large majority. The new borough electors for the most part voted with the Liberal party, and though the balance was in some degree restored by the county votes the advantage remained. It was remarkable, however, that candidates belonging to the working-class, or affecting specially to belong to it, were uniformly unsuccessful, and that all the divisions of Lancashire returned Conservative members, notwithstanding the canvass of Mr. Gladstone in the south-west, and of the heir of the great family of Cavendish in the north. The Liberal majority was so pronounced that Mr. Gladstone was requested to form a ministry, and after a preliminary meeting in December parliament assembled on the 16th of February, 1869, the royal speech being read by the lord-chancellor, and announcing that the relations of England with all foreign powers were friendly, that the differences between Turkey and Greece had been adjusted, and that negotiations had been opened with America for the settlement of questions affecting the interests and international relations of the two countries. This referred to the signing of an agreement for a commission to settle the *Alabama* claims. The disturbances in New Zealand, which continued to be a source of trouble, were also mentioned in terms of regret.

The first important motion was by Mr. Forster, who asked leave to bring in a bill to amend the laws relating to endowed schools and otherwise to provide for the advancement of education. The bill was to be chiefly founded on the recommendations of the commissioners whose report had been presented, it was to last for five years, and would include means of giving certificates of competency to schoolmasters, the formation of an educational council, and exhibitions in schools. Leave was granted to bring in the bill. The Irish Church Bill was of course the great measure of the session, and Mr. Gladstone unfolded its provisions on the 1st of March. The ecclesiastical commission was to be wound up and a new commission appointed for ten years, in which the property of the Irish Church, subject to life interests, would be vested from the time of the passing of the bill. Technically and legally there would be

immediate disendowment, but disestablishment would be postponed to the 1st of January, 1871, when all union between the Churches of England and Ireland would be dissolved, all ecclesiastical corporations would be abolished, the ecclesiastical courts would cease, and the ecclesiastical laws would be no longer binding except as voluntary contracts between clergy and laity till they were altered by the governing body of the disestablished church. The bill, after long and earnest discussion, passed into committee on the 23d of March by 368 against 250 votes.

Mr. Robert Lowe as chancellor of the exchequer made his financial statement on the 3d of April. The total revenue of the previous year had been £72,592,000, while the estimated revenue of the present year was £72,855,000, and the expenditure, exclusive of the Abyssinian war, £68,223,000, so that but for the latter there would be a surplus of £4,632,000. But the expenses of the war were £9,000,000, of which £5,000,000 had already been raised by taxation and borrowing. Mr. Lowe proposed to levy some tax in order to obtain a surplus. He recommended that the mode of collecting assessed taxes should be altered and that they should be collected once instead of twice a year, and that the income-tax on house property should be collected once a year only, and that the change should commence in April, 1870. The income-tax should be collected once a year, the whole year's tax being taken at once, so that by these changes and the collection being made in January £3,250,000 would come into the hands of government. He proposed that the income-tax, which had been increased for the Abyssinian war, should be reduced one penny; there would also be a reduction of the shilling duty on corn, and the duty on maize would be made merely nominal. A total abolition of the fire insurance duties, a reduction of duties on hackney-carriages, a repeal of the duty on cabs, the repeal of tea licenses, and a reduction on duties for hair-powder, armorial bearings, carriages, post-chaises, and male servants were also included in the economical scheme.

On the 31st of May the Irish Church Bill was read a third time and passed with a majority of 114 for the ministry after some amendments in committee. In the House of Lords, however, the amendments and additions were numerous, and some of them so important that when the bill passed its third reading and went back to the House of Commons they occasioned a fresh debate. Mr. Gladstone strenuously opposed them; many of the most serious were refused, and there was thought to be some danger of the two houses coming into collision. Finally the bill was sent up to the lords, where it was re-amended, and was afterwards accepted by Mr. Gladstone and passed in the House of Commons on the 23d of July. This was in fact the great achievement of a session which ended on the 11th of August, and during which a number of small bills facilitating legislation and conducive to the social and political welfare of the people were made law, some larger interests being committed to future legislation.

The opening of the Suez Canal, the concession of parliamentary government in France, the meeting of a general council of the Romish Church in the Vatican for the first time during three centuries, and the suspicions that a rupture between France and Prussia was impending, or might at any moment be expected, were among the topics of the year. Unhappily there had been little revival of healthy trade in England, and we were still suffering from the financial shocks of 1866. The cotton-mills being on short time, a large industry was affected, and the operation of trades-unions and strikes added to the causes which threw a shadow over the commercial prospects of the immediate future.

CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1870–1873.

VICTORIA.

Abolition of imprisonment for debt except on county court judgments—Discharge of prisoners from Whitecross Street prison—The Irish Land Bill—Compensations to tenants—New leases—Relief of small tenants from the county cess—Proposal for a National Education Bill—Proposal by Lord Hartington of a bill for securing purity of elections and vote by ballot—Its provisions—Mr. Forster's scheme of national education by establishing board schools—Plan for government inspection—Inclusion of local voluntary schools under government aid—Mode of levying the school-rate—Compulsory education and fees—Opposition by denominationalists and secularists—War between France and Prussia—Its effect in Germany—Defeat of Napoleon III.—Revolution in Paris—The siege of Paris—Election of school boards in England and Wales—Budgets of 1870 and 1871 compared—Mr. Lowe's proposal—Alterations in the succession and legacy duties, and in the

incidence of the income-tax—The odious "match-tax"—Demonstration of the match-sellers and its treatment by the police—Unpopularity of the measure—Ludicrous position of the government—Withdrawal of the budget—Increase of income-tax—Opposition to the Army Regulations Bill—Vote of censure on the government in the House of Lords—Suspension of the Ballot Bill—Military camp at Aldershott—Serious illness of the Prince of Wales—Great prosperity of the country—Conclusion of the Franco-German war—Thanksgiving for the recovery of the Prince of Wales—Celebration at St. Paul's—Attempt to alarm the queen—Sentence on the criminal—Session of 1872—Loss of prestige by the government—Opposition of various parties—Indifference of the public—The Education Act—The Scotch Education Bill—Army organization—Sir M. Lopes' resolution on local taxation—The budget—Remission of income-tax—Financial prosperity—Passing of the Ballot Bill—Principal measures of the session—Features of 1873—Strike in the iron trade in Wales—Price of coal—Mr Gladstone's difficulties—The Irish University Education Act—Defeat and resignation of the government—Mr. Disraeli declines to take office—Reconstruction of the ministry—Financial statement—Hostilities on the Gold Coast—The Ashantee expedition—Death of the Emperor Napoleon III—The autumn manœuvres.

ON the 1st of January, 1870, imprisonment for debt may be said to have been abolished, for on that date the act which was passed in the previous session came into effect, providing that no person should be arrested or imprisoned for default in payment of a sum of money except in the case of debts for penalties, default by trustees, defaults by attorneys or solicitors under orders of a court to make payments, default of payment of sums ordered to be paid by a court of bankruptcy, and default of payment under orders of the act itself. Ordinary debtors of sums not amounting to £50 might be imprisoned by order of a judge under a judgment summons for omitting or refusing to pay either the whole debt or the instalments ordered by the judge to be paid, but only after examination of the defendant in court, and on the creditor showing to the satisfaction of the judge that he had the means of payment. On New Year's Eve sixty-three debtors left Whitecross Street prison in London, and thirty-one remained only till they could arrange how to accept their newly-acquired freedom. Only forty-one prisoners remained in custody under commitments from county courts which came under the regulations of the new act. One poor fellow who was released had actually been in custody twenty-seven years under an order from the Court of Admiralty.

A bill proposed by Mr. Gladstone for improving the tenure of land in Ireland was brought before the house at the beginning of the session. It was to give facilities to tenants for purchasing cultivated lands; to assist owners of waste lands to prepare them for occupation, and to allow compensations to tenants for suitable improvements. Leases were to be for a period not exceeding thirty-one years, and for other tenancies notices to quit should be dated twelve months from the last gala day. All occupiers under £4 were to be relieved from payment of the county cess, and in other cases the amount would be divided between the owner and the occupier. The bill passed the second reading by a great majority, and after going through committee, where it was subject to some amendments, especially by the assimilation of the Ulster customs to the proposed legislative changes, it was read a third time on the 30th of May, and after passing, with a few alterations, in the House of Lords, became law before the end of a session which was notable for the introduction of great and important measures.

The two most prominent of these, both of which had to be deferred to the following year, were the National Education Bill and the measure for amending the law relating to procedure at parliamentary elections, by which the ballot was adopted and the probabilities of corrupt practices at elections were immeasurably diminished. It was only two years since the Conservative government had made that "leap in the dark" by which the lower strata of society had received the franchise; and now the Marquis of Hartington, the eldest son and heir of the great Whig Duke of Devonshire, proposed to the house a measure for which Mr. Berkeley had long contended in vain. On the 9th of May his lordship brought forward the bill, which in one respect differed widely from the report of the committee upon which it was founded, since it was intended to supersede the former nomination of candidates by instituting a kind of private nomination before the returning officer. Election expenses were still to be borne by candidates themselves, and the adoption of the ballot would, it was contended, secure the purity, the tranquillity, and above all the freedom of elections. For a time there might necessarily be a sacrifice of that open voting which was so much valued by many persons, but that was a disadvantage which might not continue. The poll would be taken by means of tickets, to be given to electors in the presence of the agents of the candidates, each ticket bearing upon its back a number similar to that upon the face of a counterfoil, upon which would be inscribed, at the time of voting, the number upon the register of the elector to whom the ticket had been delivered. As soon as the poll closed, these counterfoils

would be transmitted by the poll clerks direct to the crown office, and the tickets themselves would, after being counted, be forwarded by the returning officer to the same office, in order that, in case of a petition, the validity of any vote might be tested. There were other provisions to guard against corrupt practices, among which the most important was that forbidding any apartment in a public-house to be used as a committee-room, and another declaring any expenditure beyond that returned to the election officer to be illegal, and therefore vitiatory to the seat. Such were the main provisions of a measure the completion of which was deferred till the following session.

As early as the 17th of February Mr. Forster moved for leave to bring in a bill to secure the instruction of children by providing schools in every district in England where the present means were insufficient, and by making education compulsory. If the educational facilities were efficient, and included a due amount of primary secular instruction, irrespective of the kind of religious education to which no parent could reasonably object, that district would be left alone so long as it continued to be effectually supplied with educational facilities, but efficiency would be measured by the standard which parliament might from time to time set up. The school inspection would be no longer voluntary, and every school would be obliged to submit to inspection without any denominational conditions, while a conscience clause would be attached to every school as the condition of any government grant. Voluntary local efforts had failed to provide any adequate system for education, and it was necessary that local taxation under local management should be supplemented by a government grant, but with central supervision. School fees would not be given up, but the poorest classes of parents would be assisted, while in some cases their children would receive free education. The rate for the support of the schools would be a local one, levied with the poor-rate. Power would be given to the school boards in the various districts to frame by-laws to compel the attendance of children within certain hours unless some reasonable cause for their absence could be alleged; these by-laws to be approved by the central authority and laid before parliament.

These were the outlines of a measure with the complete organization of which we have since become familiar; but it was not passed without serious opposition on the part of the upholders of denominational religious teaching on the one hand and of the advocates of merely secular instruction on the other. The questions on which the hardest battles of the bill were fought, and have since been renewed, were those relating to the kind of religious instruction, or the entire absence of such instruction, in schools established by the boards and supported by the state. The conflict, however, was maintained chiefly by the excited partisans of each side, and very little practical difficulty actually arose because of objections made by parents to the simple teaching and unsectarian explanation of Scripture. Indeed, it may be declared that the popular desire was in favour of such simple religious teaching, founded on the Bible, as would alone be suitable for children in elementary schools. Another clause of the bill which provoked considerable opposition was one proposing that members of the school boards should be elected by ballot. This was regarded as a step in advance, in view of the large impending measure of vote by ballot, and in the House of Lords an amendment was passed that provincial boards should be elected in the same way as boards of guardians. After long and strenuous discussion in committee, however, the chief provisions of the National Education Act were accepted in the early part of August.

By that time not England only, but all Europe had been stirred by the intelligence that war had been declared between France and Prussia, whose international relations had for some time been threatened with sudden interruption. It needed but a spark to light the train, and this was supplied by the demand by France of a guarantee from the King of Prussia that the Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern should not resume his candidature for the vacant throne of Spain, which had been offered him by General Prim after the abdication of Isabella. The King of Prussia had declared that he had dissuaded Prince Leopold from accepting it, but objected to comply with the demand of the French ambassador, whom he afterwards refused to receive, declining to make any further communications to him. This was the ostensible reason for the hostile attitude assumed by France, though it was afterwards declared that a war party there had long been stimulating the emperor to prepare for a conflict with Prussia, and for the reclamation of those portions of the frontier which had been lost and were still claimed by the French. The result of the declaration of war was to expedite the cherished plan of the King of Prussia and his minister, Count Bismarck, by whom it was desired that the former should be the emperor of United Germany. The smaller states gave their adhesion to Prussia in prosecuting the war, and the conflict became the absorbing topic for the whole of the latter six months of the year. By the end of September Napoleon III. was a prisoner, a series of defeats had been sustained by the French, who were ill prepared for the conflict, and the German armies were advancing towards Paris, which was already in a state of revolution. The Empress

of the French and the youthful Prince Imperial had escaped to England, and had taken up their abode at Chiselhurst, where the Emperor, who was dethroned and exiled, joined them after the termination of the war in 1871, when he was released from his short captivity at Wilhelmshoe Before the end of 1870 Paris was in a state of siege. In January, 1871, an armistice was concluded; the capitulation followed, and a heavy indemnity had to be guaranteed to Germany before the victorious army retired, leaving the French capital to the disorders of the Communists and other insurgents before a regular republican government could be established England had preserved a strict neutrality, and comparatively little change was made in the defences of the country, though a vote was passed by which the army and navy estimates were supplemented.

By the end of the year the election of school boards had been completed with one or two exceptions, and the work of national education had commenced. The budget of 1869–70 had shown a larger revenue than had ever before been raised, viz. £75,434,000, while the expenditure was £67,564,000. The relative revenue and expenditure of the year 1870–71 were calculated at £71,450,000 and £67,113,000 respectively, and out of the surplus, remission of several small duties and a reduction of a penny on the income-tax were effected. The budget of 1871 exhibited a very different aspect, and it was believed that but for the rare sagacity of Mr. Gladstone and the assistance that he gave to Mr. Lowe, the chancellor of the exchequer, the government would have been defeated by the rejection of the financial scheme. There was an estimated excess of £2,713,000 of expenditure over revenue, and the sum of £600,000 taken in the previous year for the abolition of purchase in the army would probably be doubled in the current year. The chancellor of the exchequer remarked that the deficiency could be met by the abolition of exemptions of the taxes on horses used in agriculture, on licenses in Ireland, on charitable and collegiate funds, and on dividends belonging to foreigners abroad. This would give above £2,000,000, but he only pointed this out and did not propose it as a substantive resolution. He proposed to raise the revenue by changing the incidence of the probate, legacy, and succession duties, and by charging all personal property liable as intestate, with a duty of two per cent. The distinctions would be abolished between legacy and probate duty, in cases where Englishmen dying in France had property in England, or where Englishmen held property in France, and it was proposed to make both descriptions of property liable to probate as well as to legacy duty. The succession duties were also to be increased, since they had failed to yield the sum at which they had been estimated when the existing scale was fixed. He calculated that these sources would yield £1 200,000. Part of the remaining amount was to be raised by a tax on lucifer matches, wax-lights, and fusees; every box of 100 matches was to bear a halfpenny stamp, and every box of 100 wax-lights or fusees a penny stamp. This would produce £550,000, but as the legacy and succession duties would during the year produce only £300,000, the remaining £1,950,000 must be raised by increased income-tax, which he proposed to charge by a system of per centage. At present the tax was fourpence in the pound, which at a percentage was £1, 13*s.* 4*d.* in the £100. If he added to this 10*s.* 8*d.* so as to make the percentage £2, 4*s.*, it would give him £2,800,000.

This was the scheme which was received with some astonishment and no little ridicule, but after discussion, the resolution relating to the tax on matches was passed, though few people believed that it would be finally adopted. The public opposition to this tax grew so formidable that it was the general topic of conversation, and the comic journals made great capital of it, while to add to its unpopularity a large body of poor persons representing the match-dealers of the metropolis went up to the House of Commons with a petition, which, however, the law did not permit them to present in person. Unfortunately the steps taken to prevent what would probably have been only a harmless and orderly demonstration, was converted by the opposition of the police into a painful exhibition of repression which might have had a tragical ending. The procession was to march from the east end of London to Westminster, and during the morning men bearing placards inscribed with protestations against the obnoxious tax paraded the Strand. Similar placards were carried by the persons forming the procession, or were borne on poles or affixed to the "tailboards" of carts and vans filled with remonstrants. The cortege was formed somewhere near Bow, and two bands of music accompanied it westward. "Why should we be ruined to provide compensation for the officers of the army?" was the question on one of the great posters; while others contained verses and sentences reflecting on the government and especially on Mr. Lowe. The procession numbered several thousands, the majority being girls between thirteen and twenty years old. About half a mile from the principal starting-point a strong force of police was stationed. A panic seized the women and children, and many thousands of spectators seemed to be disgusted by the interposition of the police who barred the advance.

The bands of music and the procession were disorganized; hoots and shouts were raised, flagpoles were smashed, women shrieked, and a general uproar ensued during which a few stones were thrown. The body of matchmakers was too large to be actually stayed. By the time they reached Whitechapel the demonstrationists had increased to about 10,000, and they were more seriously resisted by the police, but the greater number passed on towards the Thames Embankment in straggling order. Here the police formed a large compact body and placed themselves so that a collision was inevitable. Placard boards were smashed, the remaining banner-poles were shivered into splinters, and there was general hustling, while several blows, some of a serious kind, were exchanged on each side, and a few stones were thrown. Many of the people who were thus impeded escaped in rage and terror to Parliament Street, where more police were stationed, but 3000 of them contrived to enter Palace Yard and a large number gained access to Westminster Hall, where the constables in charge had not expected them. They were quickly ejected, however, and without any particular violence. The telegraph wires were set to work to summon fresh bodies of constables. The hunted matchmakers lingered about wherever they were allowed to stand, hooting the police, hissing the sheriffs' carriages as they passed along the embankment, and generally giving expression to their exasperated feelings. The demonstration was at an end, but the proposed tax had placed the government in a position that had at first been ludicrous and afterwards came near to being hateful.

The obnoxious measure had virtually been withdrawn before this protest took place, and it was quickly abandoned. Mr. Gladstone, though he defended the principle of changing the succession duties, consented to a proposition to take back the budget, and during its reconsideration to adopt the method of an increase of twopence on the income-tax in order to raise the required supplies. This plan of resorting to direct taxation by way of increased income-tax was bitterly denounced by the opposition; but the answer was that the House of Commons had declined to accede to the only available proposals for indirect charges. Ultimately the increase of income-tax was adopted in committee; but the position of the ministry was considerably weakened by the unfortunate rejection of their financial policy. The Army Regulation Bill was hotly contested in the House of Lords, where it was subjected to considerable amendments. On the 31st of July a vote of censure on the government was moved by the Duke of Richmond, on the ground of objection to the abolition of purchase in the army, and to the indemnity which would therefore have to be provided for officers. The motion was carried by 162 votes to 82, and the Army Regulation Bill was then read a second time, and after going through the further stages received the royal assent on the 17th of August The Ballot Bill, after long discussion in committee, passed the third reading in the House of Commons on the 8th of August, but was defeated in the House of Lords by a division on a motion of Lord Shaftesbury, so that a measure of a similar character had to be brought forward in the following year.

The marriage on the 21st of March at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, of the Princess Louise, fourth daughter of the Queen, to John George Edward Henry Douglas Sutherland Campbell, Marquis of Lorne, was one of the most interesting events of the year, and was celebrated with befitting magnificence. In the autumn of the year a system of military instruction was inaugurated by the establishment of a camp at Aldershott for the practice of military manœuvres. About 30,000 men, including militia and volunteers, were assembled under the command of some of the most experienced officers in the service. The Duke of Cambridge assumed the chief command, and the Prince of Wales took part in the movements at the head of a cavalry brigade.

In November great anxiety was felt by the entire nation because of the dangerous illness of the Prince of Wales, who suffered from an attack of fever. For some time the medical reports were encouraging, but in the first week of December he suffered a relapse which caused serious apprehension and a general outburst of grief and sympathy, especially when it was remembered that the 14th of December was the anniversary of the death of Prince Albert. Happily, however, the prince rallied, and slowly but surely recovered. The prosperity of the country during the year was remarkable, the amount of imports and exports and the productiveness of great resources of revenue surpassing all former experience, and the railway traffic exceeding those of any former year by nearly a million. The harvest too had been plentiful, and but for the maintenance of trade disputes and strikes the condition of all classes of the community would have been most encouraging. The year, which in France had commenced with a state of distress and disorganization, which culminated in the wild excesses of so-called communists and the brief rule of assassins and incendiaries, ended with the establishment of peace and the restoration of order. The united North German Empire was consolidated under the rule of King William of Prussia, who was now em-

peror and kaiser. France under the judicious direction of M. Thiers had begun to recover her organization, and to prepare for the large war indemnities exacted by Germany.

The year 1872 may be said to have begun with a general thanksgiving for the recovery of the Prince of Wales from his long and dangerous illness. At the close of the previous year the queen in her own name and in the name of the Princess of Wales had published an expression of her thanks and heartfelt gratification for the sympathy which had been universally declared by the nation during the long period of anxiety and sorrow which had been passed through by the royal household. In the month of February, 1872, the recovery of the prince was happily completed, and by the 27th of the month a celebration which was at first intended as little more than a private thanksgiving service on the part of the queen and her household, had assumed the proportions of a national festival, probably the most general and the most successful to be found in the annals of the country. With a sound appreciation of the national sentiment the queen resolved by a solemn ceremony to celebrate the restoration of the health of her son. In accordance with the custom of former times a thanksgiving service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, whither her majesty, the prince, the royal family, and the dignitaries of state went in procession, amidst the enthusiastic welcome of vast crowds of persons, many of whom had come from the provinces to join in a demonstration of exuberant loyalty. Raised platforms, windows, balconies, doorsteps, as well as the whole of the footways, which were in several places secured by barricades, contained the people who greeted her majesty and the prince with hearty good-will. From Buckingham Palace to St. Paul's the royal progress was made amidst one vast continuous cheer. The streets were decorated with flags, triumphal arches, and mottoes, and Temple Bar, where the royal party was received by the aldermen and civic functionaries, was converted into a splendid trophy. The scene within the cathedral was solemn and imposing. The approach was by a covered way or tent of crimson cloth ornamented with heraldic devices and surmounted with the inscription "I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the house of the Lord." The vast interior of the cathedral held a congregation of 13,000 persons, the central space under the dome being allotted to the royal family and those of the highest rank, the houses of parliament, the corps diplomatique, distinguished foreigners, the judges, and high dignitaries. The service began with a *Te Deum*, sung by a choir of 250 voices; a special form of thanksgiving was pronounced and a sermon was delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury from the text, "Members one of another." At night the outside of the dome of the cathedral was magnificently illuminated, and most of the other public buildings, the streets, and many important private establishments throughout the metropolis joined in a brilliant display, which lighted the metropolis with unwonted splendour.

Only two days afterwards the queen was returning from a drive, and the carriage had entered the north gate, crossed the court-yard, and passed through the garden-gate, at which her majesty usually alighted. The carriage stopped, but before anyone had descended, a youth, tall, thin, and decently dressed, rushed to the left hand side of the carriage, holding a paper in his left hand and a pistol in his right. Having remained in that position for a moment he rushed round to the other side, at which the queen was seated, and again presented the pistol and paper. Her majesty was quite calm and unmoved, and her personal attendant, Mr. John Brown, at once disarmed the lad of the pistol, which was found to be unloaded. It was an old-fashioned flint-lock weapon, broken, useless, and in the barrel was a piece of rag. The young man, whose name was Arthur O'Connor, was a clerk, seventeen years of age, and the paper which he held, was an oath or declaration to which it appeared he thought he might obtain her majesty's signature, granting pardon to the Fenian prisoners, and concluding with a promise that the offender himself, if found guilty after surrendering himself, should not be hanged for his attempt like a common felon, but should be shot, receiving "that death which is due to him as a Christian, a republican, and as one who has never harmed a human being." He was given into custody, committed for trial, and on the 11th of April was brought before Baron Cleasby at the Central Criminal Court, where the jury refused to consider him insane, and he was sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for one year and to receive twenty strokes with a birch rod.

Before the commencement of the session it was evident that the government had lost much of its former prestige, and that in spite of the important liberal measures which had been brought forward and passed, the opposition of various parties was already undermining the power of the ministry. The Conservatives were not ready to take office and had no immediate intention of overthrowing the government, but they joined some of the treacherous friends of the Liberal body in inflicting as much injury on the cabinet and on the supporters of the ministry as would prepare for a defeat. The advocates of "home rule" in Ireland were endeavouring to promote the separation of the Irish from the English

government. Prices of ordinary commodities were enormously increased by the continued struggle between capital and labour. A large section of the dissenting body was violently opposed to some clauses of the education bill, and threatened to withdraw its allegiance from the ministry. The loss of an important vessel, the *Megæra*, and various sinister reports, had caused no little dissatisfaction with the admiralty administration; there were grave fears as to the conclusion of the Washington Treaty and the treatment of "indirect claims" made by the American government, and the home office had over and over again raised popular antagonism by exhibitions of weakness in dealing with matters affecting public advantage. The question seemed to be, could the government, even with the cordial help of its many open enemies and insincere friends, manage to receive the dislikes of so many different sections, and yet survive the session?

These evidences of dissatisfaction and excitement almost seemed to be represented by the elements, for the year was one of violent storms and changes in temperature; but the session once opened, the prevailing and politically the most dispiriting condition was indifferentism. There was little enthusiasm, though there was much complaint and a certain carping opposition Much of this opposition was mitigated, however, after the actual commencement of the session, and that of the dissenting bodies to the education act was met by an explanation and an amendment introduced by Mr. Forster, so that the establishment of the bill, which was intended to be gradual in its operation in regard to the exercise of compulsion, was secured, and nearly 300 school boards in various parts of the country set earnestly to work to carry out the system which they had to apply to the necessities of the ignorant, and what was still more disheartening, of the indifferent classes, for the benefit of whose children it was intended. The Scotch Education Bill brought in by the lord-advocate proposed to establish a school board in every parish and every borough to be elected by all ratepayers. The education rate would be increased, all owners and occupiers of real property being required to contribute on the true value of their property The existing public schools were to be placed under school-board management; there would be no central board of education in Edinburgh, but the imperial grant would be administered by a Scotch committee of the privy-council. "The religious difficulty" would be settled by the people themselves, and the salaries of teachers would also be left to arrangement. The measure passed with only slight alterations.

Soon after the beginning of the session Mr. Cardwell, in moving the army estimates, showed that there had been a reduction of £1,027,000 on the previous year due to the completion of works and the arming of the auxiliary forces. By concentration we had a larger force of regulars at home than during any former period of peace. The army had been favourably recruited, and satisfactory reports had been received of the Irish militia. A limited number of officers were to be allowed to retire from the regular army and to join militia regiments. The volunteers had increased by 3062 efficients, 4766 extra-efficients. With the army and militia reserves we had nearly 300,000 men of regulars and militia reserve, and adding the volunteers, a total force of 461,000, of whom 146,500 were liable to serve abroad. The abolition of purchase had cost less than had been anticipated, only £855,000 instead of the calculated £1,600,000 being required.

A resolution proposed by Sir M. Lopes, declaring that the ratepayers in counties and boroughs ought to be relieved from paying by local taxation for national objects, was successful against the government. The local taxation of the empire Sir M. Lopes computed at forty millions, almost identical with imperial taxation, exclusive of the cost of the debt. This he maintained was levied exclusively on barely one-seventh of the whole annual income of the country, and he proposed that the imperial exchequer should take on itself the whole expenses of administration of justice, half the charges of police, and half the charge of lunatics, a change which would transfer £2,037,000 to the consolidated fund. The financial statement of the chancellor of the exchequer was founded on the production of £2,220,000 more revenue than had been expected, and an excess of £2,815,000 over expenditure, a balance which enabled him to take off the twopence from the income-tax, to extend the exemptions under the house-tax, to reduce the customs duties on coffee and chicory, and the excise on the latter by one-half, and to increase the abatement of income-tax on incomes under £200 to £80, which was to be abated from all incomes under £300. The passing of the Ballot Bill after months of weary labour was the great achievement of the session; but the Scotch Education Bill, the bill for regulating mines, the bill for reforming the system of granting licenses to keepers of taverns and public-houses, and the Public Health Bill were also important measures.

The year 1873 began with a vast strike of the ironworkers of South Wales, and the whole question of the relations between labour and capital was one of grave anxiety. The effect of the disturbance in the iron trades so affected the supply and the prices of coal that in February the prices in London rose 20 per cent., to 50*s.* per ton, and

high rates continued during the year. There were some symptoms, however, that the large extension of the strike system could not continue, and though the cost of living remained at a high standard trade disputes abated as the year advanced. Indeed, 1873 may be said to have been a year of unusual quietude or even of dulness. Considerable discontent was manifested towards the government, and the publicans, who felt aggrieved by the regulations of the new licensing act, joined the Conservatives, and may be said to have influenced several elections in which that party was successful. Mr. Gladstone retained his intellectual vigour, and had given signal proofs of his great ability; he had succeeded in initiating or sustaining measures of immense importance to the progress of the country, and he had still so large an influence in the House of Commons and in the country that the opposition did not attempt to form a ministry even when the government was defeated. But there were so many opposing parties to the measures which the prime minister regarded as necessary to complete the work of parliamentary, educational, and ecclesiastical reform, that it became increasingly difficult to secure a majority on some questions The Irish Church had been disestablished, the tenure of land in Ireland had been remodelled, and it was now sought to reorganize the system of Irish university education by means of a bill, the provisions of which were as ingenious as they were elaborate. The exclusive union of Dublin University and Trinity College was to be abolished, and the college and several other educational institutions were to be affiliated to the university. The so-called Catholic University, and several other Roman Catholic seminaries, were to be in the same manner attached to the university and to its revenues. Trinity College would contribute £12,000 a year, the remaining revenue falling on the consolidated fund of £10,000 a year. The government of the university was to be vested in a council of persons to be named in the bill. Future vacancies were to be filled for a certain number of years by the crown, and afterwards by a mixed system of co-optation and election, in which the preponderating power would ultimately have devolved on the affiliated colleges. It is easy to see that this, like the education act, challenged the opposition of people of very diverse views, and Mr. Fawcett was followed by many of the Liberals in denouncing certain precautions against proselytism which the bill contained, and the inclination of the government to conciliate the priesthood. This had a considerable effect; but after a long and earnest debate the premier, in a speech of remarkable lucidity and power, vindicated his policy, and when a division took place it might have been thought that he had carried his measure, so near were the numbers. But the government was defeated by 287 to 284 votes, and as Mr. Gladstone had declared that they would stand or fall by the result he immediately resigned his office; but Mr. Disraeli declined to attempt the task of forming a ministry, and her majesty again sent for Mr. Gladstone, who reconstructed a ministry, and the house settled down on the 20th of March to the remainder of what proved to be a dull session. At a later period Mr. Fawcett brought in a Dublin University reform bill, which passed in the form of a simple measure for the abolition of tests.

The judicature bill introduced in the House of Lords by the lord-chancellor (Lord Selborne) was the only largely important measure passed during the session, and united in the Supreme Court of Judicature all the existing Superior Courts of Common Law and Equity, and also the Probate and Divorce Court, the Admiralty Court, and the London or Central Court of Bankruptcy. The supreme court was divided into two divisions, a High Court of Justice and a Court of Appeal, and the details were so simply and effectually stated as to be comprised in a comparatively brief but masterly statement. The budget of the year was influenced by an unfavourable harvest and by the relative financial conditions of France and Germany, which had affected the money market; but there was an increase of £4,781,770 revenue over the estimated amount, viz. £76,608,770 as compared with £71,846,000, while the expenditure was £70,714,770. The surplus, or such portion of it as properly belonged to the actual increase, was devoted to a reduction of the duty on sugar, the exemption from the duties payable on servants, of persons employed in hotels and taverns, and the reduction of the income-tax by another penny.

The most important military event of the year was the breaking out of hostilities between the administrators of our possessions on the Gold Coast and the King of Ashantee because of the oppression and cruelty perpetrated by the latter upon the Fantees, an inferior race dwelling near to the coast, and within the British protectorate. In February three Ashantee armies, the centre one of 12,000 men, invaded the protected country, made straight for Cape Coast Castle, and advanced, after defeating the Fantee army at Jooquah. Only a few hundred coloured troops of the West India regiments were available to meet the enemy, but Colonel Harley, governor of Cape Coast Castle, contrived to arm some of the Fantees and the more warlike Houssas, and early in June a detachment of seamen and marines arrived under Colonel Festing, and operating with the native force, repulsed an attack on the castle of

Elmina, and afterwards, though they were but about 400 strong, defeated 4000 of the Ashantees, who retired to their camp. The English government determined, however, to make such a demonstration as would prevent the enemy from invading the British protectorate again. The military road to Coomassie was commanded by a volunteer, Lieutenant Gordon, of the 98th Highlanders, who struck boldly into the interior, and made a road for a considerable distance. Other officers volunteered for service to organize native troops, and finally Major-general Sir Garnet Wolseley was appointed administrator of the Gold Coast and commander-in-chief of the troops. He left Liverpool on the 12th of September, and by the end of the year the Ashantees were already in full retreat, and the British forces were preparing to march on to the capital.

The death of the ex-Emperor Napoleon III., which took place at Chislehurst on the 9th of January, to the grief of a large number of his friends and the genuine sorrow of a considerable section of the English public, who had recognized in him a sincere friend to this country, was one of the most important social events of the year. The visit of the queen to Victoria Park and the opening of the Museum of Industrial and Art Exhibitions at Bethnal Green gave a welcome opportunity for the public expression of attachment to the sovereign. The visit of the Czar of Russia in June, the Shah of Persia in June and July, and the series of entertainments to which the latter was invited in London, were a slight relief to a rather dull and uneventful year. The autumn campaign on Dartmoor and the military manœuvres, which ended on 21st Aug. with a review in the presence of the Prince of Wales, was also regarded as an attractive event.

CHAPTER VIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1874, TO MARCH, 1878.

VICTORIA.

Mr Gladstone's announcement of a dissolution of parliament—Surprise of the opposition and of the country—Public feeling—Financial prospects—Return of a Conservative majority—The new ministry—Slight changes in parliament—Marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh with Marie Alexandrovna of Russia—Termination of the Ashantee war—Conclusion of a treaty with the king, Koffee Calcalli—The Indian famine—Measures for its relief—Cost of the Ashantee war—Grant to Sir Garnet Wolseley—The budget—Want of energy and vitality in parliament—The licensing bill—Ritualism—Excitement in parliament in discussing the Public Worship Regulation Act—Lord Shaftesbury's amendment—Mr. Gladstone's opposition—Final passing of the bill—Session of 1876—Affairs in the East—The insurrection in Bulgaria—Attitude of Russia—The conference—Refusal of Turkey to comply with propositions—Decision of the czar—Deficiency in the budget—Visit of the Prince of Wales to India—The queen named Empress of India—Mr. Disraeli created Earl Beaconsfield—Session of 1877—Obstructives in parliament—"Filibustering" of the "Home Rulers"—Violence of the "war party"—Mr. Gladstone's opposition—Commencement of the Russo-Turkish war—Independence of Roumania—Declaration of war—Arrival of the czar at Bucharest—The Circassian revolt—Turkish successes—Crossing of the Danube by the Russians—Progress of the war—Investment of Plevna—The British fleet goes to Besika Bay—State of affairs at the commencement of 1878—Progress and termination of the Russo-Turkish war—The treaty of peace.

WHILE everybody was looking forward to a continuance of Mr. Gladstone's administration at least during the year 1874, the premier himself had determined to make an appeal to the country in order to obtain additional support for the government, or to test the stability of the nation in relation to its support of the Liberal policy. But the Liberal party, though not altogether disorganized, was divided into sections on several questions of which members took independent views, and members of the government had on several occasions been unfortunate in arousing public antagonism by imprudent declarations, and in some instances by want of courtesy to deputations and representative bodies who waited on them to advocate certain views to which they were opposed. Mr. Lowe's removal to the home office, where he exhibited some asperity, was scarcely followed by that vigorous action which it was supposed he would display, and other modifications of the government, though they were calculated to strengthen its position, did not work satisfactorily. A compensation for all these deficiencies might have been found in the determination of Mr. Gladstone to assume the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and a general comprehensive and beneficial scheme of finance was expected

from so great a master. This expectation would probably have been verified but for his sudden determination to appeal to the country by a dissolution of parliament and a general election. Enthusiasm for the early triumphs of the administration had subsided; the failure of the Irish University Education Bill had been significant in the collision which it occasioned between the prime minister and many English and Scotch Liberals; and there was a considerable party inclined to Liberal legislation who yet were somewhat alarmed at the activity with which great changes were effected, and at the impending alterations which might be involved in further movements. A slight decline in the Liberal majority added to the determination of Mr. Gladstone to try the issue of his hold upon the country, and a fortnight before the time appointed for opening the session, to the surprise of all parties, and even of his own cabinet, he announced the immediate dissolution of parliament.

The financial condition of the country was so prosperous that a surplus of six millions was anticipated, and it was proposed if the government again obtained a majority, to abolish the income-tax and to diminish the local rates, measures which would require some readjustment of taxation in other particulars in order to meet what would then be a slight deficit. Of course the premier was accused of using this promise as an inducement, by which he virtually held out the surplus as a bribe for the purchase of a majority for the government, but as a matter of fact the whole situation was so sudden and unexpected that promises and offers of various kinds were demanded on all sides. The general astonishment was increased when it was found that the Conservative reaction, frequently talked about, had really come, and that the new electors were not led solely by Liberal opinions. The elections were over by the middle of February, and were the first which had ever taken place under the ballot. They resulted in a majority of fifty to the Conservative party, a smaller majority than that on which Mr. Gladstone had been able to rely at the close of the previous session, but one which was of sufficient importance to warrant Mr. Disraeli's acceptance of office after the resignation of the former ministry on the 17th of February. The only new name on the list of the new ministry was that of Mr. Cross, who was appointed home secretary. Sir Stafford Northcote became chancellor of the exchequer, Mr Ward Hunt first lord of the admiralty, and the Earl of Derby foreign secretary.

Of the newly elected members above 200 had not sat in the former parliament, and the majority of these had been for the first time elected. On the 19th of March the session was opened, the royal speech, which was read by the lord-chancellor, announcing the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh (Prince Alfred) with the Grand-duchess Marie Alexandrovna, daughter of the Emperor of Russia, the termination of the war with the King of Ashantee; and the occurrence of a serious famine in India occasioned by the failure of the crops through continued drought.

The marriage of Prince Alfred, second son of her majesty, to the only daughter of the czar, had taken place on the 23d of January at the winter palace at St. Petersburg, and was solemnized in accordance with the Anglican and Greek Churches respectively, the former ceremony taking place in the Salle d'Alexander, where Dean Stanley (Dean of Westminster) officiated. The ceremony of the Greek Church had previously been celebrated by the metropolitan of St. Petersburg, assisted by his clergy. The spectacle was magnificent and the service was solemn and impressive. The emperor and empress were on the right of the altar, the Prince of Wales and the Russian grand-dukes standing opposite. The most interesting parts of the ceremony were the handing the rings to the bride and bridegroom, the crowning of the royal couple, and their procession with the metropolitan and clergy, Prince Arthur and the grand-dukes, round the analogion or lectern, the bride and bridegroom carrying lighted candles in their left hands There were present, members of the holy synod and of the high clergy, members of the council of the empire, senators, ambassadors, members of the corps diplomatiques, with the ladies of their families, high military and naval officers, and eminent Russian and foreign merchants of the first two guilds. The ladies wore the national costume, the men were in full uniform. The Queen of England was represented by Viscount Sydney and Lady Augusta Stanley. The wedding-day was celebrated in the principal towns of Great Britain. In Edinburgh there was a general illumination, which was crowned by a large bonfire on the summit of Arthur's Seat. On the 12th of March the newly wedded pair entered London in state amidst a heavy fall of snow, which must have reminded the bride of her native land. The streets were decorated and filled with people, who cheered with enthusiastic loyalty,—for the queen, who had accompanied them from Windsor, was seated in the open carriage beside her new daughter-in-law, the Princess Beatrice and the bridegroom sitting opposite. The day concluded with a general illumination of the principal streets of the metropolis.

The successful termination of the Ashantee war was announced shortly after the opening

of parliament. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had arrived on the Gold Coast in advance of his troops, commenced his inland march in the last days of 1873, and Captain Glover in the east, and other officers in the west, were commissioned to raise native levies, with which they were to effect a diversion as all the separate forces converged on the capital. The natives were of little value as auxiliaries, and there was great difficulty in retaining even the bearers and camp-followers whose services were indispensable. The resistance of the enemy was more resolute and obstinate than had been expected, and after several skirmishes the Ashantees made a final stand in the neighbourhood of the capital. They were easily defeated, however, and on the 5th of February Sir Garnet Wolseley entered Coomassie, and received the submission of the king, who agreed to appoint a commission to conclude a treaty After a stay of three or four days the general retired to Adamsi to await the Ashantee agents The promises of submission were then confirmed, and Captain Glover, who had arrived on the north of Coomassie, marched through the capital without opposition, and the European troops were re-embarked before the commencement of the unhealthy season. By the treaty made with the king the latter relinquished all claim of sovereignty over tribes under the English protectorate, and some of his own provincial chiefs thereupon renounced their allegiance. The English government resolved to retain the settlements on the coast as a crown colony, and to convert the neighbouring districts into a protectorate, retaining the limits of control and interference in its own hands; and Lord Carnarvon directed that the assembled chiefs should be informed that no purchase or sale of slaves should thenceforth be permitted, and that though domestic institutions would not be violently disturbed the law would take no cognizance of the right of a master to the possession of his slave.

The Indian famine was the cause of the greatest anxiety during the session. The insufficiency of the autumn rainfall had rendered inevitable the failure of the crops in Bengal and Behar, provinces containing a population of several millions. The disastrous results of the famine in Orissa in 1866 were still remembered, and both the viceroy and the lieutenant-governor of Bengal were impressed with the necessity for taking precautions against the impending calamity. With considerable difficulty and at great expense the government stores of food were afterwards distributed by sale in the form of wages, and sometimes as gifts, among the distressed population. Sir George Campbell, who was charged with the organization of the relief, and Sir Richard Temple, who succeeded him when he was compelled by illness to resign his post, displayed a remarkable faculty of administration and indefatigable energy. They had to establish relief works on a large scale, and to provide other means of relief for those classes who, according to the customs of the country, could not be expected to work. The expenses of purchase, conveyance, and distribution were very great, and it was found necessary to supply with food not only the English subjects in the distressed districts, but also the starving inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces of Nepaul. The efforts of the viceroy and the lieutenant-governor were seconded by officers of all ranks, and while the provision against famine imposed a heavy burden on the finances of India, the fearful mortality which must otherwise have occurred was effectually averted. Even though the rains had restored a degree of plenty, the terrible effects of the calamity continued, and had subsequently to be met by large contributions from the benevolent of this country.

The treaty signed by the barbarous King of Ashantee, Koffee Calcalli, ordered that free-trade should be opened between Ashantee and the British ports; that the road between Coomassie and the Prah should always be kept open; that the king should use his best efforts to check the practice of human sacrifice, and that he should pay in instalments an indemnity of 50,000 ounces of approved gold, beginning with 1000 ounces forthwith. The cost of the war to the British government was estimated at £900,000. To Sir Garnet Wolseley, who declined titular honours, a sum of £25,000 was awarded in recognition of his services; Captain Glover was made a knight of St. Michael and St. George. During the session a vote of £35,000 was granted for the purpose of carrying out the new scheme of government for the Gold Coast, Captain Strahan being appointed governor at £3000 per annum.

The expenditure for 1873–74 was estimated at £72,503,000, and it was a happy circumstance for the new ministry that Mr. Gladstone's sagacious anticipations of a surplus had been verified, and more than verified. Even after allowing for the additional expenditure included in the American award and the Ashantee war there remained a surplus of £5,492,000. Sir Stafford Northcote, the chancellor of the exchequer, held out no hope of the abolition of the income-tax, but proposed to reduce it by one penny in the pound. Half-a-million—which was represented by interest on advances not actually reckoned in the surplus, though it properly formed part of the revenue of the year—would be used to pay off a further instalment of the national debt, of which 140 millions would, he said, be paid by

the year 1885. The sugar duties were to be entirely abolished, and so were the horse duty, the horse-dealer's duty, and the race-horse duty. This was the financial scheme which was proposed and accepted by parliament, and the session soon settled down into an unexciting period, for while the opposition had only a nominal leader in Mr. Gladstone, who desired to retire for a time from active participation in political strife, the real leadership devolved on Lord Hartington, but with Mr. Lowe, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Stansfeld as his supporters. On the other hand, the government, if they had a leader, were destitute of a definite policy, and became suddenly polite to the Liberals and complimentary on the subject of Mr. Gladstone's recent achievements. For a time there seemed to be a half coalition of an uncombined and uncertain opposition, and an undefined and indecisive ministry.

It was supposed that the one government measure passed during the session—Mr. Cross's licensing bill—would be such as to give satisfaction to the publicans, who had exercised an enormous influence in securing Conservative seats at the election by joining the advocates of religious teaching in board schools, and so forming a strong party irreverently referred to by their antagonists as "Bible and Beer." Whatever may have been the anticipations of licensed victuallers, however, the bill introduced by Mr. Cross in April practically gave few or no important concessions in the matter of extending the hours during which public-houses were to remain open, or in increasing the facilities of the trade.

But the bill which re-aroused all the suspended animation of parliament was the Public Worship Regulation Bill, which was proposed in the House of Lords on the 20th of April. What were known as "ritualistic" practices in various churches had rendered some such measure essential if the clergy of the Established Church were to be bound to conformity with the rules and regulations by which the episcopate and the Protestant order of worship controlled religious forms and celebrations. The confessional had already become a secret if not an avowed institution in many churches, the administration of the sacrament was made to resemble the celebration of the Romish mass, invocations to the Virgin and to saints were introduced into the service, the use of lighted candles on the "altar," the sprinkling of holy water, processions of acolytes, crucifers bearing the crucifix, and boys bearing censers, were introduced. Imitations of the ceremonies of the Romish or rather the Papal Church had been adopted in various places, and were increasing in number by reason of the activity of a comparatively small section of the clergy, who as "priests" claimed to belong to the episcopal communion, but refused to obey the bishops and set the law at defiance. The original propositions of the bill were that each bishop should have that directory power in reference to the manner of worship which from sundry places in the canons and the Prayer-book would seem to have been intended in the constitution of the church. He was to be guided by the advice of a board of assessors, clerical and lay. Should any one parishioner, the rural dean, or the archdeacon, think that the practices of an incumbent amounted to a grievance, he would have a right to go to the bishop, and if the bishop thought it a matter for inquiry he would call his assessors together, and should they condemn the act or acts complained of, the bishop would issue his monition. But the incumbent might be allowed an appeal to the archbishop with a board of assessors, whose decision would be final. Experience has since proved that offenders of the ritualistic order would have cared little for the episcopal monition, and it was evident after considerable and lively discussion that another element of legal authority would have to be introduced The commission of inquiry which had long preceded the bill, had made little or no difference in the wilful vagaries of the "priests," who were introducing extravagant "observances" into the churches, and it was thought necessary to adopt stringent measures. Lord Shaftesbury from the first strongly opposed conferring the discretionary power on the bishops, and on the notice of the bill going into committee, on the 4th of June, he proposed as an amendment that one ecclesiastical judge should preside in the Courts of Canterbury and of York, with a salary of £4000 per annum, to be appointed by the two archbishops with the approval of the crown; and that before this judge, and not before the bishop of the diocese, each case of complaint, if not dismissed by the bishop as frivolous, was to go for trial. An appeal should lie from this judge to the privy-council. This amendment carried the victory, and the bill passed without a division on the 25th of June. In the Commons it aroused a vast amount of excitement. Mr. Gladstone reappeared in his place, and in a speech which was a master-piece of eloquence and electrified the house, gave the measure his uncompromising opposition on the ground that no act of parliament should proscribe varieties of opinion and usage in various congregations of the church, and that the house should not place in the hands of any bishop, on the motion of one or of three persons, greatly increased facilities towards procuring an absolute ruling of many points hitherto left open, and reasonably allowing of diversity. At the same time Mr. Gladstone advocated that the house should assist any

measure providing more effectual securities against neglect or departure from the law which might give evidence of a design to alter without the consent of the nation the spirit or substance of the established religion. These views he embodied in six resolutions, but Sir William Harcourt, who replied, declared that it was necessary to show that the National Church of England was in reality what it ought to be—the church of a Protestant nation He would not allow the doctrine of optional conformity, and it was evident that the majority were with him. Mr. Disraeli indeed subsequently declared that the measure was a bill "to put down ritualism" After considerable discussion it was evident that the bill with certain modifications would pass through committee, and Mr. Gladstone withdrew his resolutions. After several proposed amendments, one of which was carried but was afterwards rejected by the House of Lords, the bill was read a third time on the 3d of August, and Lord Penzance undertook the office of the new ecclesiastical judgeship at a salary of £3000 a year.

One of the most sadly-interesting occurrences of the year was the funeral in Westminster Abbey of the famous Dr Livingstone, who, having gone out to Africa as a missionary, remained as an explorer, recently occupied in endeavouring to discover the sources of the Nile. Reports of his death had been made four or five years before; but an adventurous American, Mr. H. M. Stanley, who went out on an expedition (commissioned by the *New York Herald* and the *London Daily Telegraph*) to find Livingstone, discovered the intrepid traveller in the interior of Africa. He was still bent on further explorations when he succumbed to fatigue and hardship. He died in the previous year, but in 1874 his remains were brought to England by faithful native attendants

If 1874 was comparatively unmarked by great and important measures and striking events, the following year was chiefly devoted to the practical working of the two or three solid contributions to legislation which had been adopted in the previous session. Some excitement was caused by the issue of a circular to the commanders of queen's ships directing them not to grant an asylum on board their vessels to fugitive slaves in foreign waters. These instructions were given in consequence of difficulties which had arisen in certain foreign ports where slavery was still acknowledged an institution, and where slaves took the opportunity of the presence of British vessels to escape from their owners. Public feeling was so unmistakably opposed to the circular, however, that it was withdrawn in the following session.

For some time previously the eastern question had excited considerable attention, and the great powers were already considering how a Turkish catastrophe might be averted or postponed.

Before the beginning of the session Mr. Gladstone, at the age of sixty-five, and after forty-two years of a laborious public life, formally relinquished the leadership of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, and the position was therefore taken by the Marquis of Hartington. It was expected that the queen would open parliament in person, but the serious illness of her youngest son Prince Leopold, whose delicate constitution, added to the grave alarm caused by any sudden attack, prevented her majesty from appearing in public, though by the time of the opening of the session the dreaded danger had been happily averted. An ample harvest had restored comparative prosperity to the Indian provinces which had suffered from famine, the Prince of Asturias, son of Isabella, had been called to the throne of Spain under the title of Alphonso XII.; the differences which threatened war between China and Japan had been settled, and England had accepted the offer of the unfettered cession of the Fiji Islands. These were the principal announcements of the royal speech.

The principal cause of the obstruction of general parliamentary business was the long debates on the "Irish Coercion Act," or rather the Peace Preservation Act, which was introduced by Sir M. H. Beach, the secretary for Ireland, and was in reality a measure for the continuance, with certain mitigations, of the repressive acts already in force, and rendered still necessary because of the condition of the country. The constant interposition of the Irish members on this measure, and the number of personal discussions and explanations which were introduced into the debates of parliament, occupied an inordinate proportion of the time of the session, and questions of "privilege" also arose on more than one occasion.

The budget was an unexciting one. Trade had been much depressed, and there was no substantial surplus, but there was no deficiency to meet. The expenditure had been estimated at £75,268,000, the revenue at £75,685,000. The only alteration proposed was in brewers' licenses, but the suggestion of a sinking fund for the gradual reduction of the national debt by an annual charge in every budget for twenty-eight millions, met with spirited opposition from Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Lowe. The proposition was, however, subsequently embodied in a bill and carried.

The Judicature Act Amendment Bill, the final provisions of which had been postponed to make way for the Public Worship Bill of the previous session, now came before parliament, but there

was a serious obstacle to its completion because of the difficulty of instituting a final court of appeal (in place of the House of Lords), which would include Scotland and Ireland as well as England, and yet should be a concession of their former privileges by the lords themselves. This difficulty was eventually overcome, in a temporary manner at all events, by the institution of the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal. The "High Court of Judicature" held its first sitting on the 1st of November. The Land Transfer Bill, for facilitating the register of titles; the Agricultural Holdings Bill, providing for transactions between landlord and tenant with regard to compensation for improvements, and several improvements in the regulations for the mercantile marine, for which a more strict inspection was ordered in reference to the lading and victualling of ships, were the other measures which distinguished the session The attempt of Mr. Plimsoll to obtain a stringent bill for preventing overloading and the sending out of unseaworthy vessels was unsuccessful, and that gentleman, who had devoted himself with enthusiastic ardour to put an end to the iniquitous practices of unscrupulous charterers and owners of "coffin ships," was obliged to be satisfied with a promise of the abolition of deck loading, the adoption of a load-line for determining the amount of freightage, and a closer scrutiny into the method of manning and victualling sea-going vessels

A general subject of interest in the later part of the year was the state visit of the Prince of Wales to India, and the determination was hailed with enthusiasm by the people of that country After a short visit to Athens and to Egypt, where he invested the son of the Khedive with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Star of India, his royal highness landed at Bombay early in November, and received a splendid welcome from the native chiefs, who were delighted with his demeanour and with the assurances which his visit conveyed of the equal and amicable character of British rule under the changed conditions since the suppression of the Indian mutiny.

During the session of 1876 the measures of the previous year gained consistency, and several important topics usefully occupied the attention of parliament. Two questions of great diplomatic importance occupied a prominent place in the national estimate of ministerial sagacity. The first of these was "the Andrassy note," concocted by the three great powers, formulated by the Chancellor of Austria, and despatched from Vienna on the 30th of December, 1875, to London, Paris, and Rome, for the approval of the three western governments. It was taken into consideration at a cabinet council on the 18th of January.

At the lord mayor's banquet at Guildhall on the 9th of November, 1875, Mr. Disraeli had stated that the following year would witness important events in the East, and he only expressed the general opinion of those who had been watching the proceedings. Ever since 1874 serious disaffection had prevailed in the Christian provinces under Turkish rule. Herzegovina was the place where the revolt first assumed threatening proportions, and it had long been one of the most disturbed districts of the Ottoman Empire. The outbreak originated in the exactions of the tithe farmers after the harvest of 1874, and in the following year numbers of the peasants fled to Montenegro to escape from oppression and imprisonment. Dervish Pasha, governor of Herzegovina, permitted them to return at the request of the Prince of Montenegro, and offered them an amnesty, but they were stopped on the frontiers by Turkish troops and two of them were killed. It was explained that the Turkish soldiers had acted without orders, but after the people had come back they were said to have been exposed to persecution and outrage. Their houses were burned, some of them were beaten, and one was put to death. Resistance followed, and a desultory conflict was maintained by successive attacks and reprisals.

The causes of the outbreak had long existed in the conditions of the Mohammedan rule, and the means by which its dominance was asserted. Towards the end of August, 1875, the European cabinets endeavoured to restore peace by sending their consular agents to confer with the rebels These negotiations failed. The insurgents refused to disarm unless the powers would protect them against the Turkish military rulers and their officers, and the refusal was to some extent justified by the fact that Mr Holmes, the British consul, as he was on his way back, met a body of Turkish troops going to attack the insurgents whom he had left, and who had assembled under the promise that they might do so in safety. The people of the Christian provinces were subject to extortionate imposts, to the tyrannical rule of the Agas, the courts of justice were corrupt, and life and property were entirely insecure. The Christians declared that they would rather die than submit to the slavery under which they suffered. If one of the European powers would give them a corner of land, they would emigrate, leaving Bosnia and Herzegovina to be formed into an autonomous state, tributary to the sultan Failing this they asked that a strong body of troops might be sent to protect them until good laws could be established. Server Pasha had been sent to the disturbed districts as commissioner of the Porte, and he was profuse in promises, to which the insurgents gave no credence

The imperial firman, in which a number of administrative reforms were set forth, was received with indifference, and the revolution, which continued to spread, had been again embittered by the massacre of some Christians who had returned to their homes in Dalmatia. Crowds of refugees were seeking an asylum in Austrian territory. Servia and Montenegro gave secret aid to the rebellion, which was joined by some of the warlike Montenegrins who had old scores to settle against the Turk. Meanwhile the three imperial courts had been considering how to prevent the extension of the revolt and to remove its chief causes. The task of stating their common views was left to Count Andrassy, on account of his intimate knowledge of Turkey, and the danger to Austria of a Slav rebellion on the borders of her own Slavonic provinces.

After pointing out that the Porte had stated general principles rather than formed practical plans for securing peace, Count Andrassy laid down several specific demands. The revenue derived from Bosnia and Herzegovina from indirect taxation should continue to be applied to the general purposes of the Ottoman Empire, but the proceeds of direct taxation should be spent on the province itself. Complete religious liberty should be established. The taxes should no longer be farmed. The execution of these reforms should be placed under the care of a special commission, half the members of which should be Mussulmans and half Christians. As much of the disquiet was occasioned by the Mussulmans being the owners and the Christians tillers of the soil, it was urged that the state should sell portions of its waste lands to the Christians on easy terms. The note also demanded that an official commission should obtain from the sultan the confirmation of his imperial promises, and pointed out that Servia and Montenegro would soon inevitably join in the rebellion. The Porte had urged our government to join in the communication to be made by the three powers, if its terms should not be altogether objectionable, and accordingly it received the general support of the English cabinet. It was presented on the last day of January, 1876, and all its demands were accepted, save that one directing the application of the direct and the indirect taxes. On the 13th of February the reply was sent to the powers, and very little more was heard of the Andrassy note, which, as Lord Derby pointed out, was after all little more than a demand for the fulfilment of previous promises, which, if they had been kept, and if at the same time the Turkish government had relied on their own resources to suppress the outbreak, instead of appealing to other powers for a consular mission which had been ineffectual, the insurrection would probably not have assumed international importance. As it was, nothing effectual was accomplished by the Turkish promises or by the acceptance of the representation of the powers. The insurrection assumed the proportions of a civil war, which spread from one district to another, and was accompanied by many barbarous atrocities and sanguinary acts of vengeance. Offers of an amnesty were made to the insurgents as the price of their surrender, but they refused it with scorn. Their demands for reform grew with the progress of the rebellion, and negotiations were almost impossible because of the utter disbelief with which Turkish promises were regarded.

Such was the condition of Turkey at the close of 1875. Affairs in Constantinople were in a serious position even at the beginning of the year 1876. The financial condition of the Turkish government was not far from that of bankruptcy, and the Porte came to the conclusion to defer the payment of the dividends due to bondholders in April, but various complicated schemes were afterwards proposed by European experts, and eventually a compromise was effected which still left creditors in a position of considerable uncertainty. On the 30th of May the Sultan Abdul Aziz was deposed by a *coup d'état* and Mehemet Murad Effendi, his nephew, and son of the former Sultan Abdul Medjid, was placed on the throne. Abdul Aziz was to be placed under restrictions; but before he could be removed to one of the palaces which he had chosen as the place of his retirement he committed suicide by stabbing himself in several places with a pair of scissors, having previously shown symptoms of aberration of mind. On the 31st of August, Murad, who had, it is said, always been of weak intellect, was removed to make way for his brother Abdul Hamid. By that time the insurrection had extended and was being desperately maintained. Servia was actively engaged, and its forces were enlarged by the accession of bodies of Russian "volunteers." Terrible stories of Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria were current all over Europe, while the friends of Turkey contradicted them without reserve, or brought forward stories of "barbarities" on the other side.

On the 26th of September Count Schouvaloff informed Lord Derby that in the opinion of the czar force should be used to stop the war and put an end to misrule, and proposed that Bulgaria should be occupied by Russian troops, that Bosnia should be occupied by Austrian soldiers, and that the united fleets of the powers should enter the Bosphorus. The czar was willing to abandon the idea of any occupation if the naval demonstration were considered sufficient by the English government. The English cabinet proposed an

armistice of not less than a month, but could not support an armed demonstration. The Porte was urged to grant an armistice, which was to be followed by the meeting of a conference to promulgate a scheme of reform for the whole empire; but in reply a six months' truce was offered, and this Russia refused on behalf of Servia, which could not keep its army on a war footing for so long a time. The czar continued emphatically to declare, however, that he had no intention of acquiring Constantinople, and appealed to the British ambassador at St. Petersburg to do his utmost to dispel the cloud of suspicion and distrust of Russia which had gathered in England. This was on the 4th of November, and on the 6th our government again urged the meeting of a conference in Constantinople, and Lord Salisbury was appointed the special representative of England. On the 9th of November, however, the prime minister, who had been elevated to the peerage under the title of Lord Beaconsfield, again made a speech at the civic banquet at Guildhall, and it was characterized by utterances which were certainly regarded by Russia as threatening and offensive. The next day, in speaking to the nobles of the communal council at Moscow, the czar delivered an address which was believed to be a reply to that of the English prime minister. He hoped, he said, that the conference would bring peace; but should this not be achieved, and should he not obtain from the Porte guarantees for carrying out what he had a right to demand, he was firmly determined to act independently, and was convinced that the whole of Russia would respond to his summons should he consider it necessary and should the honour of Russia require it.

On the 20th of November Lord Salisbury left London to attend the conference, the proposals of which were one after the other rendered futile by the obstinate attitude of Turkey in making various propositions apart from those submitted by the other powers, and so evading the demands for a complete reform of the government in the European provinces. A new "Ottoman constitution" was announced, and promulgated, and an armistice was concluded; but it soon became evident that the Turkish representatives, Savfet Pasha and Edhem Pasha, were determined to withstand all the most important proposals of the powers, and General Ignatieff on behalf of Russia peremptorily demanded a direct and distinct answer to them. Even when the other ambassadors receded from many of the demands, and surrendered others, the grand council of the Porte, to whom the questions were referred, refused to accept the remaining proposals, and it became evident that the conference must be dissolved.

The purchase by England of the shares in the Suez Canal belonging to the Khedive of Egypt, for between four and five millions sterling, was one of the principal events of the session, and resulted in a debate not altogether advantageous to the position of the ministry. The estimates were not so satisfactory as in previous years, and the trade of the country was depressed through the continued effects of the disputes between labour and capital, and the strikes of large numbers of workmen, while foreign competition was opposing us both in English colonies and in our own markets. The total anticipated revenue for the year was £77,270,000, and the expenditure £78,044,000. The commercial prospects would not justify trusting to the natural elasticity of revenue to make up the deficiency, and it was therefore determined to increase the income-tax by one penny, fixing the line of exemption at £150 instead of £100, and deducting £120 instead of £80 from all annual incomes of £400 and under. The completion of the Judicature Act was effected during the session by the appointment of a number of lords of appeal, consisting of peers who had filled high judicial offices, two other lords of appeal being elected for their high qualifications at the bar or on the bench, each of them to sit in the House of Lords with the title of baron, and to receive a salary of £6000 a year.

At the beginning of the year the Prince of Wales was at Calcutta, and before the end of March he had again embarked for England on board the *Serapis*, after having made a journey through a large portion of the Indian Empire, where his progress was marked by splendid receptions and the interchange of stately courtesies between the heir to the British throne and many of the native princes. It can scarcely be doubted that the journey had a definite effect in increasing the loyalty of many of the chiefs who are attached to the British rule; and the reception of a large number of the most distinguished of them by his royal highness before his departure, was the crowning ceremony of a visit which was immediately followed by a very strict inquiry into the operation of the laws as between Europeans and natives, and a severe reprehension of certain overbearing assumptions on the part of British representatives. Before the end of the session, and therefore before the return of the prince, the queen had received an addition to her royal title, and by a bill passed with considerable difficulty and debate was in future to be "Empress of India" as well as Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. At the time that the Royal Titles Bill became law her majesty was on a visit to Germany, but returned soon afterwards and paid a visit to the east end of London for the purpose of opening a new wing in the London Hospital

in Whitechapel. Before the end of the session the prime minister had, after forty years' arduous political life, been raised to the peerage as the Earl of Beaconsfield, and Sir Stafford Northcote became the leader of the government in the House of Commons.

This was the political situation at the close of 1876, and in the following year the eastern question continued to absorb public attention and also occupied a prominent place in parliament. The session was opened by the queen in person on the 8th of February, and the subject of the hostilities between Turkey, and Servia and Montenegro, and the useless efforts which had been made to restore peace, was first alluded to. The assumption by her majesty of the title of Empress of India, which had been proclaimed at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and also at Delhi, where the proclamation was made on the 1st of January before a large assembly of native princes under the presidency of the viceroy, Lord Lytton, was also mentioned. The famine at Madras, and the prosperity of the colonial empire, came next in order of notice, and the chief measures promised for the session were those relating to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the amendment of the bankruptcy law.

The session may be said to have been mainly devoted to repeated debates and hostile encounters on the war between Russia and Turkey, which had commenced by the Russian army crossing the Bessarabian frontier on the 23d of April. Mr. Gladstone, who without resuming the acknowledged leadership of the opposition, was active in his declarations against the pro-Turkish policy of the government, attacked the ministry by introducing five resolutions, which were afterwards reduced to one, complaining of the conduct of the Porte with regard to a despatch of the Earl of Derby on the massacres in Bulgaria. Throughout the session, and to the end of the year, both parliament and the country seemed to be divided into two parties. One of these represented the opinion that having neglected to exercise due influence on Turkey to enforce a recognition of the claim of the people of the Christian provinces the British government had no just right to lend its support to the Ottoman Empire, or to prevent Russia from enforcing those just demands which had been refused by the Turkish council. The other maintained that Russian diplomacy was not to be trusted, and that (notwithstanding his declarations) the war was undertaken by the czar, not so much for the purpose of vindicating the rights of the people of the oppressed provinces, for whom Russia would have no more sympathy than she had shown for Poland, but in order to carry out the old and unvarying policy which sought to seize upon the empire of the East, acquire Constantinople, and hold the road to India, by which aggressions might be made which would imperil British possessions. Of course as the opposition increased on both sides popular feeling was aroused, and demonstrations were made at public meetings, and in theatres and music-halls. It certainly appeared that the supporters of the government, or the "war-party," as they came to be called, if they could not boast of superior numbers, had the loudest voices, and in many cases disorderly mobs claiming to be upholders of the policy of Lord Beaconsfield and the cabinet, committed gross outrages against public order by violent interference at public meetings and various illegal acts of aggression.

The whole session even in parliament was marked by turbulent hostility, which was largely increased by the conduct of a few Irish members, the supporters of "home rule," who deliberately adopted the tactics of obstructing the business of the house by constantly proposing amendments and resolutions and talking away the time in committee, each member succeeding the other till the sitting was rendered nugatory. The proposed object of this was to oppose any measure which might be brought forward till Irish claims obtained a hearing—such claims being interpreted to mean a system of "home rule" for Ireland independent of the British parliament. On the 31st of July, on the discussion in committee of the South African Bill, the sitting was prolonged by these "filibustering" tactics on the part of three or four "home rulers," throughout the night and until two o'clock of the afternoon of the next day, the sitting having lasted twenty-six hours, during which there were twenty-one divisions, eighteen of the obstructive motions having been supported by only five members. No wonder that the session showed no important results in legislation though it continued till the 14th of August.

Meanwhile, though Russia had first suffered some serious reverses, it became evident that the defeat of the Turkish forces and the suppression of the Ottoman power would only be a question of time. Unfortunately the Turkish government had relied on the material as well as the moral support of Britain, and there were not wanting persons who, if not officially accredited, yet were supposed to represent the intentions of the British government, who fostered this illusion, while some of the acts of the government itself were easily so interpreted as to point to the same conclusion.

On the 4th of January Savfet Pasha had replied to the ambassadors assembled at the conference rejecting the proposals of the European powers, and on the 18th this rejection was

repeated by the grand council of the Turkish Empire. As no guarantees were to be obtained the conference met for the last time on the 20th, and on the 25th Sir Henry Elliot, the British ambassador, left Constantinople. Various changes then took place in the Turkish government, including the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Midhat Pasha, who was believed to be strongly in favour of conciliation. On the 28th of February a treaty of peace was concluded between Turkey and Servia, and there was still a prospect of avoiding hostilities, General Ignatieff visiting London on a special mission and afterwards proceeding to Vienna on the 26th of March, England and Austria being the two countries most directly interested in the event of a war. The Emperor of Russia, however, had determined not to submit to any delay by which Turkey might prepare more thoroughly to withstand armed intervention, and on the 16th of April made a convention with Roumania for the free passage of Russian troops through that country. On the 24th a manifesto was issued from Kischeneff declaring war against Turkey, and a week afterwards the town and citadel of Bayazid was occupied by the Russians, the Turkish garrison withdrawing at their approach. This fortress was, however, afterwards retaken by the Turks on the 21st of June, the Russians retiring to the citadel. Much had taken place between these two dates, however. The British government had proclaimed a strict neutrality directly the war commenced. The Turkish government had declared the blockade of ports in the Black Sea. The Russians, who had been repulsed by Bashi Bazouks in an attempt to attack the heights defending Batoum, had another foe to contend with in the thousands of Circassians who joined in revolt after the landing of their chiefs at Soukhoum Kaleh, which had been bombarded by a Turkish squadron under Hassan Pasha. On the 19th of May Ardahan was captured by the Russians, and by the 6th of June the emperor arrived at Ploesti, near Bucharest, the head-quarters of the Grand-duke Nicholas, commander-in-chief of the Russian army in Roumania. Meanwhile the British Mediterranean fleet had proceeded to Port Said, the entrance to the Suez Canal, and strict neutrality was still emphatically proclaimed as the policy of the government. Russia was preparing to cross the Danube, and had already made an unsuccessful attempt to destroy a Turkish ironclad by means of torpedo-boats at Sulina at the mouth of the river; fighting continued in Armenia, which was to become the scene of a distinct campaign; the Montenegrins were fighting in their own cause in the Ostrog defiles and at Martinitze, and battles had been fought between the Russian and Turkish forces at Taghir,—where the right wing of the Turkish army was checked,—at the Soghanli Pass and at Delibaba. Before the end of June, 6000 Russians had crossed the Danube from Galatz, and the Grand-duke Nicholas with the 8th Russian army corps had crossed near Simnitza and driven the Turks from their positions.

During July and August, however, the Russians suffered some severe repulses. They were defeated at Karakalissa by the forces of Mukhtar Pasha, who afterwards re-entered Kars, from which the Turkish garrison had retreated at an earlier date; and though General Tergukassoff recaptured Bayazid and relieved the Russian garrison, which had sustained a siege of twenty-three days, Osman Pasha recaptured Plevna from the Russians and fortified the position, which was afterwards to be so prominent in the war. The principal Russian success in July was the taking of Nicopolis with 6000 Turks forming the garrison, but the attempts to retake Plevna from the Turks failed with the loss of several thousand men. In August a series of fierce engagements in the Schipka Pass and on the Lom resulted in fearful slaughter on both sides, and in September the advantage remained with the Russians, who held and maintained the Fort St. Nicholas; but at Plevna, though General Skobeleff succeeded in storming the Gravitza redoubt, the Russian troops were inefficiently commanded, and in the assaults were not supported by reserves. The redoubts were recaptured by the Turks with a total loss to the Russians of 16,000 men. Various successes also attended the Turkish arms in other places, and it became evident that Russia must prepare for a more complete and better organized effort against a foe whose strength and ability had been seriously underrated. On the 3d of July the British fleet had been ordered to Besika Bay, an event which gave rise to considerable controversy both in and out of parliament. By the 28th of November the Russians had completed the investment of Plevna, around which the chief interest of the war seemed to be gathering. They were, however, defeated in an attack on Mukhtar Pasha's fortifications at Erzeroum.

It was the general impression that the Russian armies would be compelled to prepare for a long winter campaign, and undoubtedly the losses which they had sustained, and the evident want of complete organization during the earlier period of the war, led to the opinion that the struggle might be protracted. These conclusions were somewhat altered, however, by the energetic measures adopted during the months of December, 1877, and January, 1878. The army administration was considerably improved; some important changes were made in the command of the troops, fresh levies were raised, and it became certain

that the czar intended neither to recede nor to wait for events. The Turkish resistance, too, grew less spirited when it became certain that there would be no material intervention on the part of England. In Constantinople there were violent complaints against those who had misled the government of the Porte by representations that British interests involved the ultimate protection of the Turkish Empire, and that such protection meant intervention in order to avert the actual capitulation of the Turkish army. It almost appeared as though a desperate resistance had been sustained by this hope, and that when it was frustrated, after repeated indications on the part of the English ministry which were liable to misinterpretation in its favour, the Turkish policy underwent a complete change, and an actual coalition between the sultan and the czar might add another complication to eastern politics.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, however, the year 1878 began with an attempt to bring about an armistice with a view to promote a conference on the settlement of the eastern question, and the Russians were soon in such a position as to make it highly desirable, if not necessary, for Turkey to come to terms. The fortifications at Plevna were taken, and the efforts of the czar were directed towards the capture of the city of Sofia, the most important place on the main road that runs north-west of Adrianople to Nish, the chief Turkish fortress on the Servian frontier. At the same time Erzeroum, the capital of Turkish Armenia, was threatened. After thousands of men had been lost in the Shipka Pass the Turks were forced to relinquish the position, and this with other reverses led to the opening of direct negotiations for an armistice by the sultan, who, it was believed, shared with his ministry the desire to conclude a definite peace. The Turkish parliament had been engaged in a series of earnest debates on the perilous crisis of affairs. Charges were brought against the administration of high officers of state, and it was declared that every effort had been made by the government of the Porte to interest the European powers in the fate of Turkey, but in vain. Turkey was completely isolated, and it therefore became necessary for her to determine alone how she could best bring the present war to a close. On the 20th of January the Russians occupied Adrianople, and nearly the whole of Roumania and Bulgaria was in the hands of the invading army. The only Turkish army in the field was that of Suleiman Pasha, which was driven by General Gourko into the mountain region, but contrived to reach Drama, a place in Macedonia, near the site of the ancient Philippi, and 25 miles from the Ægean Sea. The situation then became critical, for it was asked whether Britain would allow the Russians to occupy the Dardanelles or Gallipoli, and how far it might be necessary to defend Constantinople itself. Then the British cabinet began to make a definite demonstration. The British fleet was ordered to Constantinople, a passage through the Dardanelles having, it was said, been granted by a firman solicited and obtained by our ambassador from the sultan. Notice was given in the House of Commons of an application for a vote of credit for six millions sterling, a demand which met not only with considerable antagonism, but with some derision, for it was asked what would be the value of such a sum in the event of actual war, and the reply that it was asked as a mark of confidence in the government was greeted by the opposition with extreme disfavour. Ultimately the credit vote was carried after considerable agitation and numerous political meetings throughout the country, but the fleet was countermanded to Besika Bay, professedly because of a communication from the Russian ambassador that preliminaries of peace were proposed, and the Turkish government declined the responsibility of giving any authority to a British protection of Constantinople while such relations were pending, and Russia was threatening both Gallipoli and the capital. Meanwhile there were dissensions in the British cabinet. Both Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon objected to the steps taken under the influence of Lord Beaconsfield, and Lord Carnarvon resigned office, while the Earl of Derby consented to remain, only to retire in his turn at a later period of the session (in April), when an order went forth to call out the military and naval reserves.

By the end of January the war between Russia and Turkey was virtually over. Preliminaries of peace were discussed on the 24th of February at San Stefano, a sea-side village ten miles west of Constantinople, whither the Grand-duke Nicholas went with a Russian escort to meet Raouf Pasha and Ali Mahomet Pasha, who represented the sultan. The treaty was signed on the 3d of March, the anniversary of the emancipation of the serfs in Russia. This agreement, however, was followed by such an advance of Russian troops towards Constantinople, that it was believed a friendly occupation of the Turkish capital was contemplated, and a squadron of the British fleet was ordered thither to protect European interests in a city where disorder reigned and where crowds of refugees from the provinces were seeking food and shelter. Our ministry made known its intention both to Russia and other European governments, relying on the firman which had been previously obtained for authority to pass through the

Dardanelles. This firman, however, the Turkish officer in command refused to accept as an authority under the altered conditions of affairs, and Prince Gortschakoff intimated that if it became necessary to protect European interests the Russian forces would join in that protection by occupying Constantinople and maintaining order on the land side of the city. The British squadron then withdrew to an anchorage at some miles distant from Constantinople, and all Europe waited anxiously for the conference, the terms of which, as well as the place at which it should be held, continued to occupy the attention of parliament and of the country during a crisis which, it was hoped, would lead to a definite settlement of questions that had agitated Europe during more than a quarter of a century.

The death of Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, on the 9th of January, threw a shadow over the commencement of a troublous and rather gloomy period; and this sad event was followed in less than a month afterwards by the death of the Pope Pius IX., who had long been suffering from infirmity, and died at the Vatican on the 7th of February in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He was succeeded by Joachim Pecci (the Camerlengo), who was elected under the title of Leo XIII.

These were the chief events of the early part of the session of 1878—a period during which, amidst financial and commercial prospects of a very depressing character, and with a task requiring great discretion and at the same time great decision on the part of the government, England had again to occupy a position, the very independence of which was a proof of her enormous influence in Europe, since the attitude which was assumed by the ministry, and the intensity and earnestness of discussion which it occasioned, had an evident and immediate effect on the tentative policy of the czar and on the propositions for holding a conference, which it was felt must definitely settle the position if not the existence of Turkey in Europe.

CHAPTER IX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—1878–1887.

VICTORIA.

The Berlin treaty of 1878—"Peace with honour"—Russian intrigues in Afghanistan—Insurrection at Cabul—Defeat of the Afghans—South African affairs—The Boers of the Transvaal and the native tribes—Sir Bartle Frere sent as Lord-commissioner—A British force sent against the Zulus—Conflicts with the Boers—Death of the Prince Imperial—Cetewayo, the Zulu chief—Mr Gladstone assumes office—Death of Lord Beaconsfield and Lord John Russell—Affairs of Egypt—Ismail Pasha abdicates and is succeeded by his son Tewfik—The "dual control" established—Insurrection of Arabi Pasha—French and British interposition—Bombardment of Alexandria—Military operations against and final overthrow of Arabi—Settlement of Egypt—Irish affairs—Obstruction in Parliament—"Home Rule"—Irish Land Bill of 1881—Terrorism in Ireland—"Coercion"—Mr. Parnell and the Land Leaguers—Assassinations in the Phœnix Park—The Irish Arrears Bill—Insurrection in the Soudan—General Gordon—British expeditions against the Mahdi—General Gordon shut up and slain in Khartoum—Bills for extension of the franchise and redistribution of seats—The Liberal ministry resigns—Mr Gladstone again assumes office in 1886—His conversion to Home Rule—The Liberal-Unionist party—The Home Rule Bill defeated—Lord Salisbury becomes Premier—Celebration of the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen

THE congress which was to arbitrate between Russia and Turkey, assembled at Berlin on the 13th of June (1878), and, rather to the surprise of those who were not in the secret, the Earl of Beaconsfield announced his intention of accompanying Lord Salisbury, who, as minister of foreign affairs, was the official representative of this country on the occasion. The presence of the prime minister of England may have had some effect in facilitating the adoption of proposals which were by no means unfavourable to Russia, but as a matter of fact, much that was agreed to had already been virtually settled through previous diplomatic correspondence, including secret arrangements with Turkey and Russia.

Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania became independent states, the last relinquishing to Russia a portion of Bessarabia, which had been assigned to it by the treaty of 1856, and receiving in exchange part of the Dobrudscha, with Silistria and Magnolia. The Porte was to cede Ardahan, Kars, and Batoum to Russia, and to pay a war indemnity—likely to prove a bad debt—

while Bosnia and the Herzegovina were to be occupied and organized by Austria, a plan which Lord Beaconsfield seems to have devised for the purpose of placing a strong European power as an obstacle to the advance of Russia on Constantinople.

These arrangements, though they were, so to speak, cut and dried beforehand, enabled our prime minister to return from Berlin in triumph and, addressing a great crowd from a window of the Foreign Office, to say, "Lord Salisbury and myself have brought you back peace, but a peace, I hope, with honour, which may satisfy our Sovereign and tend to the welfare of the country".

It was soon obvious that if Russia had consented to a treaty, one of the provisions of which barred her advance on Constantinople, she was already preparing to revive those attempts on Cabul which had, years before, led to so much mischief. An envoy had been sent thither from St. Petersburg for the purpose, as it seemed, of coming to some understanding with the ameer, Shere Ali, one of the sons of Dost Mahomed. This, of course, called for some attempt on our part, to frustrate any Muscovite plot for withstanding the claims of the queen, who, on the 1st of January, 1877, had been proclaimed Empress of India by the viceroy at Delhi, a title specially designed by Lord Beaconsfield—and, not without a good deal of popular disapproval, confirmed by Act of Parliament—to denote her authority in our Indian possessions. Lord Lytton, son of the famous novelist, and himself a poet under the *nom de plume* of Owen Meredith, had succeeded Lord Northbrook as viceroy He acted on the decision of the government to establish an English mission at Cabul by way of counteracting Russian intrigue, but the ameer, Shere Ali, strongly objected, and the mission was stopped on the frontier by one of his officers. It being then considered necessary to support the mission by an armed force, troops were marched to a point between Jellalabad and Cabul, the Afghans making slight resistance in their formidable passes. Shere Ali took to flight, then his death threw the country into a state of anarchy. His son and successor, Yakoob Khan, professing to desire the kindly alliance of the British, accepted £60,000 a year for a frontier to be occupied by our troops. At the same time a British representative was to reside at Cabul and the ameer to be supported against the attacks of any foreign enemy.

It seemed no small success that we should have so much hold on Afghanistan, and thus close against Russia that gate to our Indian empire. But in the midst of general jubilation at home came the news of an insurrection at Cabul, where a band of fierce, fanatical assailants had attacked the mission, to be repeatedly repulsed by Sir Louis Cavagnari, the British envoy, and the handful of brave and determined officers who were with him; but at last the defenders of the residency had been overpowered and slain. Happily we had, in Sir Frederick Roberts (now Lord Roberts), a general equal to the occasion, who defeated the forces that endeavoured to stop his advance, and marched on Cabul, but for a time retired to Sheipur to wait for reinforcements, as the whole country round was in rebellion Sir D. Stewart held Candahar, where the Afghan governor remained loyal, so that the general was eventually able to march part of his forces to Cabul, taking command there after Yakoob Khan had abdicated and had been sent to Peshawur. But another member of that large and troublesome family of Shere Ali, Ayoob Khan, brother of the deposed ameer, was at Herat with a large force, and, in June, 1880, he marched against Candahar, from which General Burrows advanced with a small force to oppose him. So many native allies deserted his ranks that by the time he reached Maiwand he was unable to withstand the superior force of the Afghans, and a disastrous defeat obliged him to fall back on Candahar, which was at once closely invested by the enemy. As usual we were behindhand in some essential department: this time there was no available transport service. There seemed imminent danger of the place being taken and our garrison utterly annihilated, when Sir Frederick Roberts, with 10,000 men, set out from Cabul to the relief of Candahar. After a rapid march of 300 miles through a difficult and hostile country, under intense heat, and with some desultory fighting on the way, almost without an hour of breathing time, he attacked the Afghans, and by a brilliant victory re-established the prestige of the British army.

Little more was heard of the "scientific frontier" which was to have been established by negotiations. It became evident that if we were to hold a frontier at all, it must be by keeping it with both hands, dexterity of the pen being emphasized by keeping the sword unsheathed before treacherous semi-barbarians encouraged by Russian diplomacy

Before Afghanistan was reduced to submission, our government had on its hands, in 1879, the complications which had arisen in South Africa in consequence of hostilities between the Boers of the Transvaal and the native Zulu chiefs, the most important and powerful of them being Cetewayo. Of the various states of South Africa, Cape Colony and Natal were under the immediate custody of Great Britain, while free states had been formed by the Dutch settlers who emigrated from Cape Colony rather than be subject to

British rule. Their independence had been recognized, and the Transvaal, the territory north of the Vaal river, was a Dutch republic with a population of 40,000 Europeans and 250,000 Kafirs, bounded on the west by Bechuanaland, a vast haunt of great native tribes. South of the Vaal, Natal and Basutoland, under British rule, lay next to the Orange State, another Dutch independency, and above Natal came the country of the Zulus.

In 1873 the original Dutch commonwealths had united to form a republic, and elected as president Mr. J. Burgers, but they were in continual trouble from the attacks of the hostile Bechuanas, naturally seeking reprisals for the cruelties and encroachments of the Boers, whose sturdy virtues are somewhat coloured by Old Testament disregard of heathen rights. This was the complaint of Seku Kuni, the most able and powerful of the Bechuana chiefs, who had repeatedly attacked and defeated the Boer forces, and this, also, was the representation of Cetewayo, the chief of the Zulus, who, while he declared his detestation of the Boers, manifested a desire to secure the friendly consideration of the British government by paying allegiance to our sovereign

Unhappily, in consequence of some serious misapprehensions, it became understood that the Boers, feeling that they were unable to maintain a continued struggle with the native tribes, were prepared to entertain a proposal for securing protection by the annexation of the Transvaal to the British territory. Seku Kuni's followers had actually threatened the capital, Pretoria, and other tribes were preparing for hostilities; while Cetewayo was only waiting for events before his people resumed warlike incursions into the Transvaal. It was too easily taken for granted by the British that the Boers desired the annexation of their state, that they might secure the protection of an armed force sufficient to cope with the superior numbers of the native tribes; and it would seem that some such intimation was at first given by their representatives in answer to the inquiry made in consequence of the original suggestion. At all events, in the spring of 1877, Sir Theophilus Shepstone was sent out to the Transvaal, and without sufficient confirmation of the alleged proposal, proclaimed the annexation

The British government announced that it would arbitrate on the claims of Cetewayo, and as it decided in his favour, sent out Sir Bartle Frere as lord commissioner. He began by delaying a settlement, which roused the suspicions of the half-savage chief, from whom it was demanded, as a condition of the award, that he should dismiss his warriors to their homes. This not being done immediately a British force was sent to invade Cetewayo's territory, and we had on our hands a native war with an enemy whom we soon found by no means to be despised.

The defeat of our troops by the Zulus at a place called Isandula made the most notable incident of this war; and though Lord Chelmsford, the unfortunate general, quickly retrieved his position, so that Sir Garnet Wolseley, sent out to take command, found the war was practically over and Cetewayo prisoner, the disaster at Isandula doubtless injured the prestige of British arms in the opinion of the Boers. A more glorious episode was the defence of Rorke's Drift by a handful of gallant men; and a painful one, the death of the French Prince Imperial, who had been allowed to go out as a volunteer, only to be killed in an obscure skirmish, to the sorrow of all England, and not a few in France, though perhaps his mother's tears saved many another Frenchwoman from weeping over the horrors of civil war.

The Boers soon afterwards began to repudiate the notion of annexation in a very practical manner, though the benefits of British occupation, British enterprise, and British capital had enormously improved the prospects of the country. In December, 1880, the British forces occupying the annexed country were treated as invaders by a majority of the people, who invested the towns built by our troops, and surprised and attacked a detachment on the march Hostilities were openly declared against the scanty, unprepared, and divided forces of occupation, and in a desultory but obstinate conflict at Laing's Nek, and afterwards at Majuba Hill,—where Sir G. V. Colley, in command, was killed,—they were defeated by the Boers, whose deadly mode of warfare was rather that of hunters than of soldiers, their strong point being accurate shooting from more or less protected and concealed positions.

In April, 1880, when a Liberal government under Mr. Gladstone succeeded to power, the ministry decided that instead of pursuing the war by sending a large and efficient army to subjugate the Boers, the worthy and equitable course would be to give practical acknowledgment that an error had been committed, and to abandon the completion of the annexation, to which the government and the majority of the people of the Transvaal declared that they never consented. Only a strong nation could afford to take such a course, but Britain was strong enough to defy adverse criticism, and to disregard the construction which other nations might place upon what more thoughtful patriots recognized as an act, not only of policy, but of self-respect; while others were long in getting over the soreness of an unavenged defeat; and the quasi-independence of this republic has

proved an obstacle to all projects for confederating the South African colonies. The mistakes of 1877–1879 had to be remedied. Cetewayo was set at liberty, and after a visit to this country, by which he was probably much demoralized, he found himself restored to little more than a shadow of his former power and influence. A treaty was entered into with the leaders of the Boers, Joubert and Kruger, which became further defined and expounded in 1884, when it was settled that the Transvaal should again be independent, but that its external relations should be subject to the approval of her majesty, our imperial suzerainty being so far acknowledged, though very recent events have brought it once more in question.

There had been unmistakable symptoms, towards the close of the year 1879, that the Conservative government could no longer command the suffrages of the majority of electors. Industrial difficulties, widely spread distress among the labouring classes, and the complications of the Irish question made the prospect of accession to office by no means encouraging, but Mr. Gladstone, at seventy years of age, again took the head of a ministry, the House of Commons consisting of 354 Liberals, 236 Conservatives, and 62 Home Rulers, giving a Liberal majority of 56 as against Conservatives and Home Rulers combined. For nearly fifty years he had taken a forward part in the legislature, the 18th of December, 1882, being his political jubilee, an occasion on which he received congratulations from all parts of the country.

On the 19th of April, 1881, the death of Benjamin Disraeli, the Earl of Beaconsfield, placed the whole country in mourning, and left to the Marquis of Salisbury the leadership of the Conservative party. Since the death, on the 28th of March, 1878, of Earl Russell, then in his eighty-sixth year, and retired from the political arena, no such conspicuous and brilliant individuality as that of Lord Beaconsfield had been removed from the state. Much ridiculed by his opponents, but not more than he was distrusted by his own party, which he undertook to "educate" to some purpose, he latterly found these feelings transmuted into an extensive popularity, enhanced by literary successes of a kind less unquestioned than his triumphs in oratory. So great had grown his personal influence that it outlived him, and the memory of it was perpetuated by the promotion of a semi-political society, with various branches, named "the Primrose League", after the spring blossom which marked the month of his death, and was, without any actual evidence, assumed to have been his favourite flower. This society, treated at first with ridicule, has had no small influence upon elections.

In 1882 the affairs of Egypt involved the government of Mr. Gladstone in troubles which were to a great extent attributable to pre-existing conditions. Ismail Pasha, the former ruler of Egypt, invested by the sultan with the title of khedive, nearly equivalent to that of king, and exercising an almost independent authority, had, by his selfishness and his monstrous extravagance, brought the country to the verge of ruin. The representatives of France and England, on behalf of their governments, strongly urged Ismail to abdicate in favour of his son Tewfik, unless he wished an appeal to be made to the sultan, who would depose him without either granting him a pension or settling the succession on his son. He would have temporized, but it was too late. Egypt was tired of him, and the sultan, in 1879, sent an imperial *Irâdé*, by telegram from Constantinople, deposing him and appointing his son Tewfik to be viceroy or khedive. Ismail left quietly with his harem, his two younger sons, and a numerous suite, to make his abode in Naples, whence he afterwards carried on intrigues for recovering his position, and employed emissaries who doubtless had no little concern in subsequent complications.

On the succession of Tewfik, the plan of a dual control of the financial affairs of the country by two representatives appointed respectively by France and England was established, or rather resumed, for a similar arrangement had been adopted at an earlier date for the protection of foreign holders of Egyptian bonds The authority of the new representatives, however, not only included a right of demanding accounts of receipts and expenditure from each administration. they were to make suggestions to ministers and to have a seat and a deliberative voice in the cabinet, nor could they be removed without consent of their governments, while they had authority to appoint or dismiss subordinate officials.

The controllers set themselves to their task with energy and ability, and though it is obvious that such a decided interference in the internal affairs of Egypt could not be regarded with unmixed satisfaction either by foreign powers or by the British parliament, there were such genuine evidences of reform that the year 1881 opened with fair prospects of an increased income, a diminished expenditure, and the ultimate payment of the Egyptian Consolidated Debt. It will be understood, however, that the power conferred on foreigners, and the charge brought against the controllers, of dismissing native employés, then of filling their places with Europeans at high salaries, was one likely to have considerable effect among the large number of persons whose services had to be dispensed with, and their extortion put an end to.

Among the most dangerous of the turbulent class were numbers of disbanded, half-starving soldiers of the late khedive, who could not get their arrears of pay from the impecunious government. Over these soldiers certain disaffected officers began to exercise an influence calculated to produce a military revolt which would give rank and power to some of the more prominent professors of patriotism The leader of this seditious movement was Said Ahmed Arabi, or as he was called, Arabi Bey, who, having entered the army when a boy, had been raised from the ranks by Ismail Pasha A man of imposing presence, bold address and considerable eloquence, he soon became the head of a movement which increased to a rebellion, spreading over a considerable part of the country, and enabling him to assume the authority of a dictator.

Mr. Gladstone had pointed out that such an interposition in the government of Egypt as had been involved in the appointment of a dual control, would rationally include the provision of a sufficient force to protect the ruler of the country from its consequences; and to the difficulties arising from the policy of his predecessors the prime minister now had to devote immediate attention The secret influence of a French agent was actually stimulating the revolt, and though, on this being represented to his government, he was recalled, much mischief had already been done. The threatened sequel seemed to be either complete anarchy or a military dictatorship, and Arabi attained such a dominant position, in 1881, that he and some of his leading supporters demanded an audience with the khedive, who, too much afraid to refuse to listen to their representations, tried to propitiate them by raising Arabi to the rank of pasha, and making the other officers colonels

In France M Gambetta, whose ministry was in power, warmly urged a joint intervention of France and England to suppress this military mutiny under pretence of seeking a patriotic and constitutional revolution Tewfik showed a half-enforced complicity with the demands of the rebels; the sultan was suspected of being willing to use any means for secretly undermining the authority of the khedivate and diminishing Egyptian independence. The British government was virtually pledged to support the government of the khedive whom it had placed on the throne by consent of the other powers, also to secure the protection of the European population in Egypt and the neutrality of the Suez Canal, the larger portion of the shares in which had been acquired by England.

A conference of the representatives of the chief European powers was held at Constantinople, where the British plenipotentiary, Lord Dufferin, was not to be hoodwinked by the sultan's professed intention of suppressing the rebellion by Turkish troops. It was so obviously necessary that the Suez Canal should be protected by a force sufficient to prevent Arabi's followers from closing it to European traffic, that all the powers concurred in confiding to France and England the authority to send a protecting force The khedive had been weak enough to try to secure the loyalty of Arabi by making him minister of war in a government forced upon the country by those mutineers without regard to the agreement which had placed Tewfik in power and provided for the dual administration of internal affairs. Threats were being uttered against Europeans dwelling at Alexandria, Cairo, and elsewhere, and prompt measures became urgent to secure order.

In France, the ministry of M. Gambetta had been succeeded by a more feeble one that feared Bismarck's taking some advantage of their uncertain position On the 5th of May, 1882, after much delay, the French government agreed to a display of "moral force" by sending six ships of war to enter the harbour of Alexandria. This demonstration was maintained while the conferences went on at Constantinople, but soon the need of more vigorous action grew evident. It was demanded that military works which were being constructed in the fortifications of the harbour of Alexandria should be discontinued; but they were still pushed forward, and the sultan would not interfere to prevent them.

The British squadron, anchored off Alexandria, had been increased to eight ironclads, with a total force of 3539 men and 102 guns, under the command of Vice-admiral Sir Frederick Seymour, an officer of reputation and experience. This naval force was in an anomalous position. It was not there to make war upon Egypt, but to support the khedive in suppressing a mutiny which had set his authority at defiance, at the instigation of a rebel leader whom he had been compelled to appoint to office On the arrival of the French and English fleets most of the ministry forced upon him offered their resignation; but Arabi refused either to resign or to accept the proposals of the French and English consuls that he, with the president of the council and his military pashas, should quit the country for a year. On the 20th of May, however, the ministry resigned unanimously, on the ground that by accepting conditions from France and England the khedive had violated the constitution in favour of European interference.

Tewfik accepted their resignations, declaring that it was by his authority alone that relations could be arranged between himself and the sultan. He summoned the principal officials, members of the chamber, leading merchants, and the chief offi-

cers of the Cairo garrison to meet and discuss the situation. This was of little avail. The general of the Egyptian forces declared that the army recognized only the authority of the Porte. Arabi held a military demonstration; the deposition of the khedive was prepared; and it was demanded that the leader of the revolt should be restored to the position of minister of war.

Dervish Pasha had been sent to Egypt by the sultan to see how a double game might be played, by using Arabi to extinguish the power of the khedive, and afterwards to claim control over the Egyptian forces and extinguish the dictator himself, so that the Porte might assume the sole authority. In the meanwhile, it evidently encouraged Arabi's assumptions. Accordingly, he ordered the forts at Alexandria to be placed in a condition of defence, and set the soldiery at work upon them day and night to form batteries and earthworks. The attitude of the natives toward the Europeans appeared unmistakably hostile An appeal to the sultan's emissary was useless, as he replied that he had no power to enforce any demand that the work in the fortifications should cease. Our fleet lay there, and was preparing for action, but no sufficient force had been provided to land for the protection of the inhabitants from Arabi's soldiery and the fanatics and robbers who were already threatening to attack all foreigners, and plunder their houses.

The terror of a wide-spread *émeute* was general; and the principal inhabitants of Cairo actually asked for the reinstatement of Arabi and his colleagues to prevent the slaughter of the Europeans. The best regiments of the Egyptian army were drawn round Alexandria, the forts and earthworks erected to command the entrance to the harbour were strengthened in spite of repeated remonstrances and strong representations from the British admiral. It soon became evident that the only thing to be done was to open fire upon the forts.

On the 16th of June a street brawl seemed the signal for action. The principal streets of Alexandria became suddenly the scene of a riot directed against the Europeans, many of whom were slain, or seriously assaulted, their houses pillaged and set fire to. The British consul was dragged from his carriage and seriously injured; the Greek consul-general was attacked; and many French and British subjects were killed. It was afterwards stated that as many as two hundred persons perished in this riot. Dervish Pasha declared that neither he nor the khedive had power to interpose. They, with the European consul-general, hastened to Alexandria from Cairo, where they left Arabi preparing for stubborn resistance at Alexandria, and for operations on the Suez Canal. It was evident, as Mr. Gladstone said, that this self-appointed dictator had thrown off the mask and was aiming at the deposition of the khedive and the expulsion of Europeans; but the British government determined to protect Tewfik's life and position against any pretences, and would not acknowledge Arabi to be other than a rebel. England had to undertake the active responsibility alone, though "morally" supported by the other powers, for the co-operative French squadron was withdrawn to Port Said directly the British admiral decided to open fire upon the harbour forts at Alexandria.

On the 10th of July a considerable number of those who were supposed to be the last lingering Europeans in Alexandria, sought refuge in the merchant vessels and steamers which were prepared to take them on board. During several days only false declarations or evasive answers were received to Admiral Seymour's repeated demands. He then distinctly stated that unless these demands were complied with, and the forts commanding the entrance to the harbour were surrendered, he should commence the bombardment in twenty-four hours. At nightfall the British ships began to move out of the harbour and to take up their position. The morning of the 11th broke bright and clear; on ramparts, sandhills, and other points of vantage, Egyptian soldiers stood watching for what was to come next. Groups of women could be seen talking together on the flat roofs of the houses, the decks of the merchant steamers were crowded with fugitives, plaintively wondering what would become of their abandoned homes and property. The ships of an Italian squadron moved out of the harbour with bands playing the national air as they saluted the British admiral's vessel. The crews of these and of an American war-ship manned the rigging and cheered our men, who answered with right good-will The commander of that American ship afterwards did good service by landing 120 men to help in suppressing the terrible disorders and outrages, perpetrated by the scum of the Alexandrian population and the convicts whom Arabi had let loose from the jails.

The terrible duel between our great armour-plated vessels and the heavy Krupp guns of the forts continued for many hours; for while the accuracy of the British fire and the use of the Gatling and Nordenfeldt guns made havoc with the Egyptian batteries, their artillerymen showed a determination which, if it had been accompanied by greater precision of aim, would have still further prolonged the contest. Fort after fort was smitten and crumbled to ruins. Lord Charles Beresford in the *Condor* gun-boat showed special gallantry in steaming towards one of the forts to endeavour to silence the cannonade directed against our four largest ironclads.

After the complete destruction of the forts, it soon appeared that the city was practically deserted by Arabi and his forces. For a short time after his return from Cairo he had employed some of his troops to maintain a certain degree of order in the city, but during the delay occasioned by deputations to the British admiral, the whole army had retired to Kafr Dowar and were preparing to occupy positions in the vicinity of the Suez Canal, having cut off the water-supply afforded by the Sweet Water Canal. Our blue-jackets and marines, landed to restore order, had not only to be busy in suppressing the riots, extinguishing the flames of the burning houses, and arresting and shooting or flogging the culprits, but were set to clear out the wells and clean the springs. Incendiary fires were blazing in various directions, and a large number of refugees, many of them maimed or wounded, were gathered on the shore, waiting eagerly for rescue by boats from the ships It had been supposed that all the Europeans had escaped, but this forlorn party had succeeded only in taking refuge in the Bank, a strong building, which they contrived to hold against the fanatic insurgents

The British government now stood alone in acting for the protection of European lives and interests, and for the deliverance of the khedive from the dictation of a mutinous chief still in command of a large army and preparing for what he soon knew was an inevitable conflict with our forces The great European powers had intrusted the protection of the Suez Canal to England, and it was obvious that to England would be left the entire intervention. The French government, failing to obtain an endorsement of the vote of credit originally granted for their operations, had resigned. From the day that the French squadron left Alexandria without joining in the active suppression of the rebellion, France may be said to have had no more immediate connection with Egyptian affairs, or with the subsequent campaign. But, when once Mr. Gladstone's government determined to grasp the situation, there were no half measures on our part.

A small preliminary force under Sir Archibald Alison had been hurried out to Alexandria, to secure it against Arabi's army outside the walls. Sir Garnet Wolseley, appointed to the chief command, arrived on the 16th of August, having under him Sir Evelyn Wood, the Duke of Connaught, and General Drury Lowe. With his usual promptitude, the commander-in-chief prepared to take possession of the Suez Canal, and, by a sudden movement, the troops were transported from Alexandria to Ismailia, where the camp was formed, and the general and his staff took up their quarters at a palace assigned to them by the khedive. Tewfik, delivered from the palace of Aas el Teen, where he and his officers of state had virtually been kept prisoners, now that he could rely on the protection of the British forces, was at last in a position to proclaim Arabi a rebel.

With occasional skirmishes, the advance of our forces was rapid, Arabi being driven from his positions, further and further towards Cairo. A sharp, decided conflict at Kassassin, opened the way to the last main camp of the enemy, Tel el Kebir, strongly entrenched, and held by an army, which, as far as could be estimated, amounted to above 25,000 men. Our total force was about 13,000. At Tel el Kebir, on the morning of the 13th September, by a swift and sudden attack, the whole Egyptian army was routed at a blow, and fled in all directions, with a loss of 1000, most of the survivors throwing away their arms and dispersing. Arabi escaped to Cairo, but Sir Garnet Wolseley, knowing to what danger the Cairene European population might be exposed by the influence of the rebel chief, was not far behind him. The very day of the battle our cavalry made a forced march of 30 miles, almost without drawing rein, and reached Cairo on the evening of the 14th, where Arabi was arrested and the city occupied by the British troops — an achievement that excited the admiration of the military authorities of Europe.

The mere suppression of the revolt would have been of little advantage were the British government not prepared for a complete revision and reformation of the laws, and a reconstruction of the system of administration in Egypt Arabi and his immediate companions, the leaders of the mutiny, were tried by a court formed in accordance with British notions of justice, and British humanity mitigated the chief rebel's sentence of death to one of deportation to Ceylon Had his fate been in the hands of the Egyptian government there is little doubt he would have been shot. There was still a multitude of culprits to bring to justice, guilty not only of rebellion but of murder, robbery, and deliberate cruelty, and there was also arduous work to be done in visiting the jails and bringing them into something like order, from a condition of horrible mismanagement by which the wretched prisoners, many of them victims of official oppression, were poisoned with foul air and starved on insufficient rations of the coarsest food. Not only the jails but the hospitals had subsequently to be overhauled, for in 1883 an outbreak of cholera prevented the removal of our troops from Cairo and other centres, and officers and men were engaged in the active service of organizing a system of relief Their devotion to this duty was as conspicuous as their courage and promptitude had been in suppressing the rebellion. Preparations were made, however,

for removing the army of occupation; a body of Egyptian police and gendarmerie was formed under the command of Colonel Valentine Baker, who had before been in the Turkish service; and an Egyptian army was organized under the command of General Evelyn Wood.

Meanwhile, Lord Dufferin and his colleagues effected the still more difficult task of so reconstructing the system of government in Egypt that the various departments should be brought into more harmonious relations, and the corruptions which had disgraced them be as far as possible abolished. In November, 1883, the British government were able to advise the evacuation of Cairo by our troops and the immediate reduction of the occupying force This intention was frustrated by an outbreak of rebellion against the government of Egypt in the Soudan The rebel, in this case, was a fanatic leader calling himself the mahdi, or prophet, whose coming had been foretold by Mahomet, as one who would extend the power and establish the faith of Islam.

Rumours of a rising of the slave-dealing chiefs of the Soudan, and certain influential sheikhs, to support the pretentions of this so-called mahdi, had been heard in 1881; and it was partly because of these that Major-general Sir Evelyn Wood had been appointed to assist the khedive's government in organizing an Egyptian army. This army was for protection against any attack of the mahdi's followers upon the more civilized part of Egypt, not to carry arms into the provinces of the Soudan, always held with the greatest difficulty by the viceroys, and divided from Egypt itself by natural obstacles, which served as a fortification to the rebellious territory and its slave-dealing chiefs.

Leaving fresh troubles to grow ripe in Egypt, making more work for British intervention, let us turn to see what was happening at home, where also the government had much on its hands. The difficulties which beset the attempt to legislate for the suppression of crime and the satisfaction of the tenantry in Ireland, prevented the passing of many useful and several necessary measures which had been included in the programme of the Liberal ministry. Among the few measures distinguished by social equity and efficacy brought forward at this time, one may be mentioned which quickly passed into law. The Married Women's Property Bill defined those individual rights of property which had previously been granted to women, to protect them from the rapacity of unscrupulous husbands. By its provisions a married woman is entitled to the use and disposal of her earnings, and is capable of acquiring and holding real or personal property, and disposing of it by will or otherwise. This makes a landmark in the long struggle to raise woman from the dependent position inherited by her from a semi-savage state.

It is not proposed to give any account in detail of the protracted course of parliamentary obstruction and opposition adopted by the Irish party; nor shall we here record the long and sickening list of outrages, murders, maiming of cattle, destruction of crops, persecution of women and children, and attempts of Irish-American Fenians to destroy public buildings in London and elsewhere by means of explosives. Still less need we discuss Mr. Gladstone's prolonged endeavours to shape a measure which, while maintaining the union of the kingdom, would satisfy those who demand some measure of Irish independence. Most reasonable men will at least admit that there was no good argument for Home Rule in the conduct of the Irish representatives in parliament, and the unscrupulous proceedings of the Land League, of which they were patrons, at whose meetings the people were exhorted to pay no rent, and if not encouraged to, were certainly not discouraged from the perpetuation of a system of terror by means of assassination, robbery, and assault The leaders of this movement were consigned to prison, and the Land League, proclaimed an illegal society, was suppressed But the action of its chief, Mr. Parnell, and his immoderate followers, did not tend to a settlement of the mode of government for Ireland, to any acceptable settlement of the question of the tenants' position in relation to the land, or to the suppression of outrages for the most part attempted by political adventurers from the United States, whose inhuman recklessness of the lives of the victims likely to be sacrificed to their malign plots went far to blunt English sympathy with Ireland, and to excite indignation, on both sides of the Atlantic, against that Irish-American organization which had provided funds for the maintenance of the Land League itself. The one bright spot in this long story of crime and folly is the conduct of the Irish police, who, though Irish almost to a man, and of hostile religions, showed admirable discipline and fidelity, under trying circumstances.

The system of obstruction in parliament adopted by the Irish party grew so extravagant that it threatened to paralyse all legislation unless a prompt remedy could be found. This was at last provided by the adoption of rules of procedure, meant to frustrate attempts at prolonging debates indefinitely. The application of what in France is called a "closure" was not in itself sufficient, and a Parliamentary Procedure Bill was passed on the 1st December, 1882, after itself having been obstructed and delayed almost beyond endurance. By the provisions of the

bill the speaker had power to close a debate if the motion to that effect were supported by more than 200 members, or if opposed by less than 40 and supported by more than 100. Motions for adjournment were to hold good for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if 40 members stood up to signify their support. Among many technical details were provisions for the naming and suspension of members who persistently disregarded the rules of debate.

Mr. Bright, who, in 1882, resigned his seat in the cabinet because he could not agree with the policy of calling out the reserve forces and sending a warlike expedition to Alexandria, held strong opinions that no measures of forcible suppression should be applied to Ireland unless accompanied by measures of conciliation, and amelioration of the conditions of which the agricultural population complained. As early as 1864 he had contended that the laws of entail should be broken down, so that in course of time, and by a gradual and sure process, the Irish people might become the possessors of the soil of Ireland. In 1866 he had suggested a parliamentary commission empowered to buy large estates, particularly of English proprietors in Ireland, and to re-sell them in existing farms to existing tenants, to whom the money to purchase them should be advanced on easy terms. These propositions may be said to have been reflected in Mr. Gladstone's Irish Land Bill of 1880; but it was considered necessary now to go further, since a succession of poor harvests, and still more, the constant disaffection promoted by the Land League and the emissaries from America, had prevented the beneficial working of that measure.

The Irish Land Bill of 1881, Mr. Gladstone said, was not brought forward because of the iniquity of the Irish land laws, which differed chiefly from the English in the special provisions they made for the benefit of the tenant, but it was rendered necessary by the land hunger or land scarcity in Ireland, by the arbitrary raising of rent, and harsh evictions on some estates, and by defects in the Land Act of 1870, which made it powerless to correct these evils. This Bill recognized universal tenant right; legislative interference was to prevent the arbitrary increase of rent, and the bill established a land commission or court, the design being to give practically what were afterwards called "the three F's"—fixity of tenure, free sale, and fair rents. To the land courts tenants could apply for a revision of their rents, which were then fixed under the name of judicial rents. It may be mentioned here that, from the time of the passing of the Act in 1881 to the end of Mr. Gladstone's administration in 1885, there were 122,599 applications to have rents so fixed. On these, which represented about 2,118,310 acres of land, the former rent being £1,407,465, the judicial rent was fixed at £1,133,174.

But before this measure could be brought forward, and almost at the beginning of the administration, the increasing terrorism and lawless condition of Ireland had necessitated the rapid passing of a bill for the prevention of crimes, which was carried through in three days. This provided for the creation of special tribunals composed of judges of the superior courts, who should sit without juries. It gave the police right of search in proclaimed districts, power to arrest any persons unable to give an account of themselves, to control newspapers, and compel the attendance of witnesses. These apparently stringent measures were believed to be necessary because of the increase of crime, the machinations of American-Irish emissaries, and the odious cruelty and savagery of the secret society agents posing as patriots. Under the name of "Coercion" this exceptional law excited much suspicious dislike, but it was soon found to work without injury to honest and loyal citizens.

Mr Parnell and other Land Leaguers who had, in 1881, been arrested and placed in Kilmainham jail, averred that the more violent of the disorders would have been checked by the influence of the League, if they had not been shut up in prison, but there was no evidence to show that the League and its leaders had taken pains either to denounce or to defeat the Fenian assassins or to counteract the diabolical plots of the secret societies in America. The horror and detestation of the crimes committed in the name of Ireland were accentuated to a point of agony, in May, 1882, by the assassinations in Phœnix Park, Dublin, and within sight of the Vice-regal Lodge, of Lord Frederick Cavendish, who had just been appointed chief secretary for Ireland, and of Mr. Burke, the permanent under-secretary. They were walking together in the park towards the Lodge, when attacked from behind and stabbed to death by men armed with the peculiar knives used for dissections—from their form and sharpness terrible weapons. There is little doubt that the murder of Mr. Burke, at least, had been planned beforehand.

The leaders of the "Nationalist" party, as the association of Irish representatives was now called, were horrified by such a crime, as were the great majority of their fellow-countrymen, and hastened to denounce it, emphatically declaring this, like other atrocities in which they had no part, to be the work of an irreconcilable faction, whose object it was to make agreement impossible. The actual murderers were afterwards brought to justice. They belonged to a society called the Invincibles, consisting of picked men

among the Fenians. The man who planned and directed the assassination was James Carey, a town-councillor, who, to save his own neck, turned queen's evidence, and with unblushing treachery and effrontery revealed the whole plot and the organization of the societies formed for the commission of murder. Other accomplices, not the actual murderers, also gave evidence. The perpetrators of the crime were hanged; Carey embarked for South Africa, and on board the vessel made the acquaintance of another passenger named O'Donnell, who, after assiduously watching him, and discovering that he was the "approver" against the Invincibles, took an opportunity of shooting him dead. O'Donnell was afterwards arrested and executed for this crime, the victim of which found little sympathy.

The business of Irish legislation in parliament was carried on by the government in spite of the appalling difficulties by which the ministry were opposed, and an Arrears Bill, applying to holdings of under £30 a year, "Griffith's Valuation", provided for compulsory sale or purchase, open alike to landlord and tenants, where the latter had paid a year's rent from November, 1880, to November, 1881, such tenant giving evidence of his inability to pay, before his demand on the landlord or the state could be entertained; but where his claim was fully made out the State would pay half the arrears accruing before November, 1880—a one year's rent—by a free gift of the amount required. Of the estimated amount of £2,000,000 required, three-fourths were to be taken from the surplus of the late Church Fund, and on application half a million would be granted from the Consolidated Fund.

By the end of the session of 1882 Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues in the ministry were almost exhausted by the arduous and exacting duties which they had been called upon to discharge. The affairs of Egypt and the expedition to support the authority of the khedive and protect European interests had added not a little to the great responsibilities of the government and the burden of legislation; but that responsibility was not to terminate with the retirement of the Earl of Dufferin from Cairo, after having completed the reformation of the Egyptian legislative constitution. Sir Garnet Wolseley and Sir Beauchamp Seymour had been respectively elevated to the peerage, under the titles of Viscount Wolseley of Cairo and Lord Alcester. The British force left in Egypt under the command of General Graham and other officers had been, for the most part, rapidly but gradually withdrawn, when there came startling intelligence from Kordofan, Darfur, and the central towns of the Egyptian provinces of the Soudan, lying between the Nile and the Red Sea and extending to the equatorial territory and Abyssinia.

The insurrection of the Arab sheiks and chieftains under the "Mahdi", who threatened the centre of the Soudan provinces and seemed to be preparing to invade Egypt from Baba and Khartoum, caused not a little consternation at Cairo and at Suakim, which lay exposed to attack

LORD WOLSELEY
From a photograph by the London Stereoscopic Co

by some of the wild Arab tribes. A few British regiments had remained, at the earnest request of the khedive, during the final settlement of the country, the departure of these delayed, though it was supposed that the Egyptian force under Sir Evelyn Wood and the gendarmerie under Colonel Valentine Baker would suffice to protect the Egyptian territory and to keep order in the country. But an actual insurrection in external territory, which Egypt could not continue to hold unaided, had not been contemplated as cause for our interference; and while Colonel Stewart went from Cairo to Khartoum, to report on the state of affairs, it was clearly and emphatically represented to the khedive that no aid would be given by the British forces to retain or to recover his authority over the Soudan, but that he must draw his protecting line at the Second Cataract of the Nile at Wady Halfa. The khedive could not bring himself to relinquish those territories, which included places on the slave-trade route from the Equatorial Provinces as well as on the direct line from the Red Sea, Suakim, and Massowah, to the Nile and Cairo, and he commissioned General Hicks—an able and brave officer, who had served with the British army in India, and now accepted a command from the Egyptian government—to organize an army at Khartoum against the mahdi. But the Egyptians had ceased to be warlike; and unless led or driven by Euro-

pean officers, they turned and fled like sheep before the wild and desperate onslaught of the savage tribesmen. Only the black troops, Nubians and others, would boldly stand their ground. Hicks found himself at the head of an inefficient army, and with a divided command—an Egyptian officer having been appointed to equal authority. For a time he successfully opposed the forces of the mahdi and gained some victories of a desultory sort, but eventually was (by a treacherous guide, it is said) led into a gorge, or valley, called Kiashgill, where a vast force of the enemy lay in ambush, and these tribesmen closing in upon his small force, slew every man with the general.

Meanwhile a relative of the mahdi, a powerful pasha named Osman Digna, was closing upon the territory by Suakim and the garrisons of Tokar and Sinkat, which were eventually shut up in these places Against the enemy who had invested Sinkat, Colonel Baker led his Egyptian troops in vain, they fled, to be speared without mercy by the fierce Soudanese tribesmen. Baker, his officers, and some of the black troops, a mere handful of men, fought their way back to Suakim, which had till that time been protected by a single British gun-boat. The relief of Tokar had been attempted by Commander Moncrieff, R.N., the British consul at Suakim, and the leader of an Egyptian force; but they had scarcely reached the place when they were attacked by a large body of the enemy before whom the Egyptian troops fled as usual, leaving the officers to fight to the last and till they fell, pierced with wounds from the broad-bladed spears of the infuriated Arabs. Not till afterwards was Vice-admiral Sir William Hewitt, who had been ordered up with some vessels from the Mediterranean squadron, appointed governor of Suakim in European interests.

Our government insisted that the abandonment of the Soudan and the evacuation of Khartoum by the Egyptian garrison and all the Europeans should be effected, according to the strong representations of Colonel Cadogan, who had been left there in command by General Hicks. For some time the ministry of the khedive stood out against this advice, and when the British government insisted they resigned; a new ministry was formed by Nubar Pasha, and he with the khedive professedly accepted the policy recommended. Orders were given for the evacuation of Khartoum and the garrisons of the adjoining provinces, but it was then too late. The hordes of the mahdi were swarming in Kordofan, had occupied Obeid, and were soon likely to advance to Berber and Khartoum. It was in fact beyond the power of the khedive, or any one in Cairo whom he could trust, to evacuate the Soudan, for at these garrisons, dotted in various places, a considerable population had gathered, so that it was computed that about 30,000 people would have by some means to get out of the provinces, and by the Nile or otherwise to make their way to actual Egyptian territory.

In such an emergency, the eyes of the Egyptian government naturally turned again on a man once already employed by Ismail Pasha as his plenipotentiary and governor-general of the Soudan, when, with marvellous courage and ability, he effected a great change, and was able in a large measure to check the slave-trade by cutting off the land and river routes of the slave caravans. This was General Charles Gordon, who had formerly so distinguished himself in commanding the native army against the Tai Ping rebels in China that he was known as Chinese Gordon. Perhaps no European but a man of his stamp could have succeeded in holding the position of governor-general of the Soudan. A master of prompt invention and resource, inspired by genuine Christian piety and an enthusiasm which came near the fatalism of his Moslem adversaries, he was entirely regardless of personal danger, and would go unarmed and alone into the midst of a company of the chiefs whose assumptions he was using every effort to suppress.

It was above a year since Gordon had resigned his appointment as Governor-general of the Soudan. He had during his stay broken up the raiding of the man-stealing pashas, who went to native villages, and seized the inhabitants to carry them in slave caravans to the markets to be sold, or to the depots to be consigned to other dealers. Slavery itself, existing as a domestic institution, he did not believe could be abolished. The traders in, and raiders for slaves, were wealthy and powerful chiefs, with considerable armed forces, to which Gordon and his lieutenant Gessi had to oppose such Egyptian and Nubian troops as they could obtain. It was natural that the thoughts of those who knew what an amazing influence Gordon Pasha had then acquired among the natives, should be now directed to him; and when it was known that the government had opened negotiations with him, and had induced him to give up an engagement recently accepted under the King of Belgium, much satisfaction was expressed. But probably the khedive and his advisers doubted the ability of Gordon to effect the evacuation of the provinces; and no Egyptian armed force could be sent thither of sufficient strength to cope alone with the swarms of fiercely warlike tribes who were casting in their lot with the mahdi.

Early in 1884, General Gordon, having been reinstated in his rank in the British army, was ready to start on his mission, with a firm belief in his own influence at Khartoum and with that entire disregard of personal danger which had

always distinguished him. His plan was to abandon the Western Soudan and the provinces of Darfur and Kordofan, but to hold Khartoum, with the provinces lying between the White Nile and the Red Sea, north of Sennar. It was understood that he should be independent of the khedive, and should receive his orders from the British government alone. He went, not for the purpose of reconquering the Soudan, or to persuade the chiefs to submit to the Egyptian government, but for the double purpose of extricating its garrisons and giving back to those chieftains their ancestral powers, withdrawn or suspended during the Egyptian occupation.

Gordon was to go through the canal to Suakim and thence attempt to reach Khartoum by the Berber route, relying on his friendly relations with the inhabitants, desirous also to avoid Cairo and any interview with the khedive; but Colonel Harrington had reported unfavourably of the safety of this proposed route, and Gordon altered his plans so as to include a flying visit to Cairo. The result was a conference of several representative personages, and the appointment of Gordon, not only as British High Commissioner, but as the khedive's reappointed Governor-general of the Soudan. He and his aide, Colonel Stewart, quitted the Nile valley at Korosko, and cut across the Nubian desert, without military escort, on a camel ride of 240 miles to Berber, which they reached on 11th of February.

About the same time the British government sent a British force, under General Graham, to protect Suakim and the Red Sea ports, in order to avert danger from the route to India, and though the expedition did not arrive soon enough to save the garrisons of Tokar and Sinkat, the followers of Osman Digna were signally defeated at El Teb and Tamai, and for a time driven away from Suakim, to return as soon as the British troops had been removed.

Having safely reached Khartoum, Gordon found at first that he had not exaggerated his *personal influence. He succeeded in sending away successive batches of people in small steam-boats along the Nile; and followed his instructions by proclaiming that certain chiefs were to be restored to their authority and possessions.* Some astonishment was caused by his patronage of the slave-hunter Zebehr, in whose hands Khartoum was to be left on his departure. He proposed to make the mahdi Sultan of Kordofan, the territory occupied by him; but it appeared that this potentate, in no disposition to receive favours, was cunningly watching the turn of events, while his followers slowly and surely blocked up Khartoum on the north-east and north-west. Gordon was left alone in Khartoum, with the fanatical host closing in upon him, intercepting his letters and messages, firing upon his steamers, and waiting till the time came to make a rush upon the town, when they had effectually isolated it and could get force enough to overcome the unremitting defence by which that one man and a mere handful of faithful supporters held the place as though it had been a real stronghold. The leader could have made his escape before it came to the worst; but all through his career Gordon thought of others before himself, even though now he had the bitterness of believing that his countrymen might abandon him.

Enough was known of this position to cause indignant excitement in England, and the demand that some means should be taken to rescue the defenders of Khartoum became overwhelming, especially when it was known that Gordon held on in hope that a small body of troops would be sent to his assistance. But no small body of troops could by that time have sufficed, nor did Gordon know how closely the territory of the Soudan on the lines leading to Khartoum was invested by the fierce tribesmen. The general impression at home was that the action of our government, if taken at all, should have been taken more promptly, and this became confirmed by the event.

After a visit of Lord Wolseley and Lord Northbrook to Egypt, it was decided that a relief expedition would have to ascend the Nile further than most travellers had reached, and preparations were at once made for the stupendous enterprise of conveying a considerable military force up the Nile to Korti. There the expedition was divided, a "Nile column" continuing the river journey towards Khartoum, under the command of General Earle, while a "desert column", under Sir Herbert Stewart, marched by land to strike the Nile again at Metammeh, where it was hoped communications could be opened with Gordon at Khartoum. Both columns had to fight their way against repeated attacks of the enemy. Both generals lost their lives in engagements fought with determined and dauntless bravery, and numbers of distinguished officers and heroic men found a grave in the desert, among them Colonel Burnaby, a traveller and author as well as a soldier of note.

And all this eager courage was spent in vain. For it would seem as though the mahdi and his savage lieutenants awaited as a signal the approach of the expeditionary force to swarm upon Khartoum, where Gordon fell only a few hours before a small steamer, sent from the camp of Metammeh, stood on and off below the river-side town (28th January, 1885), till intelligence was gained of the tragedy which cut short the noble effort and the famous record of a man who had endeavoured to achieve a great deed single-handed, and though

he failed, had been instrumental in inspiring the nations of Europe with a sense of the determined valour and invincible spirit of his countrymen, while his heroic end made his name a household word in England more than the most fortunate soldier's of our generation. Khartoum had fallen, not by assault of the enemy, but by treachery The second native officer in command had opened the gates to the enemy, the small body of troops had been easily overwhelmed, and Gordon was slain among the adherents whom he had inspired to hold out so bravely against such odds.

The return march of the desert column sent to his rescue, and the return voyage of those who had with consummate patience made the passage of the almost unnavigable river, was followed by the temporary investment of Wady Halfa and other points of defence by British troops; but in April, 1885, the army of Lord Wolseley was being gradually withdrawn from the country. In July it was reported that the mahdi had died of smallpox, but he had named a successor, and for some time afterwards a series of engagements with the rebel tribesmen under Osman Digna and other chiefs demanded the presence of a considerable force at Suakim, partly withdrawn or reinforced as occasion demanded, the wild raids of the Soudan tribes and their obstinate attempts to occupy some portion of the territory beyond the Red Sea port long continuing to test the courage and alacrity of our garrison, mostly Egyptians, who seem to have gained greater courage and stability by having been associated with British troops and commanded by British officers.

Amid the arduous trials of the premier, and the extraordinary demands made on his ministry, the introduction of bills for the extension of the franchise and the redistribution of the electorate had not been lost sight of In February, 1884, Mr. Gladstone brought forward the measure which was known as the New Franchise Bill, which had the effect of enfranchising the county populations by placing them on the same footing as the householders in town, and thus giving a vote to agricultural labourers under the same conditions of occupation. The "ancient rights" franchise in boroughs was to remain unaltered, and so were the household franchise of 1867 and the lodger franchise. The franchise for holdings of £10 clear yearly value was extended to the occupation of land held without buildings, and a "service" franchise was created which gave the vote to any man inhabiting a dwelling-house, by virtue of any office, service, or employment, such dwelling-house not being occupied by his employer. In the counties the £50 franchise was to be abolished, the £12 rateable value franchise of 1867 to be reduced to £10 yearly value, and the service, lodger, and household franchise of the boroughs to be adopted. In Scotland peculiarities of borough representation were not interfered with, but the franchises were to be on the same footing as in England. In Ireland, where there was a £4 voting value franchise for land alone, a county franchise of £10 clear annual value was to be substituted for it. No one in the kingdom would be disfranchised. Every head of a household would become a voter, and the lodger and service franchises might be regarded only as enlargements of household suffrage. It was estimated that the bill would add 1,300,000 to the English constituency, 200,000 to that of Scotland, and 400,000 to that of Ireland.

The bill was opposed in the House of Lords, mainly on the ground that an extension of the franchise should not be effected without the simultaneous presentation of a bill for the redistribution of seats There was a conflict between the two houses, and opinion found expression out of doors in strong language used by members of both, but ultimately a compromise was effected, and the bill passed on the understanding that a Redistribution Bill should immediately follow —an agreement which was punctually observed. The effect of this bill was to disfranchise a number of the smaller boroughs and distribute the seats thus obtained among the counties and larger boroughs, so that the inhabitants of the small boroughs were not deprived of votes, but included in the larger districts wherein they dwelt. No borough with a population of less than 15,000 was to have separate representation, a borough with a population of 20,000, and represented by two members, was to have only one member. Of the 178 seats available for redistribution, 96 were to be given to the counties and 82 to the boroughs, while the metropolis was to have 40 additional members.

These were the great progressive measures which came into operation in 1885 to signalize the Liberal administration. After their accomplishment, and the comparative quieting of Egypt, there remained the apparently insurmountable difficulty which attended any attempt to legislate for Ireland. Mr. Gladstone, wearied out in the previous conflict, was believed to be not unwilling that the Conservatives should succeed to power, and in June, 1885, on their challenging the budget of Mr. Childers, as there were not a sufficient number of Liberal members present to secure a majority, the ministry gave place to one formed by Lord Salisbury, now the recognized leader of the Conservative party.

On the dissolution of parliament, whether or no the agricultural population were affected by some vague prospect of obtaining "three acres and a cow", as the phrase went, the votes in the counties proved so favourable to the Liberals,

that the new Conservative government would be dependent on the Irish members of the house for doubtful majorities. Their hands held the balance of power; their voices had hailed Mr. Gladstone's downfall with howls of triumph. Now it was that the Liberal leader made the "great renunciation" of his former principles as to the government of Ireland, perplexing and bewildering his party by a sudden change of standard. Lord Salisbury's ministry was unable to retain office,

THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY
From a photograph by Russell & Sons, London.

and in February, 1886, Mr. Gladstone again returned to power, with a cabinet consisting of more Radicals than had ever before taken a leading part in government, and a new policy for Ireland, including concession to the plan which had acquired the name of "Home Rule" and a scheme of land purchase with a view to establish a peasant proprietory. But Mr. Gladstone had to contend not only with the disappointed opposition, and with the unscrupulous party which claimed to represent Ireland, among whom Mr. Parnell now seemed to be the leader of the more reasonable section, but also with serious and sudden defections, both in the Liberal ranks and in the cabinet itself, under the leadership of men like Lord Hartington, John Bright, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Chamberlain, supported by some of the most advanced Radicals as well as by the most intellectual elements of Liberalism. These Liberals, dissenting from the change of front towards Home Rule, and impressed by the danger of the separation of Ireland from the United Kingdom, formed a party, which, under the title of Liberal Unionists, was strong enough in June, 1886, to defeat the government on the Home Rule Bill, proposed by Mr. Gladstone and strongly opposed by Mr. Goschen. One original feature of this measure, which pleased neither party, not even the author himself on second thoughts, was the removal of Ireland's representation from the Imperial Parliament; and Mr. Gladstone's looseness of conviction on this cardinal point did not help to reassure his doubting adherents. The ministry, having been defeated, advised a dissolution of parliament, which took place just before Whitsuntide; and the result of the subsequent election once more placed Lord Salisbury and a Conservative government in power.

The later months of the year 1886 were largely devoted to preparation for the great celebration which was to make 1887 memorable not only in the annals of Great Britain but in the history of nations It had been determined to commemorate worthily the Jubilee of the reign of Queen Victoria, beloved by her people and esteemed and respected all over the world.

The Jubilee Day was the 21st of June (1887), and on the 16th her majesty left Balmoral for Windsor. Already numerous celebrations and observances in relation to charitable institutions, foundations of new schemes of benevolence, and the bestowal of honours and recognitions on persons of social desert or distinction were being associated with "The Jubilee" throughout the kingdom, and many interesting ceremonials and state functions took place in London and various parts of the kingdom, preliminary to the great demonstration. "Queen's weather" did not fail on the morning of the 21st, a brilliant day full of sunshine. All over the country and in many other parts of the world the day was made a holiday in honour of the English queen. In our most distant dependencies, or in remote places, wherever dwelt a small community of British residents or British travellers, the loyal festival demonstrations were held. In the metropolis no such spectacle had ever been presented as that of the streets, where vast and enthusiastic multitudes assembled to witness the procession, in which the great point of attraction was the form and face of their sovereign, who, as little more than a child, had been welcomed by a loyal people, and who for fifty years of a beneficent reign, through troubles and afflictions which seemed to bring her nearer to those who could claim her sympathy with their own griefs and bereavements, had held a place in the hearts of her subjects seldom accorded to any ruler of a powerful nation. If there had ever been a doubt of the loyalty of the British people to their queen, it would have been dissipated on that day, and it must have deeply impressed those foreign princes and ambassadors who came to show the respect of the governments which they represented. Those princes in the brilliant cortège who rode beside her majesty's carriage little needed such evidence, for they were her own sons and near

kinsmen. Conspicuous among them was the stalwart and dignified heir to the German imperial throne, husband of her eldest child and namesake Victoria, "the Princess Royal".

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN
From a photograph by Messrs Bassano, London

Alas! the shadow of successive bereavements had fallen on the royal widow—her daughter, the beloved Princess Alice of Hesse, and her youngest son, Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, had passed away, the latter in full promise of exceptional attainments and of a future record that should mark a distinguished career, though his constitutional weakness might have precluded him from an active life. But the splendid ceremonial on Jubilee Day and the wonderful aspect of the streets of London, especially at Trafalgar Square and in the vicinity of Westminster Abbey, blotted out all sorrowful memories.

After an imposing ceremony in the Abbey, conducted by the principal church dignitaries, her majesty, standing on the royal dais, received the obeisances of all the members of the royal family, and warmly kissed each of them in response. Then, supported by the lord chamberlain, preceded by the princes and followed by the princesses, the queen passed down the nave to the west door, returning to Buckingham Palace amidst the renewed acclamations of that vast concourse which still filled the streets, thronging stands and balconies erected in every available space, as well as the windows and even the roofs of the houses and great public buildings on the line of route.

With the record of a celebration which had for the British empire an emphatic significance, and was regarded throughout the civilized world as an evidence alike of the freedom and the loyalty of the British people, this chapter of our history may appropriately close

CHAPTER X.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—1887–1896.

VICTORIA.

The state of Ireland—The Liberal Unionists—The unemployed—Riots in London—Tithe agitation in Wales—General Boulanger—Death of the Emperor Frederick—The Triple Alliance—Whitechapel murders—Local Government Act—Strikes—Troubles with Portugal in South Africa—The Parnell Commission—The disgrace of Mr Parnell—Split in the Nationalist party—The Influenza—The "Newcastle Programme"—New leaders in politics—Death of the Duke of Clarence—Socialist agitation—Mr Gladstone returns to office—Home Rule Bill of 1893—Clamour against the House of Lords—Parish Councils established—Marriage of the Duke of York—Disputes with France and America—The "World's Fair" at Chicago—Abbas Pasha contumacious—Subjugation of Lobengula—Australian Bank failures—More strikes at home—Sinking of the *Victoria*—War

between China and Japan—Death of the Czar—Anarchist outrages in France—Mr. Gladstone's retirement—Lord Rosebery Prime minister—Indiscipline of his party—Election of 1895—Enormous Conservative majority—Lord Salisbury returns to office—The Liberator trials—Chitral and Ashanti expeditions—The Armenian question—Venezuela boundary dispute—President Cleveland's message—Grievances of the Transvaal settlers—Dr. Jameson's raid—The German Emperor's interference—Isolation of England

THE events of the decade on which we now enter, are so fresh in our memories that a mere summary will be enough to co-ordinate rather than to recall them.

The festivities of the Jubilee left us still deploring the chronic discontent of Ireland, where the Land League and the Plan of Campaign terrorized the country with a power that would have been called tyrannously oppressive had it been exercised in the name of law. More than one of the perversely patriotic leaders got himself into prison; then the question of their wearing convict clothes became a standard of indignation, which on this side of the Channel was largely artificial. Harassed and hampered by the excesses of their Irish supporters, some leading members of the opposition worked themselves up to use excited language that redounded on their cause in ridicule; others, it was suspected, began to lose heart in patronizing what seemed a tragic burlesque. The "Round Table" conferences failed to reconcile Mr. Gladstone's followers with the Unionist Liberals, who comprised most of the more thoughtful members of the party; Sir George Trevelyan was the only important politician won over. The government, firm in the support of the Unionists, pursued its policy of tranquillizing Ireland by judicious administration of the Crimes Act, that had soon ceased to be a bugbear to friends of true liberty. Mr. Balfour, as Irish Secretary, proved himself the right man in the right place, and won even on Irish opinion by the steadfast way in which he braved odium for what he believed a good end. Next year, the Pope's denunciation of the Nationalist leader's methods came to reinforce the party of order, though its reception showed how the name of Rome was no longer such a spell to conjure with against heated passions and aspirations. Murderous outrages were not wholly checked; but on the whole there appeared cause to hope that the deluge was beginning to subside that for years had covered Ireland with disorder and misery.

Unfortunately, the infection of lawlessness had spread across the Channel, where Mitchelstown was "remembered" in a sense that must have pained the author of that unhappy phrase. During the winter following the Jubilee year, the sufferings of many among the working classes, and the sympathetic resentment of others, found vent in a series of riotous meetings, by which the promoters seemed to imagine they could force the government to find work for the "unemployed", who at this season are always numerous, and whose numbers in London have apparently been increased of late years by the attraction of special funds well meant for their relief. The winter before, a serious disturbance at the West End had alarmed the more prosperous and provident classes, now again, in pursuit of the same policy, the rioters insisted on meeting in Trafalgar Square, by way of causing as much public inconvenience as possible, and perhaps in the hope of coming into noisy collision with the law. One of these demonstrations, on a November Sunday afternoon, led to some short conflicts in the not too deadly British manner. The Guards had to be called out; but the police could probably have dealt with the riot had they not been hampered by a crowd of curious spectators, some of whom got their heads broken. A large number of orderly citizens came forward to act as special constables; and before the resolute attitude of the authorities all attempts at disorder soon collapsed. When the next government courted popularity by opening Trafalgar Square, under certain restrictions, to such meetings, they had lost the salt of illegality, and ceased to draw the enormous audiences that here had sought a holiday spectacle. Since then Hyde Park has again become the favourite scene of the Sunday demonstrations by which idle crowds testify more or less good-humouredly to their interest in politics.

The chief martyrs of the Trafalgar Square riots were Mr. Cunningham Graham and Mr. John Burns, who not only suffered violence at the hands of the police, but were condemned to a term of imprisonment, while less gallant agitators contented themselves with hounding on the mob from a safe distance. To Mr. Burns this misfortune was worth a position in politics, he being returned by a large majority, first to the London County Council, then as member of parliament for Battersea, where he soon made his influence felt by more practical efforts for the benefit of the working class, among whom, however, he seems in turn to be losing favour through the comparative moderation forced upon him by experience. His fellow-sufferer proved hardly so fortunate, for after making himself a certain reputation as an amiable firebrand, Mr. Cunningham Graham was rejected at the next election by his Radical but hard-headed constituents.

In Wales, during 1888, a similar spirit of

violence, such as had formerly been evinced on a larger scale in the famous Rebecca riots, was shown against the collection of tithes; and several affrays took place which inflamed the popular agitation against the Welsh establishment. Mr. Gladstone, who had entered public life as a champion of the Anglican church, of which he continued an earnest adherent, was slow to place himself at the head of this movement, that, however, went on growing, with much heat on both sides, till it came to be a prominent feature in party politics.

Our external relations remained satisfactory, though the peace of Europe seemed threatened by the Parisian popularity of General Boulanger, a somewhat swaggering hero, whose suspected design of playing Bonaparte caused no little embarrassment to his own government Sent into quasi-exile, as commander of a provincial district, he continued for a time to excite alarm by the sympathy of certain "jingo" patriots, but the sanguinary hopes founded on him soon began to pale The fear of a prosecution for conspiracy next year drove him into voluntary banishment, taking asylum first at Brussels then in London. In 1891, his meteoric career came to a close by suicide.

Germany had in 1888 a heavy loss, shared by England and by all friends of peace. On the death of the aged Emperor William, in March, 1888, his son Frederick, husband of our Princess Royal, succeeded to the throne, only to die in June of the same year, from cancer in the throat His reign had been looked forward to as that of a rarely enlightened prince who would cultivate the true interests of nations, and his son and successor's first steps were not such as to give the same assurance. A painful burst of ill-feeling was caused in Germany by the fact that the late emperor's case had been mainly intrusted to an English specialist, Sir Morell Mackenzie. In the pride of their consolidated patriotism, the Germans resented this upon us and upon the unhappy widow, whose own son and the chancellor, Prince Bismarck, were understood to foment the popular resentment. Before two years were out, the young emperor showed that he had a will of his own, and boldness to strain his popularity, by quarrelling with the idolized Bismarck, whose successors, however, maintained his external policy by holding fast to the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, a firm league that has as yet kept the peace of Europe.

During 1888, detachments of our troops kept their hands in by bouts of fighting on the northern frontier of Hindostan, with the dervishes in Egypt, and with turbulent Zulus in South Africa, but no stirring battle has to be recorded. Perhaps the great sensation of the year, at home, was the series of mysterious and revolting murders committed on women in Whitechapel, by a miscreant known as "Jack the Ripper", who could not be discovered; but in some way or other his atrocities came to an end, and this is now believed to have been a case of the moral insanity termed Sadism it is even said that the wretch has been identified as inmate of a lunatic asylum.

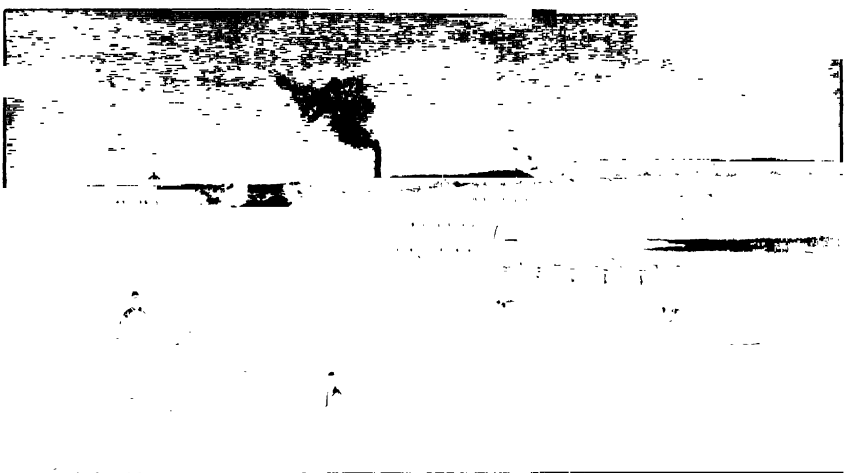
The most considerable event of this year in our internal affairs had been the Local Government Act, by which County Councils were established to take over the functions of various administrative bodies that seemed wastefully independent of each other, and too little amenable to public opinion. This measure, though carried by a Conservative government, was hailed by their opponents as a first step towards some division of the work of parliament It was hoped that the elections to the new authority would not go on party lines; but this proved too much to hope, and while in the country districts the local influence of candidates had more weight, the first London County Council, 1889, was chosen by a hot contest between the two great parties, resulting in a large "progressive" majority that soon showed its sympathy not only with radical, but with socialistic tendencies. Under the patronage of some enthusiastic members of this body, and with more encouragement than hitherto from the general public, the discontent of labour took shape in a series of strikes, the best remembered of which is the great dock strike, lasting through the autumn of 1889. In this year and the next, indeed, strikes became epidemic, postmen and policemen made an attempt at striking; soldiers were infected by the same spirit; and even schoolboys took to playing at the popular game. Wages thus were raised in several trades, but at the cost of driving some industry to other countries

The French Exhibition of 1889, with its Eiffel Tower and other wonders, attracted many English visitors On the Continent, the most dramatic event was the suicide of the Crown Prince of Austria. At home, our most serious loss was the death of Robert Browning and of John Bright, both of whom had lived to enjoy a general respect in contrast to their first reception by the public.

Attention was repeatedly drawn to Africa, by fresh fighting with the mahdist dervishes, by the success of Stanley's great march to the relief of Emin Pasha, by Cardinal Lavigerie's crusade against the slave-dealers in the north, and by the revived pretensions of the Portuguese in South Africa, which, at the end of 1889, seemed to threaten a collision between their country and ours. The development of the gold and diamond

mining industries here had been going on fast. Large towns were growing rapidly, mainly under English enterprise, at Kimberley and Johannesburg. More than one other nation began to envy our predominance in a region that bade fair to turn out unexpectedly valuable; and the operations of the newly chartered company, of which Mr. Rhodes was all along the guiding spirit, soon gave fresh cause of offence in Portugal, where the government, terrorized by mob violence, had much ado to keep itself from being driven into war.

While Ireland appeared to be settling down, great interest was shown in the proceedings of a special commission, which sat in London almost throughout 1889, to examine into certain charges of criminal conspiracy brought against Mr. Parnell and other leaders of the Home Rule party. The report of this commission, published at the opening of parliament in 1890, did not satisfy



A SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD MINE NEAR JOHANNESBURG

extreme politicians on either side Mr. Parnell's friends could claim it as a vindication of his personal character, but the *Times*, which had made itself his chief accuser, was shown not to have been without cause for its charges. The Irish leader's proceedings had for some time been mysterious in more ways than one; and towards the end of 1890, his name came again to the front through a painfully scandalous divorce case, that destroyed all respect for him in England and brought about a split among his own followers. Mr Justin M'Carthy was elected leader by a majority of the Irish party, with the approval of the priests; but another section clung obstinately to one who had at least the virtue of hating England; and thus a new bitterness became added to the troubles of the Emerald Isle.

The winter of 1890 will be remembered for the breaking out of the Influenza, which appeared in London about Christmas-time, spreading quickest in the Houses of Parliament, the Post Office, and other places where large numbers of people are brought together; but it was not at once that its serious character, in many cases, came to be recognized. As if to balance this new disease, great hopes were raised in Germany and over Europe by Dr Koch's alleged discovery of a cure for consumption. This year died Cardinal Newman and Canon Liddon, the most influential members of their respective churches. The Baring crisis in the City showed how hollow might be commercial renown. Two features of our external relations were the surrender of Heligoland to Germany, which made much to-do over this insignificant possession; and the establishment of the M'Kinlay Tariff in the United States, affecting our industries, while of such doubtful benefit to America that a partly successful agitation against it soon followed.

Throughout 1891 we still kept up our neutrality between the courtings of the Triple Alliance and the ostentatious *entente* of France and Russia. The latter power's doings on the frontiers of Afghanistan once more gave us cause for chronic uneasiness. An outbreak in the small protected state of Manipur afforded our Indian forces the chance of an exploit, which had as its heroine Mrs. Grimwood, wife of the murdered resident. The

lofty language of American politicians did not prevent the Behring Sea controversy from being brought to arbitration. With Portugal, also, we came to terms as to our respective spheres of influence in Africa.

This year was a stirring time in domestic politics, marked by the "Newcastle Programme", in which the advanced sections of the Liberal party put forward a large list of measures, more or less heartily adopted by its leaders. Irish Home Rule still headed the list; but it appeared that the party, as well as the country, was growing sick of the subject, the more so in disgust at the unseemly quarrels between the majority of the Nationalists and the followers of Mr. Parnell, who made up by violence for their inferiority in numbers. These quarrels became only more rancorous after the unexpected death, on 6th October, of Mr. Parnell, who did not long survive his fall in public opinion.

On the same day died Mr. W. H. Smith, a typical English politician, who after making a fortune as a news-vendor, by his good sense and business qualities had won his way to the chancellorship of the exchequer and leadership of the House of Commons The Marquis of Hartington having been removed to the Upper House by his father's death, and Lord Randolph Churchill's fitful activity being crippled by ill health, which drove him to South African travel, there could be no doubt as to the vacant place being filled by Mr. A. J. Balfour, whose qualities, both as an orator and a statesman, had fast grown upon public estimation. In succession to Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain was chosen chief of the Liberal Unionist section, whose alliance with the government seemed now firmly cemented. This year died also Mr. Bradlaugh, another politician who had been gaining upon the good opinion of the House, seldom refused to sincerity and practical ability.

A great sensation of this year was the "Baccarat Scandal", which led to the heir to our throne appearing, not for the first time, as witness in a court of justice. But the unseemly glimpse now afforded of royal life was forgotten in the loss of 1892, at the opening of which the Duke of Clarence died from the results of a chill, or from the influenza that carried off so many other victims. The young prince's death seemed the sadder, as he had lately become engaged to his cousin, the Princess May of Teck, with whom, and with the afflicted parents, there was much sympathy. After a becoming interval, it was announced, to the general satisfaction, that the princess had accepted the hand of Prince George, created Duke of York, whose connection with the navy was enough to ensure a fund of popularity for his start in public life.

In the same year died Lord Tennyson, the poet laureate, Mr. Spurgeon, the greatest preacher of Protestant dissent, and Cardinal Manning, who had greatly enhanced the influence of his church by the part he played in labour troubles, still unhappily prevalent. Serious strikes took place among the colliers in the north, and the cotton workers of Lancashire. For some time a large section of the working class had been tickled by

ALFRED, LORD TENNYSON

a plan for limiting daily labour to "eight hours", which made a popular cry, though not unanimously taken up, and though the experience of other states has shown the scheme to be as impracticable as impolitic. The socialistic tendencies of the day received great encouragement from the second election of the London County Council, which had now an overwhelming Progressive majority.

But the main interest was in the parliamentary election of this year, the result of which had been foreshadowed by a serious of by-elections Weary of exhausting and unfruitful strife, parliament was dissolved at the end of June; then the United Kingdom gave the opposition a preponderance of about forty votes, depending upon those of the Irish Nationalists, twice as many in number, of whom only a fraction belonged to the extreme Parnellite party. Before such a majority, Lord Salisbury resigned after the meeting of the new parliament; and Mr. Gladstone, at the age of eighty-two, became prime minister for the fourth time, with Sir William Vernon Harcourt as chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Rosebery as foreign secretary, and Mr. John Morley in charge of Irish affairs. The late government had carried its bill for extending local government to Ireland, but had shrunk from fighting it through the ordeal of committee, before taking the sense of the country, which now proved adverse.

Mr. Gladstone's majority included a number of groups so hotly set upon particular measures all-important in the eyes of their advocates, that he had to make a show of satisfying each by introducing bills to deal with the established church in Wales, with parliamentary registration, and with the question of local veto upon the sale of intoxicants. But none of these could be seriously pressed, since the attention of the House of Commons, sitting almost continuously for eleven months of the year 1893, was mainly taken up by the Irish Home Rule Bill, which had as its chief point of difference from that of 1886, the retention of Irish members in the Imperial Parliament, thereby sacrificing what to many now seemed the one good feature of the former scheme. After long and hot debates, waged both within and without the House, the bill was carried by a slightly decreased majority, only to be at once thrown out in the Upper House. The mending or ending of this House now became the outcry of the Radical party, but Mr. Gladstone disappointed some of his supporters by the lukewarmness which he seemed to show in such a cause; and in the end there appeared cause to believe that this time the Lords had not been so much out of touch with popular sentiment, its "flowing tide" turned by a counter agitation against Home Rule, by the vehemence of loyalist demonstrations among Ulstermen, and by the unedifying rancour of the Nationalist factions. Meeting after a short recess, the Commons addressed themselves to their chief piece of practical legislation, the extension of local government by the Parish Councils Bill, which became law next year.

In 1893 took place the marriage of the Duke of York, with general rejoicings that will be well remembered; and since then the nation has had to welcome more than one great-grandson of its sovereign. By the death of the Duke of Coburg, our queen's second son became a German prince. Over the Continent, with its growing armaments, lowered the continual dread of a great European war, which some observers regard as inevitable sooner or later, but the Powers were still able to preserve a mutual understanding. The affairs of Siam came perilously near proving a bone of contention between our country and France, that had internal troubles of her own in the disclosures of the Panama scandal, and in hateful anarchist outrages, while its excited welcome of the Russian fleet at Toulon was a significant hint to foreign statesmen

To America, where our dispute about the Behring Sea fisheries was now settled by arbitration, many English visitors were attracted by the World's Fair at Chicago, that did not fall short of Brother Jonathan's characteristic ambition to produce the largest show ever attempted. In Egypt our careful and just administration, long ago recognized by all who saw its results, unless with sorely prejudiced eyes, was threatened by the ill-will of young Abbas Pasha, prematurely made khedive through the sudden death, in 1892, of his more prudent father; but he was constrained at least to dissemble his impatience of British guardianship; and Egypt was once more saved from the tyranny and corruption that here pose as patriotism. In the south of Africa, the forces of the Chartered Company, under the direction of Dr. Jameson, performed a feat of arms in subduing the fierce Matabele warriors and their chief Lobengula, a victory that, opening a large extent of land to settlement, strengthened the influence of Mr. Rhodes and what may be called the Jingo party of our Cape colonies.

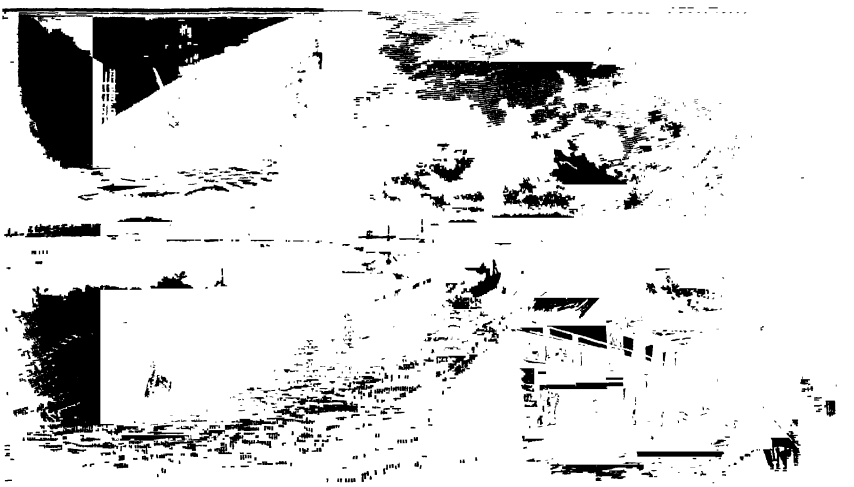
Australia, in this year, went through a severe economic crisis, bringing about the failure or suspension of many of its banks, whose funds, invested there on bad securities, largely came from the old country, especially from Scotland, where wide-spread distress was caused among the provident classes, as in England, the year before, by the ruin of the Liberator Building Society and allied companies, who had practised a particularly cruel deception upon their victims. Trade suffered much from a shipping strike, and from another among the coal-miners in more than one district, ended at last by the good offices of Lord Rosebery as umpire, an accomplishment that brought him popularity soon to become valuable

In the obituary of 1893 the chief names are those of Lord Derby and Professor Tyndall. The great loss of the year, one which sent a thrill of pain through the country, was the sinking of the *Victoria* battle-ship off the coast of Syria, with the loss of between three and four hundred men, including the admiral, Sir George Tryon, to a mistake on whose part the catastrophe had been due.

For some time public opinion, on both sides of politics, had begun to recognize the need of increasing our naval strength; and in 1894 this feeling was quickened by the war between China and Japan, in which, for the first time, the formidable fighting-machines of modern fleets came into collision, an experiment in naval warfare rather vitiated by the incompetence of the Chinese government and officers. A series of shameful defeats forced the huge empire to sue for peace, the Japanese gaining their point of predominance in Corea, after showing that their land and sea forces were to be respected even by the older civilized nations. Russia would probably have had more say in the settlement, were her railway

communications with the east of her vast empire not yet incomplete. And in this year Russia received a blow by the death of the czar, when the Prince and Princess of Wales made a long visit to the bereaved family, which gave rise to much speculation and hope that they had helped to establish friendly relations between our country and his successor.

Europe continued to be at peace. To Germany attention was drawn by an apparent reconciliation between Prince Bismarck and the emperor, whose anachronic notions of Divine Right began to startle his own people. In France there was an outburst of anarchist outrages, culminating in the assassination of President Carnot. The same method of reforming society was attempted in England by a Frenchman named Bourdin, who, with the ill-luck that seems to attend such miscreants here, contrived only for himself a horrible death; then a popular



THE MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL.

The Canal at Eastham, showing Mount Manisty (formed of earth excavated from canal) 1, Latchford Lock, while in course of construction 2, Barton Aqueduct, carrying the Bridgewater Canal over the Manchester Canal

demonstration at his funeral showed how little sympathy our working class has with crimes of the sort

The opening of the Manchester Ship Canal by the queen, and of the Tower Bridge by the Prince of Wales, were events of more than local note in 1894 But the great landmark of this year was Mr Gladstone's second and probably final retirement from politics, after a public service of over three-score years. Afflicted by cataract, the prime minister found himself obliged to resign the ungrateful task of controlling the various sections of his party. An operation was successfully performed on his eyes; but he has since remained in private life, given up to literary pursuits, with only an occasional utterance on current politics.

The Earl of Rosebery succeeded him, in virtue partly of the ability he had shown in foreign affairs, partly of the democratic popularity recently gained as chairman of the London County Council, and as umpire in the great coal strike. His connection with the turf, and the winning of the Derby by his horse Ladas, helped him with some of his supporters, but harmed him with others. From the first, a certain section of the party murmured against his leadership, loyally accepted as it was by his senior, Sir William Harcourt, who won for the government its chief popular success by a Budget weighing on the propertied class Early in the year a Bill to extend the Employers' Liability Act had been withdrawn, as much out of regard to dissensions among the working class themselves, on one of its chief provisions, as through parliamentary opposition. The Bill for Compensating Evicted Tenants in Ireland was thrown out by the Upper House, as a result of which Lord Rosebery had to make a fresh show of zeal in leading a crusade against his own order.

But it soon appeared that the new prime minister headed a disunited and ill-disciplined

party, to be controlled only by its lost leader. Some Liberals clamoured against the Lords, some against the Welsh Church, some in the cause of temperance, others for the demands of Ireland; but all sections insisted on their own measures being brought to the front, each stirring up a corresponding opposition of public opinion. In the session of 1895, the Welsh Church Bill was pushed through the House of Commons by dwindling majorities that betrayed the government's weakness. A general election began to be looked forward to, and its results were foreshadowed by that of the London County Council, showing a reaction in favour of the "Moderate" party. The nation seemed at last impatient of the legislative paralysis brought about by Irish controversies. In April, Mr. Peel retired from the speakership, and was succeeded by Mr. Gully. In May, Lord Rosebery's government was defeated on an unimportant question in committee on the Army Estimates, and immediately resigned. Lord Salisbury, recalled to office, formed a cabinet in which the Liberal Unionist section was strongly represented, then, as soon as the necessary business of supply could be carried through, he dissolved parliament to take the sense of the country.

This was given with an emphasis beyond the hopes and fears of either party. The new government came back with a majority of at least 150 votes, that seems to have settled it in a lease of power, till the pendulum of public opinion swing back to the other extreme The Radicals, crushed by such a defeat, had not even the consolation of being able to agree on what had chiefly operated in bringing it about. Perhaps the main factor was the falling away of those adherents who, mindful of Mr. Gladstone's great services to progress and humanity, had not hitherto been able to desert his standard, in whatever cause it might be raised. But some of the local elections went in so unexpected a manner that it is hard to say for certain how the wind of popularity had come to veer here and there with such general results.

The year 1895 had opened with an unusually long and severe frost, which brought much sickness and suffering. Lord Randolph Churchill's and Professor Huxley's were the most widely felt deaths of this year. One of its prominent events was the bringing to justice of Jabez Balfour, the ringleader in the "Liberator" frauds, who, by his position as a member of parliament, and by hypocritical professions of religion, had been able to deceive so many, to the loss of their hard-earned savings. After the crash, he fled to the Argentine States, but was discovered, arrested, and extradited, not without long and tedious formalities through which he seemed likely to slip away from punishment. When at last brought to trial, public interest in his case had somewhat waned, nor was it much stimulated by the somewhat arithmetical character of the evidence, which led to a sentence of fourteen years penal servitude, his accomplices receiving, or having already received, minor degrees of punishment. Other sensational trials during the year helped to sell the newspapers rather than to raise the tone of public morals. The Liberator crash recalled the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank, which, earlier in our generation, had spread like misfortune, ill-consoled by the punishment of the officials in fault.

In Germany, the opening of the Kiel Canal gave occasion for an international fête. France, always disturbed by chronic political crises, was much taken up by her campaign against the Hovas of Madagascar, carried out in a very successful manner. In India our soldiers distinguished themselves by the defence and relief of the Chitral Fort. Towards the end of the year an expedition of miscellaneous forces had to be sent to Ashanti, where the climate would be the worst foe to contend with. In January, 1896, the recalcitrant King of Coomassie let his town be occupied without a blow, and the most serious loss was that of Prince Henry of Battenberg, husband of Princess Beatrice, who, having accompanied the expedition as a volunteer, died of fever on his way home.

The great sensation of the year came as a series of shocks, crowding thick on our nation as it was preparing to spend mirthfully the season of peace and good-will towards men.

In the eastern horizon, indeed, there hung a darker cloud rising from the woes of Turkey's Armenian subjects, victims of a fanaticism that tyrannizes on the Black Sea only through the mutual suspicions and ambitions of the great Christian powers. But the prime minister had given hope that diplomacy would avail to bring the sultan to reason without imperilling European concord; and it appeared as if we might enjoy fair political weather for Christmas, when, from a most unexpected quarter came what, at first sight, read as a challenge to war.

For some time, unnoticed by nine out of ten Englishmen, there had been dragging on a boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana. We had believed that the great American Republic took as little interest in the matter as we ourselves. But now the President of the United States startled the world by a message to Congress, proclaiming his intention to appoint a commission that should settle the question, in virtue of the "Monroe doctrine" by which America claims to put a veto on any European interference across the Atlantic. This high-handed action, though from the first suspected as an attempt at presidential electioneering, was re-

ceived with significant applause, not only by the legislators but by the mass of the American people. A reaction, indeed, presently became apparent; the moneyed classes saw what must come to both countries through the war so lightly challenged; philanthropists cried out against the horror of a fratricidal struggle between the two Anglo-Saxon peoples, one popular New York preacher going the length of denouncing the presidential message as the greatest crime of the century, on reflection, all classes began to understand the shame and risk of quarrelling with a great naval power upon a trifle; but, on the whole, it was painfully evident that the president might not have miscalculated on "twisting the lion's tail" as a popular exploit likely to ensure the third term of office, which would be a new departure in American politics

On our side of the Atlantic, it is not too much to say that this threat was received more in sorrow than in anger. We had long been forgetting our differences with the English-speaking republic, remembering rather how much we had in common; we had been welcoming its citizens as our friends, investing our capital in its enterprises, sending our sons to people its vast territories, till the idea of war between the two countries became inconceivable. But though we shrank from such a contest, there was no fear of it, and only one feeling, that the honour of our country must be upheld at any cost Profound as was the sensation, it brought no feverish excitement the tell-tale thermometer of our Stock Exchange kept steady, while in New York that strange piece of statesmanship had been quickly followed by something like a panic, causing heavy losses in American securities.

Scarcely had this storm blown over for the moment, than the New Year of 1896 brought another sudden thunder-clap. In the Transvaal Republic there had been growing up natural discontent among the new settlers, attracted by the mines of Johannesburg, who now formed the large majority of the population, but as "Outlanders" were denied civil rights under the government of President Kruger, elected by the minority of Boers Against this state of things there arose a movement of agitation or conspiracy at Johannesburg, but little was thought of it in England before the astonishing news came that Dr. Jameson had invaded the Transvaal with some hundreds of men, the forces of the Chartered Company, including several army officers. The fate of this rash enterprise was soon decided. Disappointed of help from Johannesburg, ill-supplied with food and ammunition, and vigorously attacked by the Boers in their manner of prudent strategy, Dr. Jameson and his men surrendered after a running fight of two days. At home, and all over Europe, indeed, the commotion caused by these events was increased by a breaking down of the telegraph, leaving us in partial mystery as to what was going on; then there came a painful interval of suspense as to what would become of the misled adventurers. Through the promptness of our authorities, and the moderation of President Kruger, a danger was averted that might have set all South Africa in a flame, the prisoners being handed over to the British government without putting martial law to extremity against them.

The worst feature of the whole business came through a mischievous impulse of the German emperor, who, on hearing of a defeat of Englishmen in the Transvaal, made haste to congratulate the Boers in terms that seemed to assume some right of patronage over a country with which we have the chief concern. This was at once felt as an insult to Britain, and though explained away by the emperor on more prudent thoughts, has left a very sore impression. Unhappily his indiscretion had called forth almost general applause in Germany; and in other countries there was a burst of satisfaction over what seemed a thwarting and humiliation of England, though Dr. Jameson's action had taken us entirely by surprise, and though it was at once disclaimed and denounced by our government

These successive events have disclosed a state of feeling fraught with peril, which may be the opening of a new chapter in our history Long familiar with the blessings of peace, having for forty years waged no war unless with semi-barbarous peoples not open to reason, accustomed to set an example of international sympathy by offering aid to the victims of overwhelming distress in other Christian countries, we have failed to realize how much jealousy of our advantages exists among civilized powers, and how resolutely at any day we may be called on to defend our position in the world. To the dislike and envy of certain nations we could not be blind, even while trusting to disarm their hostility by just and wise conduct where our joint interest might come in collision. But our eyes are opened to find the same feelings so largely prevalent among peoples the most kindred to us in blood, faith, and manners, to whom we have been conscious of wishing nothing but good. In those threatening circumstances, we might take courage from the general sentiment of the nation, all the more sturdy that it found little expression in noisy braggadocio, but calmly fell to reckoning the dangers which England and her colonies did not fear to face. Even the babble of faction was hushed at such a critical moment. No member of the government had been more abused by its opponents than Mr. Chamberlain,

the colonial secretary; but almost all sections of the press now united to praise his firmness and prudence in the Transvaal complication. This is surely a token of the spirit in which we shall meet any enemies that may combine against a nation which, whatever befalls it in the future, must leave a great name in history, not only by its warlike achievements, on land and sea, but as an agent of the human progress in whose interest war is most to be dreaded.

CHAPTER XI.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

IN THE SECOND GENERATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

An epoch of silent change—The volunteer movement—Abolition of purchase—Competitive examinations—New aspects of warfare—The navy—Legal reforms—*Causes Célèbres*—Progress of medicine and surgery—The influenza—Germ theories—Trained nurses—Theology—Rationalism and Ritualism—Evolution—Darwin—Herbert Spencer's Synthetic Philosophy—Science—Electricity—Feats of practical engineering—Cycling—Geographical discovery—Chemistry—Industrial applications of science—Art—The stage—Music—Literature—Journalism—Schools of fiction—The "New Woman"—Education—Athletics—School-boards—Effect on society—Scientific and technical education—Foreign competition—The working class—Socialistic agitation—The drink question—Charity organization—Decay of the landed interest—Growth of large towns—London—The money market—Hard times—Haste to be rich—Omens and hopes.

THE generation about to see the end of the nineteenth century has lived through a time, on the whole, of peace for England, but marked by great internal changes that, when it comes to be viewed in distant perspective, must distinguish this as one of the most momentous periods of our history. Never surely have so many and so far-reaching alterations of thought, of feeling, of social organization been brought about so rapidly, or with such little agitation. It is only the more thoughtful minds on which will be forced the real importance of these changes, consisting less in their immediately visible effects upon law and custom, than in their being heavily pregnant with the seeds of future good or evil. Other revolutions have come with more outcry and observation, when our country was stretched on the rack of civil war or charred by the flames of reformation. But, without much pain of growth, this age appears to be undergoing a process of accelerated development that must make us differ from our fathers more than they from the men of last century.

To begin our survey with military affairs—the feature hitherto predominant in national history,—the most remarkable fact has been the persistence of the volunteer movement, which, indeed, is no new thing, but its rise at the beginning of the century did not then survive the imminent perils of war-time. Sprung up afresh by a sudden impulse in the year 1859, as an answer to vapouring threats of certain French colonels, this force has passed through various vicissitudes, including not a little unfriendly criticism, but seems now to have settled down into a national institution, none the less sturdy that it was reared upon a diet of scant sympathy from the regular military authorities. Beardless subalterns may still laugh at the volunteers, but intelligent soldiers recognize the possible value of a citizen army available for "defence not defiance", while Continental statesmen have to reckon with this proof of the old military spirit in what they had professed to look on as a nation of shopkeepers. At present the volunteer army consists of about a quarter of a million efficient men of all arms, a number that, in case of need, could no doubt be doubled or tripled in a week. This readiness to learn the use of arms, even if it be called playing at soldiers, has probably saved us from a conscription such as weighs so heavily on Continental peoples. At the same time, there is in military circles a growing sentiment that, if we are to hold our own in all possible events, we may still be driven upon the necessity of adopting some system of forced service, already recognized by the principles of our constitution. It is so long since the militia trainings have been anything more than a spell of holiday-making, combined with useful discipline, for not the most industrious class of young men, that we forget how every able-bodied citizen is liable to be drafted into this force at need.

There has been more difficulty of late in recruiting for the regular army, which, though the soldier is better treated than in old days, no

longer is much of a competitor in the labour market, and tends to become chiefly a training-school for restless or adventurous youths, attracted by the bait of a gay uniform. The system of short service introduced into it, with the various steps taken to link its battalions with those of the auxiliary forces, to form a reserve, and to make soldiering more popular, are innovations which have not always commended themselves to all old officers, and which have not yet had to stand any severe strain of trial. We may remember that military reforms seldom fail to excite the disapproval of grumbling veterans, such as judged our army going to the dogs when, just before its most glorious series of victories, Sir John Moore cut off the cumbrous vanity of its powder and pig-tails *Esprit de corps* and loyalty to custom are indeed so congenial to the military spirit that it is no wonder if hardly yet have some regiments reconciled themselves to exchange familiar names of old renown for the new designations by which they are associated with certain counties or districts. In 1895, H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, understood to be a bulwark of conservative military feeling, was driven by pressure of public opinion to resign the office of commander-in-chief, which, under modified conditions, has been bestowed upon Field-marshal Lord Wolseley, who shares with Lord Roberts the distinction of being our most successful generals, both having won their first laurels side by side in the thrilling scenes of the Indian mutiny.

The position of officers has been greatly affected through the Abolition of Purchase, carried by the House of Commons in 1871, thrown out in the House of Lords, but made law by the expedient of a royal warrant, with which Mr Gladstone cut the Gordian knot of the difficulty. What seemed to some, at the moment, a high-handed exercise of one of the prerogatives of the crown, soon secured general sanction, as putting an end to an abuse the absurdity of which had been disguised only by its antiquity. But the intention of opening a military career to merit has, to some extent, been counteracted by the working of the means taken to secure this. The achievement of a commission, as well as promotion in the lower grades, are now barred by examinations that tend to become more searching as the number of candidates increases. The sort of youth most readily fired by military ambition, not taking kindly to books, as a rule, is apt to require pushing through these examinations by a special effort which tests his powers of reluctant exertion for a time, but hardly cultivates his intellectual nature. To meet the ingenuity of examiners, a system of "cramming" is brought into play, which, at great cost, prepares lads for the ordeal, as is also done, under more wholesome conditions, at expensive public schools; but, in one way or the other, entrance to the great military academies, or to the army by "the back door" of a militia lieutenantship, has become harder for those who cannot afford to purchase their chance, while, even after heavy outlay, many a promising scion of the better classes, having failed in the keen competition, is fain to seek adventures in the colonies, or to enlist as a private soldier with the doubtful hope of thus winning a commission.

This pressure of the examination system has become more and more severe upon our generation in most careers, especially in those of the public service. On the whole, perhaps, it makes for good results Yet many who are not praisers of the past, begin to suggest that it may have been pushed too far, or applied too indiscriminately, in the case of the army at least, since the qualities that promise to make a future Wellington or Wolseley seem not best tested by the result of successful cramming

A higher degree of intelligence than was once looked for in our officers seems imperatively demanded of them, now that war becomes so much more a matter of scientific calculation, and less of mere dashing courage. The old maxim that the general wins who makes the fewer mistakes, has fresh significance, when any mistake may have more momentous results, nor can Providence now be said to be on the side of the bigger battalions, unless they are also the better equipped. Courage, prestige, discipline must always count for much in this terrible game, but clearness of head is here likely to gain at the expense of stoutness of heart. Stirring personal encounters grow comparatively rare in warfare, where soldiers will risk rather being slain in heaps by far-reaching missiles, often at the hands of invisible enemies. A leader must concern himself more than ever to keep his men out of fire, till the time comes for facing the deadly onset, when, to be a less obvious target, the rank and file may have to advance in a looser formation, that will test severely the cohesive force of their discipline and throw a greater responsibility on officers of every grade. Mechanical drill is only the basis of the wary movements in which, at manœuvres and sham fights, both officers and men are carefully practised, now that the virtue of standing still to be shot at is vain unless supplemented by the skill to give as little mark as possible to the crushing projectiles that can make such havoc on modern battle-fields.

Successive improvements in firearms would astonish the heroes of old Brown Bess could they rise from their graves to see our machine-guns and magazine rifles. Since the Crimean war,

more and more deadly weapons have rapidly replaced each other: every barrel became rifled; rifles turned into breech-loaders; these were soon adapted to repeating fire, till the common soldier now carries many men's lives at the point of his muzzle; and, with coolness and steadiness, a regiment could in a few minutes mow down thousands advancing against them. The same progress has been made in artillery; the use of conical bullets has lessened the calibre of guns in proportion to their destructiveness; and for the sake of quick firing, the whole charge is inserted in the form of a cartridge. The Moncrieff Ordnance System, on which a gun may be planted out of sight behind barbettes, pointed, if necessary, by means of mirrors, and worked by the stored-up force of its own recoil, the gunners remaining invisible, has not yet been tried in war on a large scale, but it appears already to be bringing about a revolution in the art of fortification. The several forms of machine-gun have shown terrible power on many a field strewn

A MODERN BATTLE-SHIP—H.M.S "MAJESTIC"

with the victims of their hail of bullets: the Maxim gun, the latest of these, follows the Moncrieff principle by utilizing the recoil for automatic working of the machinery. The invention of smokeless powder seems calculated to add a new feature of dread to scenes whose horrors were half hid by congenial clouds.

The result of these changes has not been fully felt by English soldiers, since our wars of late have chiefly been of a petty kind, waged with semi-savage enemies, where the adventurous and romantic interest still comes much into play. But when great nations fall to fighting in the future, it seems questionable how long the glory and excitement of war will hold civilized men up under the wholesale sufferings inflicted or endured as a matter of grimly scientific business. Already, the solicitude shown in ministering to the victims of war, whether friends or foes, testifies to a growing spirit that must some day conquer the international hatreds we inherit from brutal ancestors.

The navy also has become a more scientific service, and a higher standard of education is demanded of its officers. The "wooden walls of England" are now iron or steel. Steam and heavy artillery, besides almost destroying the picturesqueness of our great men-of-war, have made both their construction and management a more elaborate matter than in days when a British captain seldom went wrong so long as he could lay his ship alongside an enemy's. Old sailors, who were wont to boast that they could "smell their way" about the ocean, now complain of having to work out a sum for every manœuvre. The strain of responsibility on a commanding officer must be so severe that it may well prove unbearable by men whom the old style of fighting could string up to daring; and it remains also to be seen how our sailors will stand the changed conditions of naval warfare, under which they must more than ever look to duty for their inspiration. A man shut up in the stifling depths of a torpedo-boat, working a complicated machine without knowledge of what goes on above, and with the risk at any moment of being drowned as help-

lessly as a rat in a trap, needs a different kind of courage from that which heartened our old jacktars to pour broadsides into a visible enemy, or to board cutlass in hand. If more is required of them, it may be said that the character of our crews has risen with their treatment; and this service is still popular, though, without the press-gang brutalities, which probably would never again be permitted by public sentiment, it is not easy to say how we should man the larger fleet that might be needed in event of a great war. As to our leviathans of battle, their form and armouring is so much in a state of theory and experiment that we can only point out the increasing costliness of such engines of destruction, a waste of wealth which some day, it is to be hoped, will help to make war too ruinous for civilized nations, even if its perils do not become so multiplied and concentrated as to appal the bravest man

These matters, military and naval, may appear to lie outside social history, but indirectly they have affected the whole life of our generation, particularly as regards the action of examinations upon class distinctions of birth, which at many points must tend to disappear in the process of educational organization. As yet it cannot be said that Napoleon's maxim of the "career open to talents" is fully honoured among us; but the clear tendency of our age is to this effect.

Turning to the administration of the law, we find a marked movement towards needful reform. There are still some lawyers who seem to hold that man was made for the law, not the law for man; and the influence of the legal interest is so powerful in parliament that improvements will continue to be obstructed so long as simplicity means fees out of the pocket of an eloquent profession. But the good work done in our fathers' time by the abolition of special pleading technicalities, has been followed by further changes in the same direction, making for common sense and plain justice, with less regard to cumbrous forms than to speedy settlement of disputes. The consolidation of the common law courts, and the sweeping away of the old chancery cobwebs on which Dickens let in such withering light, have been among the most remarkable of these changes. The Scottish law courts have had less to reform; and their practice has won the flattery of imitation in some points by those of England, notably in the establishment of a public prosecutor, whose functions, however, seem slow to become naturalized on the south side of the border.

But while the procedure in civil cases has been well abridged, various causes, chiefly perhaps the increased facility of procuring evidence, avail to spin out criminal trials to an inordinate length. Prolonged and expensive inquiries, the details of which are gone into at length before a magistrate, then repeated more exhaustively before a jury, the case being often retried by irresponsible newspapers that sometimes show an itch to settle it in advance, and create throughout a degree of public excitement reacting on the trial: all this is more favourable to sensation than to justice; nor is the scandal lessened by the attendance of fashionably dressed women who find the spectacles of a court more thrilling than those of the stage The most notorious *cause célèbre* of our generation was both a civil and a criminal one. The claim which a man, ultimately declared to be Arthur Orton, son of a Wapping butcher, put forward to the Tichborne title and estates, was investigated in a trial lasting from June, 1871, to March, 1872, when the speech for the defence is said to have been the longest ever made in an English court. The "Claimant", as it became convenient to call him, lost the verdict, and was then put on his trial for perjury, these proceedings lasting almost as long, with the result of his being condemned to fourteen years penal servitude. Our readers who have come to middle age must remember the heat with which his pretensions were debated, on either side, all over the country, and may smile to contrast that excitement with the little notice taken of the impostor's confessions, recently published.

Medicine has made steady progress, both in knowledge and in practice. Perhaps the chief advance has been in discrediting the virtue of drugs, a movement still hindered by the ignorance of patients slow to believe that doctors can do them any good without the exhibition of some charm in the way of a mysterious mixture. This improvement may be in part due to the influence of the homœopathic school, who have largely abandoned their old practice of infinitesimal doses, while the orthodox allopathic doctors seem to have come to meet them in some respects; and leading men of the profession are now found declaring care, observation and common sense to be more valuable than any theory. In large towns, at least, the better class of practitioners are abandoning the system of being paid by dispensing often useless doses. The sale of quack medicines, however, recommended by impudently mendacious advertisements, seems unfortunately on the increase; the character of any publication, and the intelligence of its readers, may be gauged by the number of such advertisements which it displays; but, as the old story tells us, fools are always like to be more numerous than wise men. The successors of the mountebank doctors, not content with degrading the press, have now taken to disfiguring our scenery with their rival placards to an extent which has raised a cry for legislative interference.

Though good doctors no longer believe in indiscriminate dosing, some legitimate drugs have been added to the pharmacopœia, notably salicylate of soda as an antidote against rheumatism. One disease, new to our generation, has appeared among us, the so-called Influenza, which, said to come from Russia, reached England in 1890, and has travelled all over the world. While this plague is known to have made periodical appearances in former days, its late visitation seems to have been distinguished by the acuteness of many cases, by the insidious severity of its *sequelae* in many others, and by the obstinate manner in which it recurred winter after winter, differing from other epidemics in often choosing as its victims those weakened by previous attacks. This proved the forerunner of cholera breaking out fitfully in different parts of Europe; but it did not effect a lodgment on our shores, an escape we may attribute to the lessons of sanitary science which have not been thrown away on England during the last generation, though our learning of them is yet by no means complete.

As the great landmark of the healing art in last generation was the introduction of anæsthetics, so in our time must be reckoned the system of antiseptic surgery brought in by Sir Joseph Lister, who has recently been honoured by the presidency of the Royal Society; but his greatest reward must be the remembrance of the amount of life and suffering spared by a treatment which enables surgical operations to be done with such comparative safety, rendering possible some that could not have been undertaken without it.

The germ theory, and researches into the nature and activity of *bacilli*, underlie the main part of contemporary medical speculation and experiment. Dr. Koch's plan of curing cholera and consumption by the inoculation of their virus has not, indeed, justified all the expectations at first hastily raised by it. Science is of no country, and the greatest name in this department must be owned to be that of the recently deceased French *savant*, Pasteur, whose treatment of hydrophobia by inoculation has become famous. These extensions of the principles of vaccination, however, are still so far *sub judice* that we may be excused from dwelling on them. Vaccination against small-pox, long familiar to us, has itself been the subject of fierce criticism; for, though almost unanimously approved by the medical profession, it excites among many laymen a repugnance that goes the length of braving legal penalties. Still more recent and more experimental are attempts at the treatment of disease by injecting the serum of an immune animal, and by supplying deficiencies in a human body with matter extracted from another organism—experiments that show sanguine hope in the potentialities of scientific therapeutics.

A very practical and important reform has been that which replaced the Sarah Gamps of our grandfathers by trained nurses, who in private or hospital practice find work grudged them by no one, and have vastly lessened the sufferings of the sick, while doing much to leaven the whole community with some elementary knowledge of sanitary principles. Not content with being certificated ministering angels under the doctor's orders, women have also reasserted their old right to study and practise the higher branches of the healing art; but this leads us to considerations to be treated further on. The rewards of successful medical skill are indeed tempting, for though this profession, like others, is overcrowded, its leaders have been able to double their ordinary fees, since the general practitioner proves more ready to call in the aid of the "specialist", who, in some cases, receives enormous remuneration for experience, the results of which are freely bestowed on hospital patients. One eminent specialist of our generation is said to have made £18,000 a year; another was known to have been paid £5000 for a single case.

The art of medicine has been so far exalted in public esteem that there are not wanting signs of a tendency, on the part of some of its professors, to trench upon such infallibility as was once claimed by the doctors of another faculty. Intolerant theologians, on the other hand, have now fallen upon evil times. Systematic divinity has gone much out of fashion in most churches, largely replaced by a vaguer, if not less vigorous, sentiment which has more regard to the spirit than to the letter of creeds. As a gauge of this change, those old enough to remember the *odium theologicum* roused by the appointment of Dean Stanley to Westminster Abbey, by Bishop Colenso's criticisms on the Pentateuch, by the cautious speculations of *Essays and Reviews*, and by the publication of the late Sir John Seeley's *Ecce Homo*, may contrast the reception given to books like *Robert Elsmere* and other recent works that openly call in question the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. In the Established Church of England questions of ritual rather than of belief have of late been most hotly debated, and the tide of victory has gone with that party that attaches more importance to beauty and ceremony in religious worship. Almost every village church is likely to display ornaments and practices that, half a century ago, were held in horror as badges of "Puseyism", a name now almost forgotten. A more remarkable symptom is that the title Protestant, once the pride of this church, becomes now repudiated by a large pro-

portion of its members, and still more by its priests, who till lately were content with the title of ministers. With this movement there has naturally gone a distinct revival of the influence and pretensions of the Church of Rome, whose strict discipline and flexible armour give it no small advantage against the disordered and wavering ranks of Protestantism.

The same aspiration towards a higher pitch of orderliness and attractiveness in church services has made itself felt in most of the dissenting bodies as well as in the Establishment. Both church and chapel architecture show the prevalent tendency, which has transfigured even the meeting-houses of George Fox's spiritual descendants with touches of Gothic that would shock him by their suggestion of a "steeple-house". And dissenters as well as churchmen are largely leavened by a spirit of liberal inquiry which has thrown into the background certain doctrines once thought all-important. A few sturdy controversialists, like the late Mr. Spurgeon, generally acknowledged as one of the most earnest and eloquent preachers of his generation, have uplifted their testimony against what they held to be a backsliding from revealed truth, but the general set of the tide is undoubtedly in favour of larger hopes and freer judgment, and no competent scholar has been able to resist certain conclusions drawn from Assyrian and Egyptian archæology Even the Calvinistic orthodoxy of Scotland has been powerfully stirred, under the critical teaching of such men as the late Mr Robertson Smith, who, though formally silenced by the Scottish Free Church, carried away with him the sympathy of most of its thoughtful members and the younger of its clergy, those like to form the opinion of the next generation, while in England he was received with a heartiness that evinced the growth of broad, side by side with high church sentiment.

These are seeds of which the harvest is not yet ripe. But it may be said that among the nonconformist bodies there are hopeful signs of sinking minor differences of doctrine, to unite in defence of the main interests common to all Christian churches. The acceptation of gifted laymen as evangelists, also the popularity of a stirring style of exhortation on American models, and the remarkable growth of that organization known as the "Salvation Army", have done something, as yet little noticed, to undermine the position of the regularly-appointed teachers of such bodies, a danger against which the Church of England clergy seem to be strengthening themselves by falling back upon their revived sacerdotal pretensions. But even in the Church of England, and under the auspices of its ritualistic school, there is a strong disposition to consult the opinion of the laity, and to enlist their services in church work; nor is this church likely to repeat such an ignorant blunder as drove the earnestness of early Methodism from its communion. On all hands, practical religion shows no decline, for, if confessions and creeds are handled somewhat carelessly, the different churches seem more earnestly to vie with each other in making war upon sin and misery

The dynamic mental force, that for a generation has been at work upheaving old landmarks of thought, is one whose name is only now becoming familiar to many minds long unconsciously and indirectly affected by it. Evolution, as the principle of life, was an idea not unknown to Greek philosophers, last century it had been hit upon by more than one speculator, notably by Lamarck and Erasmus Darwin, who were hardly in a position to comprehend its implications, but it was only in our time that Charles Darwin published his truly epoch-making work on the Origin of Species, putting clearly forward the hypothesis of development through what he named "natural selection". The uproar aroused by this theory would astonish a generation to whom it has been so long familiar. Men of the world and theologians united in scouting with indignation or mockery the suggestion of our descent from apes, which struck the public mind as the most salient feature of the new doctrine. By and by the amazement calmed down; divines began to see that the greatness of the Creator was not concerned by our efforts to spell out the methods of creation; thoughtful members of the Church of Rome were even able to claim evolution as adumbrated by its own authority; and other churches, with more or less reluctance, began to adapt their teaching to a new terminology. Darwin, at first denounced as an arch-enemy of religion, lived to be almost universally honoured, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. From the first, he had won the respect of the scientific world, and soon received its well-nigh unanimous adherence. His theory, modified and extended by his disciples, and always qualified by the questioning spirit of true science, is no longer seriously controverted by those capable of forming a judgment on our present materials of knowledge. The most important modifications at present exercising the scientific world are Professor Weissmann's speculations on heredity, which as yet seem hardly consistent enough for definite judgment.

Darwin played such an important part in shaping the idea of evolution that it soon came to be popularly known as Darwinism. Professor Tyndall, and still more the late Professor Huxley, have also done much to interpret the new conceptions; and in their hands, and others, the doctrine of the persistence of force has proved a key to unlock many mysteries. But it may be

that to future ages the philosopher who will bulk most largely in the record of ours, is one unknown by name to the mass of his own generation. Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his youth, chose to "scorn delights and live laborious days", that he might devote himself to the production of a system of Synthetic Philosophy, in which the dominant ideas of the age are developed with bolder generalizations, based upon what seems a foundation of encyclopædic knowledge, almost beyond the range of one mind. To this gigantic task he has given the unpaid labour of a lifetime, only in its latter days brightened by due recognition of his patience and eminence. With this recognition has come criticism from men of science who to his work perhaps owe more than they confess; specialists are found carping in detail at the statements of one who ambitiously takes all knowledge to be his province. Time must try an attempt, which will at least be memorable as a great feat of scientific imagination. But should Herbert Spencer's contentions prove to be well founded, he will surely come to be ranked as one of the greatest philosophers of all ages. And if the hypothesis of evolution be finally accepted, this must stand out as one of the greatest epochs of human thought, when, by the light of such teaching as his, our race passed from unconscious to conscious development.

A characteristic of latter-day philosophy is its comparative neglect of metaphysical speculation, to seek a foundation upon the rock of demonstrated fact It has thus drawn itself more closely to science, which is nothing more than developed and instructed common-sense. Whatever may be said of the results of thought in our generation, there can be no question as to its scientific progress in most branches of knowledge During the first half of the century, the chief triumphs of practical science were in the mastery of steam, since then it has made amazing conquests over the still mysterious force known as electricity. The invention of the electric telegraph, indeed, is now more than half a century old; but our time has seen its development by elaborate apparatus, and its transference from land to sea, binding together all parts of the world in almost instantaneous communication that should avail to form ties of amity among civilized peoples. More than twenty years ago, Lord Kelvin, then Sir William Thomson, startled us by speaking of a pound of electricity as soon to be on sale at any grocer's like a pound of candles. At the same time the self-taught American, Edison, came into fame by remarkable inventions as well as promises of further achievement, some of which as yet he has hardly justified. The expectations then raised, have, indeed, been so far imperfectly fulfilled, owing to the expense of the production and distribution of electricity, especially by means of the accumulators or secondary batteries which were to carry it into every home. But enormous advance has been made in electric lighting, in the systems of multiplex telegraphy, in the transmission of sound as well as signs by means of the microphone and the telephone, in the use of electric energy as motive power, and in innumerable applications of it to the arts and manufactures.

Lord Kelvin
From a photograph by Annan, Glasgow

America has perhaps taken the lead of England in these practical developments, but our men of science are second to none in their researches into the nature and working of a power which may have still greater wonders to be revealed. In one direction its use among us is still checked by an inconsiderate law, which assumes horses to be the only traction machinery for safe management on public roads.

Practical engineering has recently overcome the difficulties of such great works as the Forth Bridge, in some respects the most remarkable structure of the kind, the Manchester Ship Canal, which is not so heartily admired at Liverpool, and several huge reservoirs and conduits by which the abounding water-supply of mountain districts is made available for the use of distant cities. An earlier structure was the Tay Bridge, twice built, the first one, in 1879, soon after its erection, having been destroyed by a gale along with a train upon it, supplying the long tragedy of railway accidents with one of its most dramatic scenes, and giving our engineers a lesson of caution which has not fettered their boldness.

Among minor inventions or improvements, that yet have had important effects on the general welfare, should be noticed the development of cycling upon roads. This application of simple

mechanism has long been a means of pleasure to the young; from being a popular, it has lately grown into a fashionable pastime, taken up by women as well as men, while it proves adaptable also to purposes of business and even, perhaps, of warfare. Whether, in its effects on health, it is as good as the forms of exercise it replaces seems still to be called in question; but there is a clear advantage in every man being able cheaply to become his own locomotive, at a rate which, for short distances, threatens to rival the swiftness of steam

Geographical exploration has been going on apace, its most notable landmarks being the discoveries made in the interior of Africa by English and other explorers, among whom Sir Samuel Baker, Grant and Speke, the late Joseph Thomson, and Mr Stanley stand prominent. We have taken our part in several gallant attempts to reach the North Pole, but as yet have not been more successful than other nations, the latest adventurer is Dr Nansen, who, equipped in part by English aid, has buried himself for years in that wilderness of ice, from which we trust to hail his return, victorious, or in any case glorious In mountain-climbing Englishmen have all along led the way; and of late years Mr. Whymper, Mr Graham, and Sir Martin Conway have distinguished themselves by storming heights of the Andes and the Himalayas once believed impregnable. Nor is science content with measuring and examining our own earth, when spectrum analysis reveals to some degree the secrets of worlds at an almost inconceivable distance, brought within the scope of knowledge by our powerful instruments.

While thus turning a telescopic eye on other worlds, we have been busy in examining the elements of our own earth. During the last thirty years, chemistry has made as rapid progress, especially organic chemistry, as any other branch of science, yet in an inconspicuous manner, which does not attract public attention so much as did the work of Cavendish and Black, of Priestley and Davy, in the beginning of the century. The early discoveries as to the composition of air and water could be made intelligible to ordinary readers, and the chemistry of common things long furnished a striking subject for popular lectures. Recent work in this department is rather of a kind appreciable only by the initiated. Great generalizations have been made, theories established, and hypotheses propounded, so that the chemist no longer works haphazard, but knows on what line of research patient study will lead him to the preparation rather than the discovery of new compounds. Chemical synthesis succeeds to chemical analysis. German chemists have led the way during the latter half of the century, but English names also, such as those of Frankland, Williamson, Perkins, are familiar to every student of chemical history. The greatest generalization of recent times is that known as the Periodic Law of the Elements, by which the chemist is able to predicate the existence and properties of unknown elements. It was an Englishman, Newlands, who first detected the relations of the properties of elements to their atomic weights, that are expressed in this law.

England has done her part in the advance of inorganic chemistry. Our period began with the discovery of a new element Thallium, by Professor Crookes, and ends with that of two others, Argon and Helium, by Professor Ramsay and Lord Rayleigh, through which England may be said to have regained the place as a discoverer, which she held at the beginning of the century.

All along she has been diligent in the application of chemical and electrical processes in the industrial arts. To this period, for example, or to the end of the preceding one, belongs the discovery of aniline dyes In England, the new dyes were first brought into industrial use, but although the staple material, coal tar, abounds here, this great industry, worth some millions sterling annually, has migrated almost entirely to Germany, a loss said to be due to the remissness of our manufacturers in employing scientific aid, not a solitary instance of the manner in which we have sometimes thrown away our advantages. No small part of the material progress of our time comes from the application of steel to purposes for which iron was formerly used, such as ships, bridges, &c.. this development we owe to our countryman, Bessemer. Still more recently have been brought into use new ways of handling aluminium, a metal for long little used, but the lightness of which among other qualities seem to promise for it a great future in practical as well as ornamental uses. It is literally as common as dirt, being contained largely in clay Every brick conceals a considerable proportion of aluminium, and the cost arises chiefly from the difficulty of extracting it by chemical processes, but this is now so successfully dealt with that the price has come down from 3*s* an ounce to about 1*s*. 6*d*. a pound.

The latest discovery exciting a high degree of interest, both among the public and the scientific world, is that identified with the name of Professor Rontgen of Wurzburg, who, by means of what he calls "X rays" of light, has shown it possible to produce "shadowgrams" of normally invisible objects revealed through matter transparent to these rays, as coins within a purse and bones under the skin. In our space we cannot make this marvel plain, nor in any case would it be easy to give the general reader a compre-

hensible explanation: enough to say that the deep investigations which led to such a result start from Faraday's guess at an ethereal medium, and Clerk Maxwell's electro-magnetic theory of light; and that they seem to promise some knowledge of the fine ether whose nature hitherto has been as much a mystery as was once that of common air. Though, as we write, Professor Rontgen's discovery has been only a few weeks before the world, it already begins to bear practical fruit in the revelation of bullets and fractured joints photographed through flesh; so that this bids fair to become an important aid in surgery, while it will no doubt be found capable of various applications to human knowledge and welfare, as have been yielded to our generation through so many other victories of science

Science is a name often linked with that of art, and this brings us to a subject on which, as on all matters of taste, it is difficult to form a decisive judgment. The pre-Raphaelite movement, that carried away some gifted artists in the last generation, has since been deserted or modified in the practice of its adherents, and checked by that of other schools in which Continental influence is perceptible. To many plain persons, who are silenced by the derisive epithet of "Philistine", it appears as if public admiration had often been misdirected to the fantastic, the far-fetched, even the morbid, and as if impudent affectation were sometimes able to pass itself off for genius, but not a few undoubtedly great works have delighted our generation. The tone of art criticism has been elevated, Mr. Ruskin's writings taking a lead in popular estimation. The development of photography has had a wide influence, as to the character of which lovers of art are not wholly agreed; and various processes founded upon this have almost superseded wood-engraving, though etching and mezzotint have lately had a new lease of favour

Public interest in art has largely increased, the growth of wealth and culture adding greatly to the number of patrons. On the other hand the facilities for elementary art education have turned out so many pupils willing to embrace the artist's pleasant life, and more or less qualified for success, that the struggle to make a livelihood thus seems to be harder than ever, while the prizes of those fortunate enough to win popularity are great enough to stimulate eager but often bitterly disappointed ambition. For the first time, the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Frederick Leighton, was this year raised to the peerage, an honour speedily followed by his lamented death. Such a recognition of artistic merit would have excited Thackeray's warm approval, though in another province of the arts it was widely felt that Tennyson's fame had been belittled rather than enhanced by his acceptance of a title more commonly the reward of eminent soldiers and lawyers, or of rich and serviceable political partisans. Knighthoods have also been bestowed on more than one popular author whose means were probably judged in-

Lord Leighton, P R A

sufficient to support such higher titles as have rewarded the owners of successful journals

Another novelty is the recent knighting of the favourite actor, Henry Irving, whose art has risen in social estimation, and thriven on spectacular magnificence and burlesque performances of questionable tone, but while it is more patronized, it cannot be said to have added much to our intellectual possessions. A limited section of the public has worked itself into a certain enthusiasm for grim studies in sociology after the school of Ibsen, others have been tickled by a trick of cynical epigram, or a vein of satiric extravaganza; but thoughtless mirth and conventional sentiment remain the dominant motives of our stage. The French theatre still seems to supply models for our writers of comedy, transposed into a key of morality a little higher than that tolerated at Paris. Of late indeed we have had some more original work; and there is no want of interest shown in Shakespeare's plays when interpreted by good actors and set off by a fine *mise en scène*.

A change that almost began with this generation favours long runs of pieces catching the popular taste, which are counted successful only when they draw audiences for months or even years together. Minor changes are the invasion of the pit by stalls, the abolition of half-price in London theatres, the popularity of afternoon performances, and the introduction of refreshment and smoking-rooms. The success of "music halls" with their "variety" entertainments shows how our generation no longer cares to amuse itself very seriously, whatever may have

been the case in Froissart's day. Some terrible accidents at places of amusement have given the authorities charged with their inspection good cause to be careful in insisting upon proper arrangements for exit in case of fire.

In music, we are still behind Continental countries, and can boast no composer of high rank. But the public interest and taste in such matters has been growing fast. Like other countries, we have come under the spell of Wagner, who still seems likely to influence "the music of the future". To another impulse from Germany, communicated by the Prince Consort, whose death cast a gloom over the opening of our generation, we largely owe the movement that led to the establishment of training colleges and the like means of musical instruction The subject has more attention in schools, improved church choirs also are popular classes of music; and places of entertainment quickly disseminate favourite melodies, as do the Italian barrel-organs and German bands, which, however, prove so sore a trial to sensitive ears that the law has been appealed to for partial protection against them Another school of vulgar music is supplied by the "negro minstrels", who, introduced from America about half a century ago, seem to be now naturalized among us. For those who despise and abhor such rudimentary forms of harmony, there is no want of high-class performances, which have become more popular with the growth of culture Open-air music and concerts on Sundays make an innovation not unanimously approved In private circles the perfunctory performances of ungifted amateurs are not so much tolerated It is beginning to be understood that many young ladies merely waste their time in piano-strumming, while musical talent in both sexes is more carefully cultivated. As a sign of progress, may be noted the adoption of the more difficult stringed instruments, supplementing the piano which to our grandmothers was "*the* instrument", and almost silencing the flute on which our grandfathers were wont to relieve their sentimental moods, as appears by the novels of a former generation

We now turn to literature, a department in which any generation seems specially incompetent to estimate itself. How many books, praised and popular a century ago, are now unknown, how many a dusty classic is at best relegated "to that remote, uncivil Pontus of the British Poets"! Some great writers have passed away in our time, whose names will surely be among the immortals —Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson With less confidence we may bespeak enduring fame for George Eliot and Robert Browning. The former's powers were fully recognized almost from the first, but she often fell short of the grand simplicity of art, as if too heavily burdened by reflection and knowledge; there are, however, good judges who pronounce that she will yet come to be recognized as the Shakespeare of English fiction. Browning passed through a long period of undue neglect to meet at the end a measure of indiscriminate praise that perhaps too much encouraged his turn for wilful obscurity Anthony Trollope, one of the most popular and prolific novelists of his day, seems for the moment to have fallen into comparative neglect, from which he may yet emerge as a faithful and clear-sighted painter of real life, without the offensive features that have since come to be connected with the school of so-called realism. The first Lord Lytton is another old favourite who ceases to be read so extensively. Since their palmy days we have had many excellent writers of the second class, but hardly one towering over his contemporaries unless in the opinion of some noisy clique. Our novelists turn out thrilling and entertaining tales by the hundred, but create no typical characters like Becky Sharpe or Sam Weller Our minor poets never wrote so well, or published so much, but when the laureateship fell vacant—the most renowned poets of the day being out of the question through their extreme opinions—two governments successively hesitated before the difficulty of selection; and the post was finally bestowed upon considerations not altogether those of literary eminence

In this generation died one of the teachers of

THOMAS CARLYLE

the last, Thomas Carlyle, in whose case the balance between strong dislike and warm enthusiasm has hardly yet settled to an equilibrium. Besides Charles Kingsley, who was better known as a novelist and a moralist than as a professor of history, we have lost in Froude and Freeman

two historians of very different schools, the former of whom made excursions into other fields of literature. The late Mr. R L. Stevenson, though he did not attain the wide vogue of some of his contemporaries, leaves a name which is thought by good judges unlikely to be forgotten, as that of one who united a romantic imagination to a rare gift of style, promising still greater achievements when he was suddenly cut off. The death of Miss Agnes Strickland, in 1874, ended the voluminous labours of one of the few historians among her sex.

Any survey of our losses in literature would be incomplete without reference to the American authors, whose works readily find rights of citizenship in England Among those passed away in our generation, the most popular was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, some of whose shorter pieces have gone home to the hearts of all English-speaking people. The Quaker poet Whittier has also been widely read, whose verse, like Longfellow's and Lowell's ,was most strongly animated by philanthropic hatred of the national sin, slavery, happily abolished at the opening of our generation James Russell Lowell was a scholarly and vigorous writer, both of poetry and prose, best known through the *Biglow Papers*, in which his muse glorified the rough Yankee dialect by an earnest moral purpose, and, though he there said some hard things of England, he and we learned to understand one another better when he came to London as ambassador of the United States, a worthy representative of the noblest type of American citizen. Oliver Wendell Holmes, a rarely sympathetic humorist as well as poet, did more than any writer of his generation to interpret between science and religion, and to hold up the standard of culture above the struggle for dollars that fevers life on both sides of the Atlantic. Emerson was a thinker of a more sublime school, whose countrymen honoured themselves in honouring one whose simple life, in its lofty independence, was alone a rebuke to the violence and narrow-mindedness of the crowd. George Bancroft was a historian held in respect by his countrymen, but the patriotic limits of his subject will account for his not having won the same European popularity as have John Lothrop Motley's stirring records of the Netherlands. W. H. Prescott, another famous writer of history, belongs to a former generation, though his volumes are still read with interest. Perhaps the best American historian is the late Mr. Francis Parkman, who has ably treated the long strife between France and England, backed by their Indian allies, for predominancy in the new world, and has given new life to picturesque episodes of border warfare, so that his truthful pages vie in exciting interest with the less trustworthy fictions from which most readers get their ideas of the American Indian. Walt Whitman, by his strong individuality and enthusiasm for American ideals, has impressed many as the most outstanding writer of his country; but, however the future may judge him, his defiance of hitherto accepted canons of art proves a stumbling-block to enjoyment on the part of readers whose taste has been formed on other models. Mrs. Henry Beecher Stowe, one of a family that, both in literature and theology, has made its mark on American life, became famous by the unexampled success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which, after serving its purpose as an eloquent accusation of slavery, is still read as a touching and thrilling story. Many works of minor fiction produced in America have been received here with much favour; but an American novelist of the first rank—unless, perhaps, Hawthorne—is not yet presented for canonization. It will be noticed that most of the above-mentioned writers were more or less closely connected with Boston, the Modern Athens of Columbia, which still holds the same position as capital of Transatlantic literature.

Imaginative prose authorship may be said to have suffered through the vicious forms forced upon it by the necessities of periodical publication, as in the struggle among the crowd of writers to attract notice by making a sensation at any cost. Our reading public seems debased by the habit of relishing highly seasoned scraps, so as to spoil its taste for the solid fare of good writing Journalism, in its recent developments, has much to answer for in this way. On the whole, it attains a high level of style, remarkable under the conditions of production, and it still tries to maintain the moral tone which has long distinguished our press, but the itch for smartness, for personalities, for scandal-mongering, often leads it into deplorable vulgarity, while even serious questions come to be treated in the bad light of thoughtless partisanship. This evil has spread to us from America, where it is equally condemned by the wiser citizens, but where the baser sort have as yet more influence on public opinion. Hence has been added a new terror to public life in the shape of the "interviewer", who a generation ago would have run the chance of earning more kicks than other reward of his professional curiosity.

Newspapers find themselves more and more forced to gratify the popular taste for light reading, so that stories are now a regular feature of weekly publications, and an occasional one of the daily press. The letterpress, moreover, is often set off by pictures, for which the public shows such an appetite that within the last few years an illustrated daily paper has made good its footing in the London press, while many

journals are adorned with occasional cuts, more or less coarsely executed. It must be noticed with satisfaction that there is a large demand for cheap reprints of standard works, but most readers of our day seem to confine themselves to the novels and periodicals which come forth in such numbers.

There would appear to be a fashion in fiction; success attending not so much the best works as those which from time to time imitate each other in exploiting some passing mood of popular interest. One such fashion recently brought into note a school of women novelists, most unwomanly in their perversely earnest treatment of sexual questions, by other writers also handled of late with a freedom that would astonish the old "sensational" novelists, who dealt in coarse crimes indeed, but hardly in matters unfitted by their very nature to be subjects for art

This school of pseudo-moralists has drawn attention to the claims and complaints of the "New Woman", as their type is half-mockingly called It is believed that the majority of English women are still fit as ever to be good wives and mothers, and that the prurience of which some seem to be proud is only the scum of a ferment already clearing itself. But it is a notable sign of the times that all through our generation, women have been seeking enlarged freedom from conventional restraints hitherto binding down their sex. They have found many new ways of earning an independent livelihood, they have forced their way into more than one profession; not a few of them more or less loudly demand a voice in legislation, and some have been usefully admitted to a place in the administration of the law by such bodies as Vestries and School-boards Girls show an ambition to emulate the sports of boys, as women to share the tasks of men. Our grandmothers might have shrunk from playing lawn-tennis, what would they have said to see young amazons attempting cricket and even football, not to speak of riding cycles? In the upper class, it is no longer thought a mark of refinement to be nervous, fastidious, and inactive; the cigarette-case, indeed, begins here to take the place of the smelling-bottle Among the working-class, matters are not so much altered; but all classes have been affected by modifications of laws giving wives a right to their separate property or earnings, and an appeal from domestic tyranny. There is good and evil in these changes, which bring a clear gain in health and independence, but some possible loss of the delicacy and purity that should be a standard for the rougher sex. Divorce has grown more common now that it is more easy; and there are among us loud advocates for a further relaxation of the marriage tie.

At the root of the movement which has produced the New Woman—who after all may turn out not so very different from other daughters of Eve—lies the great improvement in her education. The old reign of trivial accomplishments is giving place to a much more solid teaching, that puts promising girls almost on an equality with boys. The distinctions of many of our colleges are now open to the "sweet girl graduates", who, forty years ago, made such a good joke for bearded scholars. Pessimists dwell on the fact that the feminine eagerness to excel, unchecked by the wholesome exercise of boyish school life, must have bad effect on the health at a critical period. But when we consider the important part that women take in the early training of the young, we have good reason, apart from other considerations, to approve the instruction of our first teachers, so long as they do not despise the special virtues and capabilities of their own sex.

Education, of both sexes, has been a main interest of our time. Since Dr Arnold began the reform of our old public schools, large boarding-schools, on their model, have come more into favour for boys of the upper class, who here seem sometimes to give as much attention to sports as to studies. What were once the pastimes of our large schools are now organized and pursued in a serious spirit of muscular Christianity, but "they toil at games and play at books", is a reproach that hardly holds good when we see how often these flannelled young athletes distinguish themselves also in the field of scholarship, while there appears no great danger of our youngsters turning out mere bookworms under the pressure of the examination system. Among all classes of young men, indeed, the love of athletic games has been on the increase, which would be an entirely good symptom if it did not tend to degenerate into the excitement of strained competitions and the idleness of witnessing gladiatorial displays Cricket, and still more football, now rival the turf as an excuse for public gatherings While on this head we may remark the introduction of lawn-tennis, which for over a quarter of a century has held its own as an exercise for both sexes, and the more recent spread of golf, which from Scotland is rapidly invading half the world, flourishing at the foot of the very Pyramids, and wherever Britons can find fit ground for holes and hazards.

Though it is the way of the old public schools to cling obstinately to customs which strike outsiders as anachronisms, their discipline has been softened of late, and their curriculum of study widened to meet the demands of modern life. The grammar-schools and other foundations, separated by no hard-and-fast line from institutions of the first grade, have followed their lead

and shown a sometimes much-needed quickening of activity. Private middle-class schools have undergone similar improvement, stimulated by an agitation for bringing them more under state supervision, or at least stamping the teacher with some mark of professional capacity, an advantage as to which there are contradictory opinions. The need for any such control is certainly much less than it was a generation ago. "Dotheboys Hall" would be almost an impossibility now.

But the most important change in educational matters has been through the elementary schools and school-boards, established by the Education Act of 1870, which made attendance at school compulsory on all children not otherwise satisfactorily taught. Popular instruction, impeded by the ever-smouldering difficulties of religious teaching, facilitated by further provisions for free education, may now be called an accomplished fact, and below the age of one generation it is rare to find a man or woman who cannot read and write. The effect upon the statistics of juvenile crime seems already encouraging; but, in some respects, national education has not as yet answered all the expectations held forth by its advocates. Perhaps the system is to blame, which, like other mechanical systems, fetters the teacher in his highest work of inspiring mental activity, while he is bound down to the necessity of producing immediately visible and calculable results. In Scotland especially, where popular education has long been a public concern, it is felt that the old parish schools were centres of a brighter, if less diffused, enlightenment The three R's are no solid blessing if they do not prove the foundation of wisdom; and when we have taught our youngsters how to read, there comes the important question as to what they read? which is not always satisfactorily answered.

Some still continue to denounce education as making the masses unfit for their lot in life, which is only a recognition that our board schools are the thin end of a wedge for dividing society on new lines. England is now imitating Scotland in the fuller provision of means by which a promising scholar may rise above the class in which he is born, and have a fair chance to get into his hands the tools they are made to use. But it is a pity that so many boys come from school ambitious to work rather at clerical than at manual tasks, ignorant how there may be more comfort and independence under a fustian jacket than in a threadbare black coat. The vast army of underpaid clerks is too readily recruited by men whom any fall in the tide of commercial prosperity would leave with poor means of shifting for themselves. Among girls, the dislike to domestic service becomes increasingly noted here, as it has long been on the other side of the Atlantic; it is found that young women fret at the restraints of a sober household, choosing rather the freedom of other employments, even with the risk of misery These tendencies will no doubt right themselves, as society becomes adjusted to new conditions. In contrast, it will be remarked how many young men of the upper class, thrown out of their inherited position by the pressure of the examination system, are fain to turn farmers, shepherds, cowboys, gold diggers, and so forth, doing the roughest work in new countries beyond the sea, which are peopled by a steady drain of emigration supplied from not the least vigorous elements of our national life. Many of the hands now hardened in Australian and African gold mines, or on American prairies, belong to public-school men and University graduates, a product of education, as in the case of would-be clerks, turned out faster than demanded The education of women, too, has not been without effect upon the labour-market

Looking broadly over the field of education, one sees that the great change has been in giving more importance to science and less to literature, though perhaps it may be judged that the result of wider studies often comes to a smattering of many subjects rather than a mastery of any one. It seems questionable if the encyclopædic learning promoted by such bodies as the London University makes a real intellectual gain, but advance is shown by the interest taken in science, and the fact that schoolmasters are expected to give some idea of the nature of things as well as of words. This regard to what the Germans call "Real" schooling is forced upon us by the example of other countries. Since the International Exhibition of 1862 much has been done for technical education by means of popular schools, notably the Science and Art classes which have their headquarters at South Kensington Thus it is endeavoured to put our workmen of the higher crafts in a position to cope with the foreign competition that every year more formidably threatens the predominance of Great Britain in commerce and manufactures.

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that certain industries are leaving us, and that even our own markets are flooded with articles made better, or at least more cheaply, abroad. The law now provides that such wares shall be labelled with a mark of their origin, but few citizens are found patriotic enough to refuse cheaper goods "made in Germany" or elsewhere. Here we must face the difficulty that not only have Continental workmen, in some cases, had a start of ours in technical instruction, but that almost everywhere they are able to content themselves

on smaller wages With us the standard of living among all classes has risen faster than the growth of our trade, while our population also presses hard upon the means of subsistence, recruited as it is by refugees from less free nations. Workmen naturally require higher wages, and are sometimes tempted to go on demanding their share in an apparent prosperity that is really on the wane Almost every trade has again and again been disorganized by strikes, brought on in many cases through genuine grievances, but not seldom by the influence of reckless agitators, of hot-headed enthusiasts, and of young *doctrinaires* who have in late years taken up with a sentimental socialism that scorns the sober warnings of political economy and experience This uneasy desire for a social revolution, wide-spread and loud-spoken as it is, often inspired by an unconscious impatience against the conditions of civilization, makes a force to be seriously reckoned with But the various systems proposed to bring about a new prosperity need not be discussed or even enumerated here, since they differ widely as to the machinery by which each promises its ready-made millennium, agreeing mainly in the absence of any provision to change human nature, and in invoking the power of the state to take the place of individual interest The tyranny of some trades-unions already gives us a hint of what the nation might be, ruled by the enormous army of officials that would have to keep men to work, once the stimulus of personal gain was removed

All such proposals get a fair hearing among us, the more since it is only a few half-crazy foreigners who seek to advocate them by means of slaughter and destruction, the British workman in his sorest moods being no secret murderer It has been well remarked that, though hitherto we English have talked less about socialism than other peoples, there is no country which so far recognizes socialist principle in practice, our poor-laws being a conspicuous example. Of late there has been a tendency to extend this principle in legislation, not only by shifting burdens from the poor to the rich, but by taking measures to protect people against themselves, a tendency more or less concurred in by members of both political parties, but most actively favoured by that which looks to the support of the "masses" rather than of the "classes", to use a phrase popularized by Mr. Gladstone. Since such measures cannot be carried out, unless by state interference, the result seems like to be a cleavage of parties upon fresh lines, or on some issues weapons would seem to be exchanged, as in the combat between Hamlet and Laertes; the former Conservatives more apt to stand up for individual freedom, while the Liberals are found championing submission to authority,—that of the majority of votes,—which may prove as unreasonably oppressive as any despot's Historians, from the vantage-ground of the future, will be better able to trace the features of a confused struggle, whose nature may probably be brought home to our generation as soon as the question of regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors be forced to a definite settlement.

Here we are drawn aside to an important question, on which it were earnestly to be wished that a good report could be given of national progress. Great efforts have been made, not without success, to combat intemperance among the class that most evidently and most surely suffers from the reproach of our nation, but no one can walk at night through the streets of a large city without saddening and disgusting sights to raise a doubt if it be better "to be free than sober" In spite of the efforts of Total Abstainers, the use of intoxicants, on the whole, goes on increasing, as shown by the revenue returns, and considerably more than a hundred millions of our national wealth is annually poured into the ground in the worse than unremunerative form of strong drink The old habits of brutal intoxication, once held almost a virtue, are now banished from decent society, yet there is found a growing readiness to resort to frequent doses of stimulant, which have perhaps a worse effect on health, and not a better one on the moral nature, than occasional drunken bouts. The increase of the fatal morphia habit, also, is a bad indication Smoking has grown much more common, especially among the young, on whom it has certainly a bad result, while it is at least doubtful if anybody be the better of it. Snuff-taking, the genteel vice of an earlier age, has almost died out, but society in our generation has become much more tolerant of tobacco in pipes, still more of cigarettes, and when our Marquises of Farintosh marry, they by no means think it necessary to give away their cigars to bachelor brothers, when the wives chosen by such men have not only no objection to tobacco, but even take to smoking themselves as a sign of *fin de siècle* independence.

Were there no public-houses among us we should hear less of the "bitter" cry for a "living wage", raised so loudly by glib economists, who are not so successful in explaining where it is to come from Much has undoubtedly been done to improve the condition of the poor, not only by legislation, but by the efforts of earnest philanthropists, contending against the evils of indiscriminate charity as well as of poverty, against the multiplication of a class least fitted to survive, and, above all, against the curse of drunkenness, that among us ruins so many lives. As yet, unfortunately, there remains much difference of

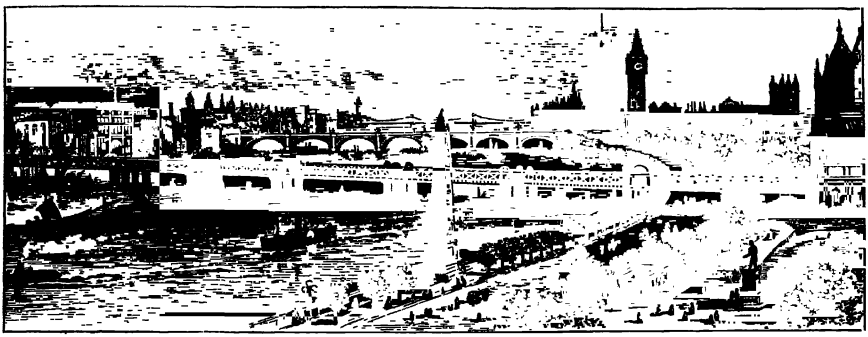
opinion as to the best way of raising the "submerged" classes; and it is to be feared that some well-intended steps taken to this end have done more harm than good. But the spirit of these efforts must be beneficial, even if it show itself only as a transitory vogue for "slumming", that at least brought some of the idle rich face to face with the troubles of the poor The foundation of the Charity Organization Society in 1869 formed a rallying-point for the thoughtfully benevolent, whose efforts should prove more effectual than all the loud talk of reckless demagogues, who undertake to settle serious and complicated social problems on sentimental grounds, or by the blindness of faction and class interest, or in that mad mood of despair and envious hatred that sees no cure for the diseases of civilization but in anarchy.

The relations between capital and labour must be called a war, which will probably go on till the majority of labourers have property of their own to stand by—a consummation to be wished, though no means are suggested towards it more practical than the old ones of industry, thrift, and enterprise. As yet capital seems to hold its own in commerce; but under one form of investment it has suffered from a series of crushing blows. The landed interest, once the most powerful in the kingdom, finds itself assailed by legislation, by a succession of bad harvests, by new economic conditions to which society is not yet adjusted, and by the outcry of revolutionists, who see here the hated embodiment of worldly success. Old associations of superiority still give landed estate in England an artificial value as an investment for the gains of commerce But rents have fallen, not without cause, when even at a low rent the farmer finds himself often unable to make a profit. Many of our aristocracy have to confess themselves no better than "splendid paupers", who maintain their position only by selling their titles to the daughters of rich trading families or of American millionaires. Some have more or less openly gone into trade themselves. The lesser gentry are in proportion heavily burdened with responsibilities forced upon them by custom, and see sinking to a lower class the families for whom they are unable to provide.

It remains to be proved by experiment whether, as many urge and many deny, the land would be more profitable in the hands of small owners working for themselves and not for a master or landlord. Efforts are being made to give this experiment a fair trial, but the natural tendency of circumstances seems to be for land to accumulate into enormous estates, which, turned to ornament rather than profit, must be kept up by funds drawn from other sources. In one way or other a remedy is urgently required for a peril threatening not only the agricultural class but the whole nation. We have chosen to make of ourselves a great manufacturing country, whose huge population can no longer be supported by its own productions. It is appalling to contemplate what would be in store for us if ever we lost command of the sea and gave an enemy the power to starve our millions, dependent on all the world for food; and the landed interest is not the only one that begins to look back regretfully on the old system of protection, still cherished by our rivals and enforced against us even by our own colonies. On the other hand, the most enlightened economists of the Continent are found applauding our adherence to Free-trade principles.

The sturdy peasantry, who make the backbone of our national strength, have also been affected by this long-continued agricultural depression, as well as by the facilities of travel which are mixing the populations of different districts, and, along with the influence of school teaching, contribute to obliterate provincial peculiarities of dialect and custom. While the aristocracy and citizens willingly seek relaxation in rural scenes and sports, while among our artisans no holiday is so popular as a day in the country, the country people, their lot judged so enviable by others, show a readiness to move into towns, drawn thither partly by higher wages, partly by greater opportunities of sociability. The population of large towns thus goes on increasing out of proportion to the general rate. The growth of London, in particular, has been enormous, nor is its progress in other respects unworthy of the greatest city in the world. Our generation has seen it newly adorned with several handsome public buildings and spacious thoroughfares, notably the new Law Courts, the Holborn Viaduct, the Tower Bridge, and the Thames Embankments. Its means of communication keep pace with its bulk; its sanitation is so well cared for that it remains one of the healthiest of large cities, in spite of the thick fogs that so often oppress it in winter. Among its amenities, a very attractive feature has been supplied by the successive exhibitions held in late years, bringing enormous crowds of visitors from the country, who go back with the idea that Londoners are fortunate did they but know their own blessings. From all parts of the world, indeed, strangers come to London more and more; it is noticed that rich Americans begin to desert Paris for the palatial hotels of Northumberland Avenue. The population of the city and its far-reaching suburbs is now not much short of four and a half millions, to which might be added many who, from homes at a distance of from ten to fifty miles, come in regularly to business by the railways that make such a huge aggregation possible.

This enormous emporium of business and pleasure is supported by its position as the capital of commerce. That once lost, Macaulay's New Zealander might soon be sketching the ruins of St Paul's. Yet from within as well as from without our supremacy seems imperilled. It is not only the short-sightedness of strikes that is responsible for driving trade out of the country. Reckless and dishonest speculation, the adulteration of wares, the tricks of tradesmen have gone far to destroy the belief in the solid character of British industry. A class of financiers has sprung up who handle other people's money to their own gain by the promotion of mushroom companies, or by artful operations in the stock of sounder ones. Legitimate enterprise is tainted by the unclean vultures of the money-market. The knavery of promoters and the cunning of jobbers are matched by the gullibility of the public, among which has spread an unwholesome taste for Stock Exchange gambling, where one man's gain means another's loss without adding anything to the material resources of the nation while weakening its moral fibre; and, in the



LONDON

The Thames Embankment, Cleopatra's Needle, Charing Cross and Westminster Bridges, the Houses of Parliament, &c., looking up the river from the Embankment Gardens.

long run, the profits seldom remain with the outsider who backs his guess or opinion in much the same spirit as the foolish victim of the turf or the casino. This return to the savage in a passion for gambling,—unhappily encouraged in the highest quarters, and corrupting all classes,—is certainly an alarming symptom of our moral state

To various complicated causes, affecting other civilized nations, is due the long spell of depression in trade that lately has taken a turn for the better, which, we must trust, will not be checked by the apprehensions of war now prevalent. Certain branches of commerce have been thrown into confusion by the decline in the value of silver, so great that the Indian rupee has become worth little more than half its nominal value; nor is this checked by discoveries of gold in India, South Africa, and more recently in Western Australia. Some economists thus find the root of the evil in the gold standard of coinage, and expect speedy improvement from the adoption of a bi-metallic system; but this is still a question of hot controversy between authorities, and one quite over the heads of the general public. Others tell us that we cannot expect better times till a great ruin of rotten enterprises has come about to clear the way for honest business But perhaps we need not look further for the cause of bad trade than the natural reaction after a period of excessive demand, leading to overproduction, by which markets were glutted and prices brought down to the vanishing point of profit This has affected not only Europe but America, which, with her vast resources and wide limits, begins to feel the same evils of social congestion that distress other countries. It is noticeable that emigrants have recently been returning across the Atlantic to the mother land which once seemed to have no room for them; and that the United States have found it necessary to winnow out the most unpromising elements of population, which the great steamboat companies, competing with each other at temptingly low rates, continue to pour upon the shores of the New World. Our colonies, also, have troubles of their own, so that it becomes hard anywhere to find a safe outlet for those who cannot get employment at home.

With all the complaints about hard times and losses in trade, there appears no check to the expenditure on luxury and amusement which gives the tone to what calls itself Society, and a bad model to other classes, stimulating every-

where men's haste to be rich, honestly or otherwise. Social distinction being more freely granted to those who can pay for it, and money passing fast from land-owners to successful traders, our old aristocracy tends to become an anachronism, unless so far as it can ally itself with the growing plutocracy. A fiercer struggle for success causes a disturbance propagated through every nerve of the body politic. The general unrest that ensues, the fevering strain of competition, the disposition to self-indulgence as an alterative, the relaxation of moral fibre that comes with ill-earned wealth, all these too often give us cause for distrust as to the future

On the other hand it must be remembered that moralists of all ages have been apt to see their own day in no *couleur de rose*; and that our generation has acquired a self-conscious faculty which may readily lead it to exaggerate its own faults. Looking back, we can learn how mere worldly success, mere idle pleasure, were more devoutly worshipped in other times Genius, wisdom, and virtue are at least as much admired among us as they ever were in the flesh. From every ominous augury we can turn to one of hopeful promise. We cannot open our newspapers without finding a text for shame or regret, yet it is seldom that these "brief chronicles of the time" do not contain some record, famous or obscure, of the sterling qualities that have made England great, and will keep her noble so long as she be true to her better self.

The course of our narrative has now been brought down to events passing before our eyes, and movements the result of which is still uncertain. The task is one over which a writer would fain linger, seeing, as the most thoughtless must see, how the present may develop matter for history which the future will peruse with wonder Time and space are now abridged, so that years become sufficient for changes that once spread over decades and centuries; and amid the seeming stability of to-day, we know less than ever what the morrow may bring forth. Over Europe are heaving stormy elements, charged with a portentous energy; and even before this generation, before the short remnant of our century have passed away, what thrones may be overturned, what institutions blighted, what nations committed to a prosperous rise or a mournful extinction? "This is not the world into which I was born!" has always been the exclamation of old men, then how much more emphatically is it like to be repeated by those who come after us?

What, we ask first, amidst these mutations will be the destiny of our own country? Has she already reached that culminating point beyond which comes a progress to decay? Or does she possess such innate vigour and vitality as will secure for her an old age extended beyond the usual term of national life? These are considerations that force themselves upon us, as we close this record of the past, to turn wistful looks on the future. Let us hope as we may, no state can ensure immortality that each shall pass away, giving place to a new order, seems the law of progress for humanity at large. But, even with the warnings of great bygone empires before us, we have the consoling thought that our beloved Britain will not have flourished in vain Her sacred commission as standard-bearer of truth and freedom before all the world, her long career of unexampled greatness and prosperity, the lessons she has taught and the blessings she has imparted far and wide, are assurances that her end may be late in coming, that, if come it must, her fall will be that of natural old age, amidst honour and regret, leaving a rich inheritance to the peoples dowered by her discoveries, enlightened by her wisdom, and animated by her example. Even when her cities crumble into ruin, they will be sacred places of human pilgrimage, their history recorded in every language as a glory of past ages, their mouldering grandeur a monument which time can only magnify and adorn to the eye of romantic imagination.

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PRINTED BY BLACKIE AND SON, LIMITED, GLASGOW

BLACKIE'S

COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY

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ENGLAND

CIVIL AND MILITARY,

RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE REIGN OF VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS, 1896

ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY ENGRAVED HISTORICAL PICTURES, AND ABOVE 1000 ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT

VOLUME I.

FROM EARLIEST TIMES TILL THE DEATH OF HENRY VIII., 1547

BLACKIE & SON, LIMITED,
LONDON, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, AND DUBLIN.
1896.

PREFACE.

In the present work readers will possess a complete history of England and the British Empire, from the time when the country is first made known to us by the writings of ancient historians down to the present day—the narrative thus giving an account of national life and progress during the long period of nearly two thousand years. It may justly claim to be comprehensive in scope, inasmuch as it narrates and discusses not only events pertaining to the political, military, and naval history of the country, but also deals fully with religious, commercial, industrial, and agricultural affairs, sets forth the characteristics of the various classes of society, and sketches the advances made by literature and the fine arts, with the spread of general enlightenment. Beginning with a time when the name England did not yet exist, the narrative ends when the growth and expansion of the English race and of Britain's power and dominions have reached such a pitch that the empire now embraces more than a fifth part of the area and a fourth part of the population of the whole globe A marvellous succession of changes and developments has thus to be passed in review.

The great aim has been to produce a family and household book—a national history fitted for the use of every British home. Such a work, if not free from party or personal predilections, must at least be free from party violence and misrepresentation It must be complete and it must also be full, but, at the same time, it must be so compendious as not to dismay ordinary readers by its unmanageable bulk and too minute detail. And, with all this, a living spirit must breathe throughout the whole. Past ages and their facts must be treated, not as hard dry abstractions, but vital realities with which we of the present generation are connected, and in which we ought to sympathize; while the style of the narrative —clear, concise, and intelligible to general readers—should, at the same time, be consistent with the dignity of history and the importance of the theme. Further, a work so written, and for so high a purpose, must strictly adhere to truth throughout, even though party or national feeling should seek to colour or suppress it; and the inculcation of sound knowledge and virtuous principles ought to be a higher object with the writer than the dramatic interest of his facts, or the poetical graces of which they are susceptible. Such has been the aim, and such have been the requirements kept steadily in view throughout these volumes. To

fully reach the standard here laid down could scarcely be expected; but even to have neared such a standard will scarcely be accounted a failure.

A marked feature of the work must specially be adverted to—namely, the profusion of its pictorial illustrations. The resources of language alone are often insufficient to embody past events, or delineate the changes of society with full distinctness; and in reading the history of these, especially if the period is remote, something more is required than mere verbal description, however full and accurate. Not only the aspects and fashions of social life, but the very localities in which great events occurred, have passed away or assumed new forms. Accordingly the resources of the pencil are made use of to complete what the pen cannot fully describe, and art becomes the effectual ally of history. How efficient this aid may become, the following volumes will attest. The scenes of important deeds, the ruins of buildings which remain as their monuments, the portraitures of distinguished men—the homes, furniture, weapons, costume of every successive period—maps of districts historically remarkable, plans of battle-fields, naval engagements, fortifications, and interesting localities—everything, in short, that could throw light upon each era, and its manifold events, personages, and character, has been introduced to elucidate and give specific distinctness to the narrative. The care and research bestowed on the selection of these illustrations are sufficiently attested by the authorities given along with their titles. Thus something more than mere ornament has been attempted; the spirit of the work itself has been transfused into the pictorial illustrations.

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BLACKIE'S

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CIVIL AND MILITARY,

RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE REIGN OF VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS, 1896.

ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY ENGRAVED HISTORICAL PICTURES, AND ABOVE 1000 ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT.

VOLUME II.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI TILL THE FLIGHT OF JAMES II, 1547–1688.

BLACKIE & SON, LIMITED,
LONDON, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, AND DUBLIN.
1896.

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CIVIL AND MILITARY,

RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE REIGN OF VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS, 1896.

ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY ENGRAVED HISTORICAL PICTURES, AND ABOVE 1000 ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT.

VOLUME III.

FROM THE REVOLUTION TILL THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., 1688-1792

BLACKIE & SON, LIMITED,
LONDON, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, AND DUBLIN.
1896.

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BLACKIE'S

COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY

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CIVIL AND MILITARY,

RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE REIGN OF VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS, 1896.

ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY ENGRAVED HISTORICAL PICTURES, AND ABOVE 1000 ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT

VOLUME IV.

FROM THE REIGN OF GEORGE III TILL THE REIGN OF VICTORIA, 1792-1896.

BLACKIE & SON, LIMITED,
LONDON, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, AND DUBLIN.
1896.

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